

THE
FORTNIGHTLY
REVIEW.

EDITED BY
JOHN MORLEY.

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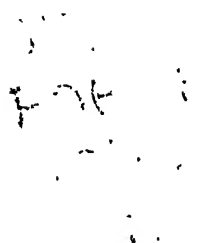
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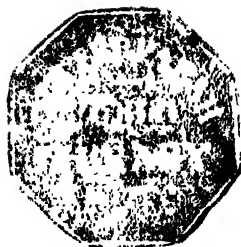
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THE
FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

NO. CLI. NEW SERIES.—JULY 1, 1879.

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

THE new and uniform edition of Cardinal Newman's works is now, with one exception,¹ complete: thirty-four volumes, given originally to the world at various intervals, and upon occasions very widely differing, from the year 1828 to the year 1875; the record of the thought, the action, the sufferings, the joys, the failures, the successes of a long and eventful life. These volumes entitle their author to no mean place among the classics of our country. There is no living writer who has attained to such supreme mastery over the English tongue. It is to him an instrument of which he knows all the mysterious capabilities, all the hidden sweetness, all the latent power; and it responds with marvellous precision to his every touch, the boldest or the slightest. Persuasive winningness, scathing denunciation, vivid irony, closest logic, soul-subduing pathos, graceful fancies—all are at his command, and come forth to do his bidding. His is a high creative faculty united to great ratiocinative power, and matured and chastened by that supreme art which leaves no trace of workmanship. Where in the whole range of our literature shall we find passages of loftier eloquence and purer religious feeling than in his sermons? Where an exacter apprehension and a clearer statement of gravest philosophical problems—whatever our view as to his solution of them—than in the *Grammar of Assent*, the *Essay on Development*, the *Lectures on the Ideal of a University*? Where sweeter and more delicate flowers of poesy than in such verses as "Lead, kindly Light," or the "Dream of Gerontius"? Who has displayed greater descriptive force, or more consummate power of word-painting, than he who has made ancient Athens live before us? Whose holy enchantment has called up in the midst of the nineteenth century, with its feverish strivings and incessant movement and restless endeavour, the venerable shades of St. Benedict

(1) The annotated translation of St. Athanasius remains to be added to this edition in order to complete it. It is to this that my references are made throughout this article.

and his companions, in the unbroken calm and untroubled peace of the early monastic institute? Who has "sorted and numbered the weapons of controversy" with such scientific precision, and employed them with such consummate skill, as the author of the *Treatise on the Prophetic Office*, the *Tract on Creed and Canon*, the *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*, and the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*? While, still higher glory, in a life full of polemical strife, he has never taken an unfair advantage or won a dishonest victory.

These are some of the titles upon which Cardinal Newman's claim rests to a high place in the literature of his country. It is not, however, my present purpose to consider him from a merely literary stand-point. Cardinal Newman has played a notable part in a most important—perhaps the most important—department of the annals of our century. He is the especial representative of a great spiritual and intellectual movement, and a conspicuous leader of religious thought. It is in this character that I propose now to regard him. My object is to sketch the main outlines of his life, and in such rough way as may be possible to form an estimate of his work. And in executing this task my chief materials will be derived from his books, one special note of which is their strong individuality. They are instinct with that egotism which, to use a happy expression of his own, is, in some provinces, the truest modesty. Each in its different way and its varying degree has for us its revelation about the writer. Thus the *Grammar of Assent* does for us objectively what the *Apologia* does subjectively. The *Essay on Development* is confessedly a chapter—the last—in the workings of the author's mind which issued in his submission to Rome. There is perhaps not one of his *Oxford Sermons* which, as he has told us of the famous discourse on Wisdom and Innocence, was not written with a secret reference to himself. His verses are the expressions of personal feelings, the greater part of them, to give his own account, growing out of that religious movement which he followed so faithfully from first to last.¹ And, further, we have his present criticism upon his former self, his ultimate judgments upon his early views, in the prefaces and notes with which he has enriched the new editions of his old works. Then we possess in his volumes not only the story of his life, but, in some degree, his comment thereon.

"Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
 Crudebat libris, neque si male cesserat unquam
 Decurrens alio, neque si bene, quo fit ut omnis
 Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
 Vita senis."

(1) Dedication to Mr. Badeley of *Verses upon Various Occasions*, p. vii.

Cardinal Newman's life runs with the century. It is to the age of Pitt and Fox, of Napoleon and Pius VII., of Scott and Byron, of Coleridge and Kant, that we must go back to survey the moral, political, and religious surroundings of his early years—surroundings which largely influence every man, and the more largely in proportion to the receptivity and retentiveness of his intellectual constitution. To form some apprehension of the spiritual element in which Cardinal Newman lived and moved during the time when his character was matured and his first principles were formed, is a necessary condition precedent to any true understanding of what he is and of what he has wrought. Let us therefore glance at the condition of English religious thought at that period.

Perhaps it is not too much to say that never, during its course of well-nigh two thousand years in the world, has Christianity presented less of the character of a spiritual religion than during the last half of the eighteenth century. Not in England only, but throughout Europe, the general aim of its accredited teachers seems to have been to explain away its mysteries, to extenuate its supernatural character, to reduce it to a system of morality little differing from that of Epictetus or Marcus Aurelius. The dogmas of Christianity were almost openly admitted to be nonsense. Religious emotion was stigmatized as enthusiasm. Theology, from being "the science of things divine," had sunk into apologies, opposing weak answers to strong objections, and into evidences, endeavouring with the smallest result to establish the existence of a vague possible deity. Even the sanctions of morality were sought in the lowest instincts of human nature, the reason for doing good assigned in the received text books of philosophy being in effect, as Mr. Mill puts it, "that God is stronger than we are, and able to damn us if we do not." The prevailing religion of the day may be accurately judged of from the most widely popular of its homiletic works, those thrice-famous sermons of Blair's, which were at one time to be found in well-nigh every family of the upper and middle classes of this country, and which probably may still be discovered in the remoter shelves of the libraries in most country houses. No one can look into these discourses without admitting the truth of Mr. Stephen's trenchant criticism that "they represent the last stage of theological decay."¹ For unction there is mere mouthing; for the solid common sense of earlier writers, an infinite capacity for repeating the feeblest platitudes; the morality can scarcely be dignified by the name of prudential, unless all prudence be summed up in the command, "Be respectable;" the pages are full of solemn trifling—prosings about adversity and prosperity,

(1) *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 346. The remarks in my following sentence are an abridgment of an admirable page—the next—of Mr. Stephen's book.

eulogies upon the most excellent of virtues, Moderation, and proofs that religion is upon the whole productive of pleasure. As Mr. Mill accurately sums the matter up—

“The age seemed smitten with an incapacity of producing deep or strong feeling, such at least as could ally itself with meditative habits. There were few poets, and none of a high order; and philosophy had fallen into the hands of men of a dry prosaic nature, who had not enough of the materials of human feeling in them to imagine any of its more complex and mysterious manifestations; all of which they either left out of their theories, or introduced them with such explanations as no one who had experienced the feelings could receive as adequate.”¹

Such was the dominant tone of English thought about the time when Cardinal Newman was born. But beside it there was another school which exercised a strong influence over a not inconsiderable number of adherents, and which potently affected the growth of his character and the formation of his opinions. Among the figures conspicuous in the history of England in the last century, there is perhaps none more worthy of careful study than that of John Wesley. Make all deductions you please for his narrowness, his self-conceit, his extravagance, and still it remains that no one so nearly approaches the fulness of stature of the great heroes of Christian spiritualism in the early and middle ages. He had more in common with St. Boniface and St. Bernardine of Sienna, with St. Vincent Ferrer, and Savonarola, than any religious teacher whom Protestantism has ever produced. Nor is the rise of the sect which has adopted his name—the “people called Methodists” was his way of designating his followers—by any means the most important of the results of his life and labours. It is not too much to say that he, and those whom he formed and influenced, chiefly kept alive in England the idea of supernatural order during the dull materialism and selfish coldness of the eighteenth century. To him is undoubtedly due the Evangelical party. Romaine and Newton, Venn and Jowett, Milner and Simeon, differing as they did from him on particular doctrines, derived from him that fundamental tenet of religious conversion which they termed “the new birth.” It is easy now, as it ever was, to ridicule the grotesque phrasology of the Evangelical school, to make merry over their sour superstitions, their ignorant fanaticism, to detect and pillory their intellectual littleness. It is not easy to estimate adequately the work which they did by reviving the idea of grace in the Established Church. They were not theologians, they were not philosophers, they were not scholars. Possibly only two of them, Cecil and Scott, can be said to rise above a very low level of mental mediocrity. But they were men who felt the powers of the world to come in an age when that world had become to most little

(1) *Discussions and Dissertations*, vol. i. p. 430

more than an unmeaning phrase ; who spoke of a God to pray to, in a generation which knew chiefly of one to swear by ; who made full proof of their ministry by signs and wonders parallel to those of the prophetic vision. It was in truth a valley of dry bones in which the Evangelical clergyman of the opening nineteenth century was set ; and as he prophesied there was a noise, and behold, a shaking, and the breath came into them, and they lived and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army.

In this army John Henry Newman was led to enrol himself in early youth. He has himself told us how, in the autumn of 1816, he fell under the influence of a definite creed, and received into his intellect impressions of dogma which have never been effaced or obscured : how “ the conversations and sermons of that excellent man, long dead, the Rev. Walter Mayers, of Pembroke College, Oxford,” were “ the human means of the beginning of this divine faith ” in him ; how he is “ still more certain of the inward conversion of which he was then conscious, than that he has hands or feet.”¹ Cardinal Newman’s earliest religious reading was of authors such as Romaine, Thomas Scott, Joseph Milner, whose works were then the text books of the Evangelical school. But he also studied attentively two writers of very different characters, both of whom made a deep impression upon his mind : William Law, the non-juror, whose *Serious Call*, it will be remembered, was such a powerful agent in John Wesley’s spiritual history, and Bishop Newton, whose work upon the Prophecies is the very fount and source of an “ expository ” literature, still dearly cherished by Exeter Hall, and of which the great light in our own days is Dr. Cumming. In 1819 he was entered at Trinity College, Oxford, and during the whole of his undergraduate course he adhered rigidly to the strictest sect of the Evangelicals. It was not until 1822 that his spiritual horizon began to widen. In that year he came under the influence of Dr. Whately, who, he tells us, “ emphatically opened my mind and taught me to think, and to use my reason.”² It is curious to find him particularly specifying among his obligations to Dr. Whately, this :—

“ What he did for me in point of religious opinion was to teach me the existence of the Church as a substantive body or corporation ; next to fix in me those anti-Erastian views of Church polity, which were one of the most prominent features of the Tractarian movement.”

At the same time he formed a friendship with a worthy representative of the classic High Church school of Anglicanism, Dr. Hawkins, then Vicar of St. Mary’s, who was the means of great additions to his belief. From him he derived directly the doctrine of Tradition,

(1) *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, p. 4.

(2) *Ibid.* pp. 11, 12.

and indirectly the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration ; while Mr. James of Oriel taught him the dogma of Apostolical Succession, and Mr. Blanco White led him "to have freer views on the subject of inspiration than were usual in the Church of England at that time."¹ Still more important were his obligations to Butler, whom he began to read about the year 1823. He regards the study of the *Analogy* as an era in his religious opinions, and refers to it the underlying principles of a great portion of his teaching : Sacramentalism and Probability.² It is manifest that while acquiring these new views he was widely diverging from the standards of orthodoxy of his Evangelical friends. Among the many legends which have grown up about him is one attributing his final separation from them to the rejection in 1826 of two hundred and fifty amendments said to have been moved by him to the draft of the annual report of the Oxford Bible Society, of which body, according to the story, he was "third secretary : " amendments directed to the purgation of that document from the strange verbiage which was the outward and visible sign of the Low Church spirit. Unfortunately a word from Cardinal Newman has dispelled this amusing myth. "I never was any kind of secretary to the Bible Society," he tells me, "and I never moved any amendments at all."

There is, however, one grain of truth in the story. It was, indeed, about the year 1826 that John Henry Newman's ties with the Evangelical party were finally severed. But though no longer of them as a professed adherent, he retained much that he had learnt from them. In particular their fundamental doctrine of Grace, that is, of a sensible, supernatural, and direct divine influence upon the soul of man, remained, and has remained up to this day, with him as a prime and vital verity. For some little time from 1826 he continued unattached to any theological section or school. The old high and dry party, the two-bottle orthodox, then predominant in the university, were little to his taste, although he sympathised vehemently with their political opinions, and for the first few years of his residence as a fellow at Oriel—he had been elected in 1825—he lived very much alone. In 1826 he began a close and tender friendship with Richard Hurrell Froude, never dimmed nor interrupted during the short career of that many-sided and highly gifted man. Robert Isaac Wilberforce, who, like Froude, was then a Probationer Fellow of Oriel, was also among his most intimate companions, and there were others—their names need not be enumerated here—who

(1) *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, pp. 8, 9.

(2) By the sacramental system, in the large sense of the word, Cardinal Newman means "the doctrine that material phenomena are both the types and the instruments of real things unseen."—*Apologia*, p. 18. Butler's teaching "that probability is the guide of life," he considers to have originally led him to "the question of the logical cogency of faith," on which he has "written so much."—*Ibid.* p. 11.

were drawn to him by the strong ties of kindred minds, like aspirations, and the many inexpressible influences engendered by community of academical life. One thing which especially bound together the little knot of men who constituted the original nucleus of the future Tractarian party was an irrepressible dissatisfaction with the religious schools of the day; an eager looking out for deeper and more definite teaching. It may be truly said—the phrase I think is Cardinal Newman's—that this feeling was in the air of the epoch. The French Revolution, shattering the framework of society throughout Europe, was but the manifestation in the public order of great intellectual and spiritual changes. England, indeed, shut off from the Continent by her insular position, and by the policy of the great minister whose strong hand guided her destinies for so many perilous years, was exempt, to a great extent, from the influence of the general movement of European thought. Still, in England too there arose the longing—vague, half expressed, not half understood—for some better thing, truer and higher, and more profound than the ideas of the outward world could yield: a longing which found quite other manifestations than the Evangelical. Striking evidence of this feeling is afforded by the reception given to the delineation of the fuller life of a simpler age, which was attempted in the poetry and prose fictions of Sir Walter Scott. “The general need of something more attractive than had offered itself elsewhere,” as Cardinal Newman remarks—

“led to his popularity, and by means of this popularity he reacted on his readers, stimulating their mental thirst, feeding their hopes, setting before them visions which when once seen are not easily forgotten, and silently indoctrinating them with nobler ideas, which might afterwards be appealed to on first principles.”¹

Byron and Shelley too bear witness in a different way to the working in the English mind of the ferment with which the European intellect was leavened. But of the actual movement of contemporary thought and feeling upon the Continent, little was definitely understood in England. The great reaction in France against the eighteenth century, the initiation of which will be in the event, and, indeed, even now is, Chateaubriand's best title to fame, was very faintly appreciated among us, and the masters of the new literature in Germany were scarcely even heard of. For long years Goethe was known in this country only by Sir Walter Scott's translation of one of his earliest and least significant works; and of Lessing, Schiller, Tieck, Richter, Novalis, the two Schlegels, it might be said, with almost literal truth, that they were not known at all. Kantism

(1) “Essay on the Prospects of the Anglican Church,” reprinted in *Essays Critical and Historical*, vol. i. p. 267.

was an epithet significant of "absurdity, wickedness, and horror," and was freely used to label any frantic exaggeration in "sentiment," or "crude fever dream in opinion," which might anywhere break forth.¹ Slowly, however, but surely, did the new critical philosophy infiltrate itself into this country, through the most metaphysical head which the country has ever produced. Samuel Taylor Coleridge was the first among English thinkers to study and understand Kant, to assimilate his teaching, and to reproduce it. Rejecting with disgust the physical method which he found predominant in English speculation, he discerned in the Critique of Pure Reason a higher and nobler system than the materialism of Locke or the utilitarianism of Paley. Coleridge, indeed, was no blind disciple of his Teutonic master. It may be truly said of him that he was

"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri."

His mind was too original to allow him to be a mere echo of other men's thoughts; his reading was too vast to suffer him to be blind to the deficiencies of the sage of Königsberg. It is, however, undoubtedly to Kant that he owes, with much else, that distinction between the Understanding and the Reason—*Verstand* and *Vernunft*—which is one of his fundamental positions; which, indeed, he considered essential to any profitable study of psychology. But the philosophy of Coleridge is too great a subject to be dealt with here. I can only observe that its influence upon the mind of his age was far more potent than is generally understood. In my judgment he stands in the same position with regard to English thought of the nineteenth century, as is occupied by Locke with regard to that of the eighteenth. I am, however, immediately concerned with his effect upon that particular intellectual and spiritual phase which is represented by the Tractarian movement. Cardinal Newman, in a paper published in the *British Critic* in 1839, reckons him one of its precursors, as "providing a philosophical basis for it, as instilling a higher philosophy into inquiring minds than they had hitherto been accustomed to accept." The action of this great thinker's doctrine was, indeed, to a large extent, indirect. It is through the poetry of his friend and disciple Wordsworth, that his philosophy, stripped of its technicalities, and presented in a popular form, has won the widest acceptance and exercised its deepest influence. "I wish to be considered a teacher or nothing," Wordsworth wrote to his friend, Sir George Beaumont. His age had need of his teaching, bewitched as it was by the Circean strains of Byron's morbid egotism, and the irresistible charm of the splendid verse in which Shelley clothed his passionate dreams, soaring like his own skylark away from this

(1) Carlyle's *Misc. Essays*, vol. i. p. 56.

working-day world until he is lost in the clouds of his ecstatic idealisations. How many felt in Wordsworth's own generation, how many more have felt since, the healing influence of his poetry, as of Nature herself!

"As snow those inward pleadings fall,
As soft, as bright, as pure, as cool,
With gentle weight and gradual,
And sink into the feverish soul."¹

"I have not written for superficial observers and unthinking minds," the poet explained to his friend. But from the first he drew to him the more thoughtful and true-hearted of his age: "Non solum dulcissimæ poeseos, verum etiam divinæ veritatis, antistes,"² and among those who were most deeply influenced by him was John Keble.

The *Christian Year* appeared in 1827. Cardinal Newman, writing of it nineteen years later, after his secession, and looking back upon it and the work it did, from an external point of view, observes—

"Much certainly came of the *Christian Year*. . . . Coming from one who had such claims on his readers, from the weight of his name, the depth of his devotional and ethical tone, and the special gift of consolation of which his poems were the evidence, it wrought a great work in the Establishment. It kindled hearts towards his Church; it gave something for the gentle and forlorn to cling to; it raised up advocates for it among those who, if God and their good angel had suffered it, might have wandered away into some sort of philosophy and acknowledged no Church at all."³

It did all this, certainly, and there can be no question that it acted as a powerful instrument in drawing together those who subsequently constituted the Tractarian party. It is, however, very difficult for men of the present generation to understand the sort of influence exercised by this volume of devotional poetry, when it first appeared more than half a century ago. It is not hard to account for its popularity; but it is hard to conceive now how it could have been an important factor in a great movement of religious thought. Judged coldly, and by the ordinary canons of criticism, the book may be justly praised for delicacy and refinement of style, for smoothness and harmony of numbers, for correctness of taste, for a sweet and gentle mysticism. But there is no trace of the fine frenzy which, according to the Aristotelian dictum, is the chief note of high poetic inspiration. Nor do we find

(1) I trust Cardinal Newman will pardon the application here made of these lines from his magnificent religious poem, "St. Philip in his God."

(2) Dedication to William Wordsworth—"viro vero philosopho et vati sacro"—of Keble's *Prælectiones Academicæ*.

(3) *Essays Critical and Historical*, vol. ii. p. 245.

in it the keenness of vision, the intensity of feeling, the passion for appeal by which the souls of men are wont to be kindled, and which we are led to look for in compositions playing an important part in a religious revival. If we compare Mr. Keble with the poets of the previous century, whose hymns were such a living power, it must be allowed that though he never sinks to their lowest level, he certainly never attains to their highest. There is nothing in the *Christian Year* which for grandeur of conception, splendour and fire of diction, natural freedom, easy grace, and strong upwelling of religious emotion, can be ranked with some of Charles Wesley's best verses: verses which perhaps have more in common with the masterpieces of Adam of St. Victor, and St. Bernard, than any other in our language. Indeed John Keble's professed purpose was to exhibit the soothing tendency of the Prayer Book, and that this purpose was accomplished with rare skill and beauty, who can doubt? The curious phenomenon is that the volume achieved so much beyond what its author aimed at; and that this was so, is an emphatic testimony to the needs of the age in which he wrote. The high and dry school had little to offer in satisfaction of spiritual aspirations. In place of living bread—*panis vivus et vitalis*—it had nothing to set before the hungry soul but the stone of theological petrifications. Evangelicalism was in its decadence. It was perishing of intellectual inanition. Beginning, in Apostolic wise, with "the foolishness of preaching," it had ended unapostolically in the preaching of foolishness. Its divinity was confined to a few isolated dogmas, which, torn from their place in systematic theology, had no enduring principle of life. For scholarship it had unctuous pulpit platitudes; for philosophy, the *deliramenta* of apocalyptic tea-tables. From art, it turned away with comminatory references to "texts" in Exodus and Leviticus. To those who like John Henry Newman had made trial of it, and had found it wanting, and to those who like Hurrell Froude had never been drawn by it from conventional orthodoxy, the *Christian Year* came as "a new music, the music of a school long unknown in England, where the general tone of religious literature was so nerveless and impotent."¹ Cardinal Newman judges that the two main intellectual truths which it brought home to him were the principle of sacramentalism and the doctrine as to certitude, which he had already learned from Butler.

Such was the influence of the *Christian Year*. Cardinal Newman reckons it the original bond of those who were to become the leaders of the Oxford movement, the formal start of which he dates from Mr. Keble's once famous discourse on National Apostacy, preached in St. Mary's in 1833. It was in that year that Cardinal Newman began, "out of his own head," the series of papers from which the

(1) *Apologia*, p. 18.

movement received its truest and most characteristic name of Tractarian. There can be no room for doubt that its chief springs of action are to be found in the *Tracts for the Times*, and in those *Oxford Sermons*, which, as their recent editor says, produced "a living effect" upon their hearers. The importance of the part played in the movement by Cardinal Newman admits of an easy test. Is it possible to conceive of it without him? We can conceive of it without the two Kebles, without Isaac Williams, without Dr. Pusey, who did not join it until 1836. They are, if we may so speak, of its accidents; Cardinal Newman is of its essence. It grew, indeed, out of the occult sympathies of kindred minds, and was the issue of manifold causes, long working according to their own laws. But the objective form which it assumed was due principally to Cardinal Newman's supreme confidence, irresistible earnestness, absolute fearlessness, and to the unique personal influence which accompanied and in part sprang from these endowments.

The specific danger, as it was judged, which supplied the occasion for its initiation was the Bill for the suppression of certain Irish Bishoprics. But this measure was an occasion merely. To Cardinal Newman, since at the age of fourteen he first looked into Voltaire and Hume, the primary fact of the age had been what he denominates Liberalism. And by this term he means not merely the democratic principle in politics, but the general movement of thought, of which that principle is merely one manifestation—a movement which men call anti-dogmatic or enlightened, revolutionary or emancipatory, sceptical or progressive, rationalistic or rational, as the point of view from which they regard it suggests, and their individual judgments and personal predilections determine. To this he sought to oppose the principle of dogma—from the first until now the basis of his religion. He endeavoured to meet the new spirit with a definite religious teaching as to a visible Church, the kingdom in this world of a present though invisible king, a great supernatural fact among men, represented in this country by the Anglican Establishment, and speaking through its formularies and the living voice of its episcopate, and to him, as to each man in particular, through his own bishop, to whom he looked up as "the successor of the apostles, the Vicar of Christ."¹ And so he tells us—

"The [Oxford] movement started on the ground of maintaining ecclesiastical authority, as opposed to the Erastianism of the State. It exhibited the Church as the one earthly object of religious loyalty and veneration, the source of all spiritual power and jurisdiction, and the channel of all grace. It represented it to be the interest, as well as the duty, of Churchmen, the bond of peace and the secret of strength, to submit their judgment in all things to her decision. And it taught that this divinely founded Church was realised and brought into

(1) *Apologia*, p. 51.

effect in our country in the National Establishment, which was the outward form or development of a continuous dynasty and hereditary power which descended from the Apostles. It gave, then, to that Establishment, in its officers, its laws, its usages, and its worship, that devotion and obedience which are correlative to the very idea of the Church. It set up on high the bench of Bishops and the Book of Common Prayer as the authority to which it was itself to bow, with which it was to cow and overpower an Erastian State."¹

This, according to Cardinal Newman, was the "clear, unvarying line of thought" upon which the movement of 1833 proceeded, and a careful study of the documents in which its history is to be traced amply confirms, if confirmation is wanted, the correctness of this view. The progress of Tractarianism, from Tract I. to Tract XC., was the natural growth, the logical development, of this idea. It was a progress leading ever farther from the historical position, the first principles of the Church of England as by law established. The enterprise in which the Tractarians were engaged was, unconsciously to themselves, an attempt to transform the character of the Anglican Communion, to undo the work of the Reformation, to reverse the traditions of three centuries. "Unconsciously to themselves," indeed. Nor need we wonder at their unconsciousness. It is, as Clough asks—

"What do we see? Each man a space
Of some few yards before his face."

No man may see more. "If we would ascertain the real course of a principle, we must look at it at a certain distance and as history represents it to us."² But who can project himself into times to come, and survey the present from the stand-point of the future? The Tractarians were as men who had launched upon unknown seas, full of strange tides and secret currents, which swiftly and imperceptibly bore them away, baffling their vain attempts at steerage. Others, however, could see more clearly than was possible to them the direction in which they were drifting. Even at the beginning of the movement Cardinal Newman says:—"A cry was heard on all sides of us that the Tracts and the writings of the Fathers would lead us to become Catholics before we were aware of it."³ It was then that he set about a defence of the movement and its principles, and produced his work upon *The Prophetical Office of the Church, viewed relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism*. This work appeared in 1837. Its subject was the *Via Media*, a designation "which had already been applied to the Anglican system by writers of repute. Its main object was to furnish an approximation in one or two points towards a correct theory of the

(1) *Anglican Difficulties*, vol. i. p. 115.

(2) *Apologia*, p. 263.

(3) *Apologia*, p. 63.

duties and office of the Church Catholic." "If we deny that the Roman view of the Church is true," the author says, "we are bound in very shame to state what we hold ourselves." The Lectures on the Prophetical Office attempted to put forward such a statement. There was, however, an initial objection which he felt keenly and stated with his habitual candour and peculiar power :—

"When we profess our *Via Media* as the very truth of the Apostles, we seem to bystanders to be mere antiquarians or pedants amusing ourselves with illusions or learned subtleties, and unable to grapple with things as they are. Protestantism and Popery are real religions. No one can doubt about them. They have furnished the mould to which nations have been cast, but the *Via Media*, viewed as an integral system, has never had an existence, except on paper."

He grants the objection, although he endeavours to lessen it.

"It still remains to be seen whether what is called Anglo-Catholicism, the religion of Andrews, Laul, Hammond, Butler, and Wilson, is capable of being professed, acted on, and maintained on a large sphere of action and through a sufficient period, or whether it be a new modification and transition state of Romanism or of popular Protestantism."

The trial was made, and we know with what results. In these Lectures on the Prophetical Office, the case stated is put with marvellous dialectic skill and great persuasive power; but the logic of facts is stronger than the strongest logic of words. And facts were against the *Via Media*, the facts both of antiquity and modern times. Its author had taken the historical foundation for granted.¹ It was an unfortunate assumption. The national feeling did but assert, with whatever passion and prejudice, the testimony of the national history—of which, indeed, that feeling is to a large extent the outcome—against the *ἥθος* of the movement as alien from the established religion. It was nothing to the purpose to show that the views put forward in that famous pamphlet might be paralleled, one from this Anglican authority, another from that. It was not pretended that any accredited writer of the Establishment had ever ventured to hold such a body of doctrine as Tract XC. set forth. The essentially Protestant mind of the country was shocked at the attribution of a theology practically indistinguishable from the Tridentine, to a Church whose time-honoured boast was (as South had declared) that "it alone made Protestantism considerable in Europe." Such was the ultimate resolution of the idea, dogmatic, sacerdotal, hierarchical, of the movement of 1833. To this goal had it conducted its authors.

. (1) Preface to the third edition, p. xxiii. In the *Apologia*, pp. 114—120 and p. 139, Cardinal Newman tells us of his dismay when ancient ecclesiastical history disclosed to him veritable examples of a *Via Media* in the Monophysite and Arian heresies. See also the *Twelfth Lecture on Anglican Difficulties*.

"From beginnings so small, from elements of thought so fortuitous, with prospects so uncompromising," it had proceeded, "getting stronger year after year, until it came into collision with the nation and with the Church of the nation, which it began by professing especially to serve."¹

Tract XC. was received throughout the country with a storm of indignation, and the living rulers of the Establishment began to move. "These are they," Cardinal Newman says, "who reverse the Roman's maxim, and are wont to shrink from the contumacious and to be valiant towards the submissive."² This little touch of bitterness is not unnatural, but, *pace tanti viri*, I venture to say that Anglican bishops seem to have acted towards Tractarianism with much long-suffering, and in the event to have condemned it only when the primary obligation of fidelity to themselves compelled them to do so. Excellent men, but not heroic; respectable, but not sacerdotal; solidly adhering to things settled, and, in Mr. Carlyle's phrase, mainly occupied in burning their own smoke---what sympathy could they have had with such a movement? Indeed Tract I., in which the author declared that he "could not wish them a more blessed termination of their course than the spoiling of their goods and martyrdom," might reasonably have distressed and alarmed them. But for years they bore and forbore; it was difficult to be hard upon men who assured them that they were "Apostles true." And when at length they acted, in obedience to strong popular pressure, surely no action could have been milder. Contrast it with any conceivable action upon the part of Catholic bishops in respect of a Protestantising movement within the communion of Rome. Still, in the event they did undoubtedly pronounce against Tract XC. in a series of charges lasting through three years. "It was a formal, determinate condemnation." Cardinal Newman says, "I recognised it as a condemnation. It was the only one in their power."³ It was the beginning of the end. To the adverse verdict of public opinion, to the censure of academical Boards, he might have been comparatively indifferent. He had not entered upon his course to be turned aside from it *arbitrio popularis auræ*, or to quail before the *ardor civium prava jubentium*. But the condemnation of the episcopate was a fatal blow to the Tractarian party. Its leaders felt, Cardinal Newman tells us, that "their occupation was gone. Their initial principle, their basis, external authority, was cut away from under their feet. They had set their fortunes on a cast, and they had lost." "Henceforward there was nothing left for them but to shut up their school and retire into the country, . . . unless, indeed, they took up some other theory, unless they changed their ground, unless they strangely forgot their own luminous and most keen convictions," "ceased to be

(1) *Apologia*, p. 76. (2) "Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos." *Ang. Dif.* vol. i. p. 131.

(3) *Apologia*, p. 76.

what they were, and became what they were not," or, "looked out for truth and peace elsewhere."¹ These were indeed the three courses open to the adherents of the movement, and some followed one of them, some another. There were those who withdrew from a world not moving to their mind, to the seclusion of rural parishes, to reap the reward of toil unsevered from tranquillity, from the beneficent activity of an English clergyman's life and the soothing influences of his home. Many "vindicated the right of private judgment," modified their views, and cast in their lot with other sections of religious thought. No inconsiderable number, after more or fewer years of anxiety and suspense, determined that the Church of Rome was the true home of the theological idea which they could not surrender. Of these was John Henry Newman. It is unnecessary to dwell here upon the workings of his mind which led him to this conclusion. They may be followed, step by step, in the *Apologia* and the *Essay on Development*. It was on September the 25th, 1845, that his last words as an Anglican clergyman were spoken to the little knot of friends assembled in the chapel of his house at Littlemore to keep with him the anniversary of its consecration. There were few dry eyes there save the preacher's, as from the text which had been that of his first sermon nineteen years before, he spoke to them of "the parting of friends." "Man goeth forth to his work and his labour until the evening." "His sun was set, and even had come." They knew well what he meant when, in the sacred language which "veils our feelings while it gives expression to them," he bade them keep the feast, "even though in haste and with bitter herbs, and with loins girded and with staff in hand, as they who have no continuing city, but seek one to come."²

It is now more than thirty years ago that Cardinal Newman seceded from the Church of England. Since then, he tells us, "I have no further history of my religious opinions to narrate." And he adds, in explanation, "In saying this I do not mean that my mind has been idle, or that I have given up thinking on theological subjects, but that I have had no variations to record, and have had no anxiety of heart whatever." "I have never had one doubt." "It was like coming into port after a rough sea."³ Although, however, there is no further history of Cardinal Newman's religious opinions to be added to the *Apologia*, there is a memorable chapter of his religious activity to be written. The Tractarian movement has certainly been of much importance to the Church of Rome, even as regards its direct and visible results, which are those of the least moment. I do not think it is too much to say that to it, in large measure, is due all that most signally distinguishes the present position of Catholics from

(1) *Anglican Difficulties*, vol. i. p. 134.(2) *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, p. 399.(3) *Apologia*, p. 238.

that which they occupied half a century ago. No doubt the Act of Emancipation rendered possible the change which has come about. But as the Catholic body then was in England, its condition was hardly such as to enable it to profit to any large extent by that great measure of justice. Far be it from me to write one word sounding in disparagement of men for whom I entertain a reverential admiration which no words can adequately express. Who indeed can but revere and admire the indefectible fidelity of that heroic band of hereditary confessors? No Englishman, surely, can fail to be touched by it. Still I suppose it is an unquestionable fact of history that the political, educational, and social disabilities of centuries had told disastrously upon the Catholics of England. How could it have been otherwise? For generations they had dwelt in darkness and in the shadow of death, and the iron had entered into their souls. *Sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber, sicut vulnerati dormientes in sepulchris*, is the true description of the state in which they found themselves when they were once more admitted to their constitutional rights. It was opportune, then, that the fresher zeal, the wider cultivation, the uncramped energies of the band of proselytes whom Cardinal Newman headed, were placed when they were at the service of Catholicism in England. The new blood brought into the Catholic Communion is certainly a very important result of the Oxford movement; and its importance is not restricted either to the geographical limits of this country, or to the chronological limits of this age. Still I do not think I am hazarding a doubtful prediction in saying that in the long run the most considerable product of Tractarianism, so far as the Catholic Church is concerned, will be found to be her gain of John Henry Newman, her acquisition of this one mind—a mind upon a level with that of Pascal or Bossuet, and uniting to much which was highest and best in both, great endowments that were given to neither. It is very difficult, however, to set down in writing anything that will convey a just impression of the work which Cardinal Newman has done and is doing for the Church with which he cast in his lot more than three decades ago. The writings which he has published, great as their effect has already been, represent only a small portion of it. From his retreat at Birmingham has gone forth through the Catholic world the same subtle influence which once went forth from Oriel and Littlemore, an influence profoundly affecting events, not in their more vulgar manifestations which meet the eye, but in their secret springs and prime sources. To others he has left conspicuous positions and

“The loud applause and aves vehement,”

which have greeted their achievements there, himself taking unquestioningly that lowest place which his ecclesiastical superiors

assigned him, going forth, as of old, to his work and to his labour in his appointed sphere; and now, in the "calm sunset of his various day" as unquestioningly obeying the voice of authority bidding him go up higher, and setting him among the princes of his people. And it is his singular happiness that he has lived to see the cloud of misconceptions which so long hung over him pass quite away. The good opinion of his countrymen has always been dear to him, and he has regained it. Comparatively few Englishmen share his religious opinions. There are fewer still who do not respect the motives which led him to embrace them, the spirit in which he has held them, the tone in which he has advocated them; who do not discern in him a shining example of the qualities which are the especial boast of the English name; who do not venerate in him a great intelligence devoted to the noblest ends and guided by the purest affections.

Let me now turn from the man, and endeavour to give some account of some of the more prominent features of his work. And first I would note that throughout his long career the deep underlying convictions which have guided him have been unchanged. Not only is it true of him that "his wandering step" was ever "obedient to high thoughts," but it is also true that the thoughts have always been, in substance, the same. As an Anglican his battle was on behalf of the dogmatic principle. As a Catholic he has carried on the same battle, under different conditions. He quitted the Church of England when he became convinced that it was in no true sense dogmatic, but, as he has recently expressed it, merely "a civil Establishment daubed with doctrine."¹ And he says in another place:—

"There came upon me an extreme astonishment that I had ever imagined it to be a portion of the Catholic Church Forthwith I could not get myself to see in it anything else than a mere national institution. As if my eyes were suddenly opened, so I saw it—spontaneously, apart from any definite act of reason or any argument; and so I have seen it ever since. . . . I gazed at [the Catholic Church] almost passively—as a great objective fact. I looked at her; at her rites, her ceremonies, and her precepts; and I said, this is a religion; and then when I looked back upon the poor Anglican Church, for which I had laboured so hard, and upon all that appertained to it, and thought of our various attempts to dress it up doctrinally and esthetically, it seemed to me the veriest of nonentities."²

This is the main thesis of Cardinal Newman's earlier Catholic sermons and of those *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*, which are perhaps the most powerful work of religious controversy in the English language;—that the Church of England is not an oracle of religious truth, that Catholicism is the natural, logical, and true home of the idea of Tractarianism. It is not that he is insensible to

(1) *Via Media*, vol. i. p. 339, note of 1877.

(2) *Apologia*, p. 340.

much that is winning and excellent in the national worship; its "decency and order," "the pure and beautiful English of its prayers," "the piety found among its members." "There is all this," as he ungrudgingly recognises, and much more, to attract the mind to it. But he adds:—

"Attachment is not trust, nor is to obey the same as to look up to and to rely upon; nor do I think that any thoughtful and educated man can simply believe or confide in the *word* of the Established Church. I never met any such person who did, or said he did, and I do not think that such a person is possible. Its defenders would believe if they could; but their highest confidence is qualified by a misgiving."¹

And the course of events in the Anglican communion has been such as to add point to his argument. The defeat of Tractarianism was the victory of Liberalism, and Liberalism has reaped the full fruits of its triumph. One judgment after another of the Supreme Appellate Court of the Established Church has deprived it of any semblance of dogmatic character which it may once have possessed, and reduced it to the position of an exponent of the most conflicting opinions on theological subjects. If Bishop Watson has rightly defined Protestantism to be "the right of saying what you think, and of thinking what you please," the Church of England is the most Protestant of ecclesiastical communities. The Tractarian movement has done much for Anglicanism as a sentiment. It has been fatal to it as an ecclesiastical system. And to John Henry Newman—the great leader of that movement—is due the most crushing demonstration that the National Church cannot claim to be, "in however narrow a sense, the guardian of orthodoxy."²

So much may suffice with regard to Cardinal Newman's action in the Anglican controversy. It is, as I have observed, a continuation of that championship of the dogmatic principle which distinguished him as a Protestant. And the same may be said of his course with regard to the controversies as to Catholicism. While he has strenuously combated, on the one hand, the Liberalism, which strikes at the root of the dogmatic principle, he has, on the other, been an equally uncompromising opponent of those who, as he judged, sought to overlay the Catholic creed with private interpretation, and to impose their unauthorised shibboleths as authoritative teaching. A "jealous vindication against tyrannous *ipse dixit*, of the range of truths and the sense of propositions, of which the absolute reception may be required," is among the most marked characteristics of his

(1) *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, p. 232. So Mr. Emerson: "The Church at this moment is much to be pitied. She has nothing left but possession. If a Bishop meets an intelligent gentleman, and reads fatal interrogations in his eyes, he has no resource but to take wine with him."—*English Traits*, p. 102.

(2) *Anglican Difficulties*, vol. i. p. 7.

later writings, and nowhere, perhaps, has he more strongly displayed it than in dealing with a document so much and so ignorantly talked of both by Catholics and Protestants, the *Syllabus Errorum*, issued by command of the late Pope in 1864. Before proceeding to his argument, that this catalogue of errors has in itself no dogmatic force, that it is a mere index *raisonné*, the value of which lies in its references; that the aversion of educated Europe towards it arises mainly from misinterpretation of the theses condemned, from ignorance of the language of scientific theology, and from the reading of the propositions apart from the context, occasion and drift of each, he interposes words of indignant protest against "those who wish and try to carry measures, and declare they have carried, when they have not carried them;" and adds the caution, that utterances which "are really dogmatic must be read by definite rules and by traditional principles of interpretation, which are as cogent and unchangeable as the Pope's own decisions themselves."¹

It is not necessary, however, for me to pursue this subject, and I gladly leave unstirred theological dust now happily fallen, to glance, in concluding this article, at Cardinal Newman's treatment of another question of far profounder and more general interest. It is, indeed, the great question of the day, lying as it does at the root of all philosophy. Is any knowledge of God possible?—any knowledge of His existence as a fact?—any knowledge of Him as a person?—and, if so, how? I need hardly say that to present with any fulness Cardinal Newman's mind upon this matter would be an undertaking very far beyond my present limits, involving as it would, with much else, an exposition of his whole doctrine as to certitude and the logical cogency of faith. All I can pretend to do here is to indicate as briefly as may be consistent with clearness the outlines of one important branch of his argument; and I shall endeavour to do this, as far as possible, in his own words. His main principle is that which he originally learnt from Butler—that probability is the guide of life. "Formal logical sequence," he observes—

"is not, in fact, the method by which we are enabled to become certain of what is concrete, and it is equally plain what the real and necessary method is. It is the cumulation of probabilities, independent of each other, arising out of the nature and circumstances of the particular case which is under review, probabilities too fine to avail separately, too subtle and circuitous to be convertible into syllogisms, too numerous and various for such conversion, even were they convertible."²

"This," he says—

"is the mode in which we ordinarily reason, dealing with things directly and as they stand, one by one, in the concrete, with an intrinsic and personal

(1) *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, sec. 7.

(2) *Grammar of Assent*, p. 281.

power, not a conscious adoption of an artificial instrument or expedient.”¹
 “From the nature of the case, and from the constitution of the human mind, certitude is the result of arguments which, taken in the letter, and not in their full implicit sense, are but probabilities.”²

And so, in religious inquiries, he holds informal inference to be the real and necessary method. By religion he means the knowledge of God, of His will, and of our duties towards Him; and he finds three main channels which Nature furnishes for acquiring this knowledge, viz. our own minds, the voice of mankind, and the course of the world, the most authoritative of these, as specially our own, being our own mind. To Cardinal Newman our great internal teacher of religion is conscience, a personal guide, which he must use because he must use himself, and nearer to him than any other means of knowledge.³ He puts away abstract questions; he does not consider “how far external existences are in all cases necessary to the action of the mind, because, in fact, man does not live in isolation, but is everywhere found as a member of society.” He deals with no *individuum vagum*, but with man as the experience of life presents him, and with the man he is best acquainted with—himself, because he knows what has satisfied and satisfies himself; if it satisfies him it is likely to satisfy others; if, as he believes and is sure, it is true, it will approve itself to others also, for there is but one truth.⁴ Conscience, then, to him is the voice of God within, “teaching not only that He is, but what He is,” “the special Attribute under which it brings Him before us, and to which it subordinates all other Attributes,” being “that of justice—retributive justice.”

“Hence its effect is to burden and sadden the religious mind, and is in contrast with the enjoyment derivable from the exercise of the affections, and from the perception of beauty, whether in the material universe or in the creations of the intellect. This is that fearful antagonism brought out with such soul-piercing reality by Lucretius, when he speaks so dishonourably of what he considers the heavy yoke of religion, and the ‘*æternas pœnas in morte timendum*’; and, on the other hand, rejoices in his *Alma Venus*, ‘*Quæ rerum naturam sola gubernas*.’”⁵

He looks within, then, and he finds, as he believes, that the existence of a God of Judgment is as certain to him as his own existence, however difficult it may be to put into logical shape the grounds of that certainty. He looks into the world, and there he sees a sight “which seems to give the lie to this great truth, of which his whole being is full.” “To consider the world,” he writes—

“in its length and breadth, its various history, the many races of man,

(1) *Grammar of Assent*, p. 324.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 286.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 385.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 380.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 386.

their starts, their fortunes, their mutual alienation, their conflicts; and then their ways, habits, governments, forms of worship, their enterprises, their aimless courses, their random achievements and acquirements, the impotent conclusion of long-standing facts, the tokens so faint and broken of a superintending design, the blind evolution of what turn out to be great powers or truths, the progress of things, as if from unreasoning elements, not towards final causes, the greatness and littleness of man, his far-reaching aims, his short duration, the curtain hung over his futurity, the disappointments of life, the defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the pervading idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary hopeless irreligion; that condition of the whole race, so fearfully yet exactly described in the Apostle's words, 'Having no hope, and without God in the world,'—all this is a vision to dizzy and appal; and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery, which is absolutely beyond human solution." "Were it not for the voice speaking so clearly in my conscience and my heart, I should be an atheist, or a pantheist, or a polytheist, when I looked into the world."¹

Thus does human life present itself to him. Such is the "heart-piercing, reason-bewildering fact" which he has to face. Is there any explanation of it? "I see only a choice of alternatives," he answers.

"Either there is no Creator, or He has disowned His creatures. Are, then, the dim shadows of His presence in the affairs of men but a fancy of our own, or, on the other hand, has He hid His face and the light of His countenance because we have in some special way dishonoured Him? My true informant, my burdened conscience, gives me at once the true answer to each of these antagonistic questions: it pronounces without any misgiving that God exists; it pronounces too quite as surely, that I am alienated from Him; that 'His hand is not shortened, but that our iniquities have divided between us and our God.' Thus it solves the world's mystery, and sees in it only a confirmation of its own original teaching."²

This, then, is his first step. The presence of God in the conscience, and the sense of sin, are to him the main truths of natural religion—the notorious facts of the case in the medium of his primary mental experiences. And here, before I pass on, I should remark, that irresistibly as Cardinal Newman finds the doctrine of the existence of God borne in upon him, he must not be supposed to be without a keen consciousness of the number and weight of the objections which may be raised against it—of the insoluble questions, the inconceivable, inexplicable mysteries which attend it—of the imperfection and incompleteness of the body of proof adducible for it—of the plausible excuses which may be urged for doubting it.³

(1) *Apologia*, p. 241.

(2) *Grammar of Assent*, p. 392.

(3) See sermon on "Mysteries of Nature and Grace" in *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, p. 263. So in *Oxford University Sermons*, p. 194, he remarks, "It is a great question whether Atheism is not as philosophically consistent with the phenomena of the *physical world, taken by themselves*, as the doctrine of a creative and sovereign power." But see the note in the last edition upon the words in italics. It must not be supposed that Cardinal Newman denies the validity of the argument from design in its place.

He recognises that "the main difficulty to an inquirer is firmly to hold that there is a Living God, the Creator, Witness, and Judge of men." And he thinks that, when once the mind is broken in "to the belief of a Power above it, when once it understands that it is not itself the measure of all things in heaven and earth, it will have little difficulty in going forward," not, indeed, that it necessarily must, but that it has passed a line—that "the great obstacle to faith is taken away."¹ "The very difficulties of nature," he judges, make it likely that a revelation should be made.

"That earnest desire which religious minds cherish, leads the way to the expectation of it. Those who know nothing of the wounds of the soul are not led to deal with the question or consider its circumstances. But when our attention is roused, then the more steadily we dwell upon it, the more probable does it seem that a revelation has been, or will be given to us. This presentiment is founded on our sense, on the one hand, of the infinite goodness of God, and on the other, from our extreme misery and need."² "You know there is a God, yet you know your own ignorance of Him, of His will, of your duties, of your prospects. A revelation would be the greatest of possible boons which could be vouchsafed to you. After all, you do not know, you only conclude that there is a God; you see Him not, you do but hear of Him. He acts under a veil; He is on the point of manifesting Himself to you at every turn, yet He does not. He has impressed on your heart anticipations of His majesty; in every part of creation has He left traces of His presence and given glimpses of His glory; you come up to the spot, He has been there, but He is gone. . . . The news, then, of a revelation, far from suspicious, is borne in upon our hearts by the strongest presumptions of reasons in its behalf. It is hard to believe that it is not given, as, indeed, the conduct of mankind has ever shown. You cannot help expecting it from the hands of the All-merciful, unworthy as you feel yourselves of it. It is not that you can claim it, but that He inspires hope of it; it is not you that are worthy of the gift, but it is the gift which is worthy of your Creator. It is so urgently probable that little evidence is required for it, even though but little were given. Evidence that God has spoken you must have, else were you a prey to impostures; but its extreme likelihood allows you, were it necessary, to dispense with all proof that is not barely sufficient for your purpose. The very fact, I say, that there is a Creator, and a hidden one, powerfully bears you on and sets you down at the very threshold of revelation, and leaves you there looking up earnestly for divine tokens that a revelation has been made."³

This is the second stage of his argument. His third point is, If there is a revelation, where is it? Christianity he considers to be the only complement which natural religion can have.⁴ But which of its innumerable varieties is the true form of Christianity? And here comes in the testimony of history. Christianity is a great fact in the world. Its founders set it up as a Church, a Visible Society,

(1) *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, p. 276.

(2) *Grammar of Assent*, p. 418.

(3) *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, p. 279.

(4) *Grammar of Assent*, p. 419.

a Kingdom. This was their work, not to write a book, or to put together a collection of documents, the Bible being, in fact, the creation of the Church, and deriving from her sanction an authority, the actual extent of which she has never defined. But where is this kingdom which Christ set up, if, indeed, it is still on earth? "If," he argues—

"all that can be found of it is what can be discerned at Constantinople or Canterbury; it has disappeared. . . . We must either give up the belief in the Church as a divine institution altogether, or we must recognise it in that communion of which the Pope is the head. . . . We must take things as they are; to believe in the Church is to believe in the Pope.¹ The question lies between the [Catholic] Church and no divine messenger at all; there is no revelation given us, unless she is the organ of it; for where else is there a prophet to be found? Your anticipation, which I have been speaking of, has failed, your probability has been falsified, if she be not that prophet of God. Not that this conclusion is an absurdity, for you cannot take it for granted that your hope of a revelation will be fulfilled; but in whatever degree it is probable that it will be fulfilled, in that degree it is probable that the Church, and nothing else, is the means of fulfilling it. . . . Turn away from the Catholic Church, and to whom will you go? . . . There is nothing between it and scepticism, when men exert their reason freely. Private creeds, fancy religions, may be showy and imposing to the many in their day; national religions may be huge and lifeless, and cumber the ground for centuries, and distract the attention or confuse the judgment of the learned; but in the long run it will be found that either the Catholic religion is verily and indeed the coming in of the unseen world into this, or that there is nothing positive, nothing dogmatic, nothing real in any of our notions as to whence we come and whither we are going."²

Such is, in substance, the solution of the great religious question of the day which commends itself to Cardinal Newman. Of those who are farthest from accepting it, there are, perhaps, not a few who will recognise that he has done much to clear the ground, and to present to the world the true issue.

W. S. LILLY.

(1) *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, sec. 3.

(2) *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, p. 283.

A SIMPLE WAY OUT OF THE INDIAN DIFFICULTY.

THE relation which exists between England and British India is unique in the history of the world. That one country should be subdued by another, and be governed by its victor, is quite according to the nature of things; that the country so subdued should be governed with reference to the interests of its conqueror is equally common. Such was the case with the provinces of Rome until victor and vanquished were confounded in one common slavery. So in our own colonies, and in those of Greece and Rome, we see communities of great extent under the same sovereign as we are, but really governing themselves. It seems to have been reserved for us to add to the list yet another species of dependency, a government by the paramount State really intended, as far as the imperfection of human nature will permit, to administer the dependency entirely with relation to its own interests, even when they may seem to come into collision with our own. Such professes to be—and we do not doubt, due allowance being made for the imperfection of human nature—such really is the Government of India. We utterly disclaim the idea that we could under any circumstances deliberately inflict an injury on India for the good of England. Like the spirit in *Manfred*, “She did not send for us, we came unbidden;” and we must execute our task as nearly as we can in the manner in which it would be executed by a fairly-chosen Indian legislature acting with competent knowledge and solely with a view to the good of India. As the ancient moralists directed their pupils to think what a wise and prudent man would do and to do likewise, so we should think what a really wise and good native ruler would do, and act accordingly. Suppose that a question should arise where one of two innocent parties must suffer, we apprehend that a strict moralist would say that we are bound to give India the preference. We have chosen to take upon ourselves this mighty trust, this stupendous responsibility, and our only excuse for assuming the dominion over two hundred millions of our fellow-creatures is that we discharge the self-sought duty with the strictest justice and the highest ability. *Prima facie*, the English in India are in the position of buccaneers and interlopers. The presumption is all against them, and it is only by their good deeds that it can be rebutted.

It is in this spirit that we must consider the question before us. As we have taken upon our shoulders this burden, we must endeavour to discharge it in a manner worthy of our high professions and our good intentions.

Now, under our government and direction India is at this moment suffering as hard and cruel a visitation as ever fell upon any country. India—a poor, over-taxed, and over-peopled country—is, under the innocent name of loss by exchange, compelled to pay a tribute of upwards of three millions annually. This tribute has about it some very curious peculiarities. It is unlike other tributes in this, that though India loses by it, nobody gains. The only consolation which India can ever hope for is, that in the event of gold becoming as much depreciated as silver is now, England may sustain the same loss as India; India, instead of her present loss of upwards of three millions, sustaining no loss at all, but receiving no compensation for her present loss except its cessation. Again, this misfortune arises from no fault of the Indian people, but purely from the negligence and supineness of their governors, which governors we are. It is not like war or famine or pestilence, an evil which to a considerable extent is beyond our own control. It is the direct result of our own acts and doings of evils long ago foreseen, but evils which the hand of man has caused, and which the hand of man can assuredly take away. In other words, the terrible scourge which is draining the very life-blood of India is one which we have made, and can if we please effectually stop.

I will now proceed to state the undisputed facts which seem to me clearly to establish the proposition that a complete change in the monetary affairs of India is not a mere matter of policy, but of clear and absolute duty; so clear and so absolute that nothing but complete inability can excuse its neglect.

The simple case as between us and India is this. We found India, when we took possession of her some hundred years ago, in the enjoyment of a silver currency. At that time there doubtless was no particular reason for interfering with a currency which was associated with the habits and manners of the people, and in the diversity of which from our own there appeared no serious inconvenience. *Quieta non movere* is a good maxim as long as *quies* remains; the evil of it is, that it is apt to be applied after the condition on which it rests has passed away. As long as the expenses of India were paid in India, there seemed no very cogent reason for interfering with her monetary system, or for braving the ill-humour and discontent which is apt to follow on changes so intimately connected with the habits and prejudices of the people. I will not presume to say when the necessity for a change in this quiescent policy arrived. I am content with asserting that at least now it has come. The past is a matter of otiose speculation, the present is a subject of the deepest and liveliest interest and anxiety. The reason why we should, without delay, address ourselves to the question of the Indian currency is not to be found so much in the present state of things as in the relation

firmly established, and not likely to change, between the English and the Indian Governments. I base my opinion, not altogether on the present state of the Indian exchanges, but mainly on the folly and rashness of allowing a state of things to continue under which what is now happening can even be put as a conceivable case. In other words, I put the case not on the fact that India is now actually paying a tribute of upwards of three millions a year, which is a dead loss to her and no gain to any one, but because we, having made such a state of things possible, have left them to drift without striving to arrest the ruin which we are at this moment leisurely inspecting.

From causes perfectly well known, and necessarily arising out of the relation between the two countries, it has come to pass that India pays to England a sum of no less than seventeen millions a year. Couple with that the fact that the standard of England is gold and the standard of India is silver, and we have in full force all the elements of endless loss, disturbance, and fluctuation. The only condition under which operations so vast could be carried on without injury to one side or the other, would be that ten rupees should always be equal in value to a sovereign. Everything is staked on the permanence of the relation between gold and silver, and that, of course, depends on two very uncertain factors, the relative fecundity of the mines producing the two metals and the relative demand for each of them. England must be paid her seventeen millions annually, in gold or its equivalent. To India the payment has assumed all the proportions of a gigantic gambling speculation. If silver became appreciated with reference to gold, India is *pro tanto* the gainer; if gold became appreciated with reference to silver, India is to that extent the loser. I submit that under these conditions it was, or at any rate is, the duty of England to guard India, who looks to her for guidance and protection, from the terrible hazard which this state of things implies. We ought not to gamble with the interests of those over whom we have constituted ourselves the guardians, and it is our bounden duty to protect them by every means in our power. It is quite evident now, if it was not evident before, that without insisting on the present disastrous circumstances, the maintenance of two separate currencies, a golden currency for England and a silver one for India, is entirely inconsistent with and subversive of the pecuniary relations in which the two countries stand to each other. Even supposing the chances of loss or gain to India to be equal, you cannot afford to gamble so high. To lose as India is now losing is ruin. To win, even if we were to suppose the chance of loss and gain equal, is by no means an equivalent. The chance of winning that which India can do without by no means counterbalances the loss of that which she is not able to spare. The loss cannot be counted in mere money when a nation gives reasonable ground for believing that it

is unable to meet its engagements. But not only is failure infinitely more detrimental than any success in the matter of exchange, how brilliant soever, can possibly be beneficial, it is also very much more probable. The relative value of gold to silver has, if we go back to our earliest knowledge of the subject, a decided tendency to increase. In the time of Darius the son of Hystaspes, we are told by Herodotus that gold was thirteen times the value of the same weight of silver, and this notwithstanding the depressing influence on the price of gold which must have been exerted by the vast deposits obtained by Cræsus in the rivers of Asia Minor. Notwithstanding the discoveries in America and the hoards of nature in California and Australia, gold still holds its own. Indeed it is probable that this very abundance may really have contributed to raise its price, by furnishing the opportunity to several nations to discard as currency silver for gold. It must also be remembered that the very progress of civilisation itself bears forcibly on the tendency to elevate gold at the expense of silver. The whole history of commerce has been a constant struggle to make the means of payment as portable and as easy as possible. Cattle seem to have been the coin in use in the time of the Trojan war. Abraham knew nothing of money, but bought the cave of Machpelah by weight. The vast transactions of modern commerce are carried on by a system of exchange of drafts and bills. Is it likely that persons once accustomed to this compendious and portable currency will return to the beggarly elements of that silver from which they have at length emancipated themselves? What may be the immediate future of gold and silver is a question for experts, and it would be presumptuous in one who has no claim to such a character to offer an opinion upon it. But there is no presumption in saying that the same tendency which substitutes the silver threepenny-piece for the three copper pence, and the half-sovereign for the ten shillings, points to a coinage in the higher ranks of which silver will not play a leading part.

So that not only would not the gain of one year be no compensation for the loss of another, but the chance of loss seems much greater for India than the chance of gain. Why is it that we admit at once as a matter too clear for argument that it is expedient for the inhabitants of the same country to have the same coin, the same measures of length and capacity? It is to avoid the quarrels, the disputes, and frauds that inevitably follow the attempt to translate one standard into another. How can we suppose that England and India can deal with so vast a sum as seventeen millions annually without the gravest inconvenience, when the difficulty is aggravated by the use and choice as a standard of a commodity more variable and fluctuating than any other. We conclude, therefore, that the

question before us is not whether we ought to create a new standard for India, nor what that standard shall be, but how with the least disturbance and with the greatest advantage to India we can introduce a coinage similar to or identical with our own. On this subject it becomes one who has no pretension to the quality of an expert to speak with the utmost moderation and diffidence. I have no doubt that the change ought to be made. I have no doubt that it can be made, but on a matter so abstruse and difficult in itself, and so mixed up with the manners and customs of a race so near to and yet so remote from ourselves, I would rather follow others than venture to dogmatise myself.

This, however, appears to me quite evident, that if it is worth while to enter on so vast an undertaking as seriously meddling with the laws which regulate the transactions of two hundred millions of the human race, the business must not be done by halves. Great as is the grievance inflicted on India, it seems to me that the change, if we once resolve to enter on it, can hardly stop with its removal. If we are to venture on the rehabilitation of the rupee by bringing it up to the tenth part of a sovereign, if we are to create a standard equal to our own gold currency, why should we not reap the full fruit of the seed we have sown? It is, I believe, in our power to confer upon India a boon which would not only relieve her for ever from the fearful drain which she suffers from adverse exchange, but to place at her disposal resources which would go very far to extricate her and us from a pecuniary position on which no thinking person can reflect without anxiety. In order to make my meaning intelligible we must go back to old books and to first principles.

"A well-regulated paper currency is so great an improvement in commerce that I should much regret if prejudice should induce us to return to a system of less utility. The introduction of the precious metals may with truth be considered as one of the most important steps towards the improvement of commerce and the arts of civilised life, but it is no less true that with the advancement of knowledge and science we discover that it would be another improvement to banish them again from the employment to which during a less enlightened period they had been so advantageously applied."

These memorable words were written in 1816 by Mr. Ricardo, a man of the very highest ability, better versed than any one of his time in the theory of political economy, and thoroughly trained and experienced in the practical dealings with money, by his skill in which he acquired a large fortune. As far as I know, these opinions are unanswerable, and I shall until they are answered believe them to be so. The business of money, as Aristotle tells us with his usual clearness and good sense, is to measure commodities so as to facilitate and supersede the operation of barter. To do this by the introduction of a commodity possessing itself intrinsic value is obviously no necessary part of the process. All that is required for a currency is

that it should be legal tender, and that it should be so limited in quantity as neither to rise above nor sink below the value of the coin which it represents. This can easily be done by enacting that the Government shall always be ready to give notes for bullion and bullion for notes, so that the currency will be the same as if it were all gold, while it will be in truth all paper. Every one is aware that pieces of stamped paper, if made by law legal tender, circulate just as freely as gold. The difficulty which has arisen has been, not in negotiability, but in security from depreciation. Every one knows that where this depreciation arises there is no limit imposed by law on the amount of the issues of paper, and that the remedy is in the hands of the Government. There is nothing in the nature of things which makes paper a less efficient currency than gold. Paper can be made legal tender for a debt, and gold can be no more. In order to enjoy the full benefits of a gold currency there is no necessity that I can see to coin a single ounce of gold. The fact that bullion of the value and of the fineness of the English sovereign will be given for notes, say of the value of £100, will secure the holders of notes from depreciation just as well as if they held the gold itself. Nothing can be so unreasonable as because an entirely unguarded issue of notes has led, as it always sooner or later will lead, to over-issue, to extend the prejudice so created to the case where such a miscarriage has been rendered impossible. It is as if a man were to refuse to enter a mine with a safety-lamp because without it there is danger of an explosion from fire-damp. But though there is no practical difference at all in point of safety between a gold currency and a paper currency convertible into gold at the pleasure of the holder, provided he holds enough to make the operation worth the trouble, there is all the difference in the world as to the pecuniary position of the State possessing a paper currency and a State from which paper is excluded. We have been so long in the habit of considering the immense amount of gold that circulates among us as an inevitable necessity, that I hardly expect to be thought serious when I assert that our gold currency is a great waste, instead of, as it is generally believed, the only security for a metallic standard by which the value of all other things is to be measured.

But though the contraction and expansion of a paper and a metallic currency may be made for all practical purposes identical, there is a great difference between the two operations, as regards the countries which employ the one or the other. People talk of gold flowing into a country till they seem to have convinced themselves that this is a gratuitous process, and to have banished from their mind the undoubted fact that for all the gold which enters the country an equivalent value must be given. The difference between the two

uses which may be made of gold, is the difference between reserving a comparatively small sum in bullion, to correct by the liberty of purchase any tendency of a paper currency to expansion or contraction, and the manufacturing, paying for, and perpetually renewing the whole metallic circulation of the State. We are at our wits' ends to discover means for relieving the almost desperate finances of India; and we neglect or despise an expedient which would not only effectually deliver India from the fearful loss by exchange, but would enrich her just in the proportion in which the note circulation replaces the present silver, and what would have been the future gold currency. Thus it is in the power of the Indian Government, not only to extricate itself from its tribute of upwards of three millions a year, but to obtain, without taking anything from any one, an enormous sum which must otherwise be expended in the purchase and maintenance of the future gold currency. When a gold standard is once established by means of notes convertible into gold when tendered in sufficient quantities, it will be easy to demonetise the rupee by limiting its privilege as a legal tender to small sums, as is the case with our own silver currency. If any one asks me by what steps and proceedings I should propose to give effect to these principles, I frankly confess that I am unable to answer; nor do I think that the solid truth which, I believe, is contained in these suggestions should be regarded with less attention because I am not presumptuous enough to enter into details which can only be satisfactorily answered by an expert in Indian finance.

I will now proceed to answer, as well as I can, the objections which have been, or are likely to be, made against a proposal which I would fain believe contains in it, at any rate, the germ of great good to India and of no small advantage to England, who must share her prosperity and her adversity.

I object, in the first place, to any argument drawn from the opinion that what we are doing may have some tendency either to raise the price of gold, which is already too high, or to reduce the price of silver, which is already too low. Revolutions are not made with rose-water; and if we can rescue a vast community for whose welfare it has pleased us to make ourselves responsible from something like ruin, we shall stand absolved in the sight of all reasonable men, whatever may be our agency upon the Exchanges. This work, if it is to be done at all, is not of an age but for all time, and must be attempted in a spirit elevated above the hopes, fears, and calculations of the moment. It may be urged that the Government must have the same amount of bullion in its coffers as if it had a purely gold currency, for if not no one would believe in it. But the question is not one of belief, but of law. If the paper currency is made by law a legal tender for debts, whether believed in or not, it will effectually

wipe them out. Besides, the power of obtaining gold for paper if only demanded in quantities sufficient to prevent frivolous applications and waste of public time will effectually keep paper and gold at the same standard, and prevent the currency of notes from being too much expanded.

It may be asked, If you introduce a gold currency or paper which is absolutely equivalent to gold except in the expense of producing it, what is to become of the enormous quantity of rupees now in circulation, or how will you make them into a token currency? The answer is that, owing to a very peculiar state of circumstances, we have a token currency in India already. How utterly unfit the rupee is for the duties of a standard is evinced by the melancholy state of the Indian exchange. The nearest approach to it would with us be found if we had no gold currency, but relied for our standard of value on our two-shilling pieces. The difference between the imaginary case and the case of India is that, while so fearfully depreciated as an article of export, the rupee is not depreciated at all as an instrument of internal commerce. Whether this arises from the vast extent of India, from its comparatively imperfect communications, from inveterate habit, or from some other cause, I cannot pretend to say; but this I think I see plainly, that it is a state of things peculiarly favourable to the permanent introduction of a token silver currency restricted to payments of small sums. Had the rupee been depreciated as much in India as it is in Europe, its sudden appreciation would probably have produced a fall of prices extremely disastrous to the native trader. But from all this we have been saved because a singular coincidence has already placed the rupee in the position in which we should wish to place it for the purposes of the change; depreciated so as to remain in the country, appreciated so as to form without any change or hardship at all a local currency and a legal tender for small sums, and yet offering no obstacle in the shape of bimetallism to the introduction of a standard based upon gold. We ought to consider that so anomalous a state of things is not likely to be permanent. If left alone, the depreciation of the rupee is sure to extend to India, and we shall have to contend in addition to other difficulties with the distress and misery incident to a rise of prices which is sure to be laid to the account of the new measures, instead of to causes which are at this moment already in full operation.

It may be urged that such measures as we are considering will lower the price of silver. That in the first instance is probably true, but is not a reason which should weigh with us when we are considering the welfare of India. If we are to wait till we have found some remedy which will save India without inflicting any inconvenience upon any one, we may as well resign ourselves to the chapter of accidents, and give up the case in despair. We may

remark, in passing, that supposing a gold standard to be adopted, one of the uses to which the very large funds which would be placed at the disposal of the Government by the introduction into general use of paper instead of gold, would naturally be the purchase of a large quantity of the silver no longer needed for circulation, which would *pro tanto* relieve the market.

Among those who object to the employment of paper instead of gold appears the honoured name of Mr. Mill. The only advantage gained, he says, would be that of exemption from the necessity of keeping any reserve of the precious metals, and he proceeds to argue that this is not of any great value. But in the first place it is not true that we should be so exempt. We must still keep a sum in hand perfectly adequate to correct any undue expansion of the note issues. Neither is it true that this is the only advantage which we should gain. If we supersede gold by paper, we gain absolutely for the use of the State all the bullion which now constitutes the currency, except the comparatively small quantity which is required to support and restrict the volume of the circulation. Not only so: we gain also for the State all the increase as the currency expands. The symptom of the need of expansion would be the appreciation of the paper currency, and that would lead to the introduction of more gold in exchange for the appreciated paper; so that, unless the currency is to be stationary, much will be received from this source also. Strangely enough no one has pointed out this more clearly than Mr. Mill himself. "An issue of notes," he says, "is a manifest gain to the issuers, who, until the notes are returned for payment, obtain the use of them as if they were a real capital, and so long as the notes are no permanent addition to the currency, but merely supersede gold or silver to the same amount, the gain of the issuer is a loss to no one. It is obtained by saving to the community the expense of the more costly material." How this is to be reconciled with the assertion that this is not a very important consideration, I cannot imagine.

Another objection of Mr. Mill is that there would be a possibility of fraudulent tampering with the price of bullion, for the sake of acting on the currency in the manner of the fictitious sales of corn. I can quite understand that when the duty on corn is lowered, if corn rise to a certain price, there may be a motive to accelerate or produce that price by fictitious sales; but how any such purpose can be effected where, whatever the price, if the transaction only be of the required magnitude, gold can always be exchanged for notes or notes for gold, I cannot imagine. It puts me in mind of the sharper and the pickpocket playing at cards, when, though neither had any money, the sharper could not forego cheating, nor the thief keep his hands out of his antagonist's empty pockets.

"A still stronger consideration," says Mr. Mill, "is the importance of adhering to a simple principle. Every one can understand convertibility. Regulation by the price of bullion is a more complex idea, and does not recommend itself through the same familiar associations." This is quite true, but it seems to me to prove that currency based on the exchange of paper for gold and gold for paper, like the one proposed, would be intelligible and acceptable. As these are the only arguments Mr. Mill produces, I think I may fairly say that he has done little or nothing towards establishing his case.

The objection which is the most intelligible is that the currency would be debased, and the revenue defrauded by forgery. That Government notes would, any more than any other kind of instrument, be absolutely free from forgery I cannot assert. That it would prevail to any great extent I do not believe, considering how large a part of the transactions of mankind is carried on through the cancelling in the clearing-house of cheques set off against each other. Consider the large powers of issue which remain to county banks; consider the issue of bank-notes by the Bank of England. How plausible would be the objection if this were about to be tried for the first time, and how great the apparent strength of the argument that forgery would render all these fine paper-schemes impossible. The cry of the more timid part of the community would be, "Let us stick to bullion, for then we shall be safe." But, according to this reasoning, why bullion? It is nearly as easy to falsify coin as to forge paper; it is only the difference between one kind of rascality and another. We are told that the father of the present Sir Henry Bessemer devised a paper-currency for France which it was found impossible to imitate, and that his son introduced a method of stamping which put an end to very serious frauds on our own revenue. Why is every one else to be able to surmount this difficulty, and the Indian Government to quail before it?

It will not escape my readers that, though there are many opponents to a paper-currency based on the power of exchanging paper for gold and gold for paper, though they all agree in the same conclusion, they all arrive at it from different premises; they are far surer of their conclusion than of their reasons—the argument of Mr. Mill, for instance, is, for so great a logician, surprisingly weak. The truth is that we have to deal rather with prejudice than conviction. The jargon of the little shilling and of wealth to be obtained, not by labour but by endless issues of worthless paper, have cast a discredit on the really wise and safe proposals of Ricardo, which were his last contribution to economical science, the mature results of the study of a life. Any stick is good enough to beat a dog, and any answer, however careless and inconclusive, is good enough, when supported by inveterate prejudice, to refute one of the greatest

masters of the theory and practice of economical science whom the world has seen.

In McCulloch's *Life and Writings of Ricardo* prefixed to the edition of his Works, occurs the following passage :—

“In this pamphlet he, Ricardo, examined the circumstances which determine the value of money when every individual has the power to supply it, and when that power is restricted or placed under a monopoly; and he showed that in the former case its value will depend, like that of all other freely supplied articles, on its cost, while in the latter it will be unaffected by that circumstance, and will depend on the extent to which it may be issued compared with the demand. This is a principle of great importance, for it shows that intrinsic worth is not necessary to a currency, and that provided the supply of paper notes declared to be legal tender be sufficiently limited, their value may be maintained on a par with the value of gold or raised to any higher level. If, therefore, it were practicable to devise a plan for preserving the value of paper on a level with that of gold, without making it convertible into coin at the pleasure of the holder, the heavy expense of a metallic currency might be saved. To effect this desirable object Mr. Ricardo proposed that instead of being made exchangeable for gold coin, notes should be made exchangeable for bars of gold of the standard weight and purity. This plan, than which nothing can be more simple, was obviously fitted to check the over-issue of paper quite as effectually as it is checked by making it convertible into coin; while as bars could not be used as a currency, it prevented any gold from getting into circulation, and consequently saved the expenses of coinage and the wear and tear and loss of coins. Mr. Ricardo's proposition was recommended by the Committee of the House of Lords and Commons appointed in 1819 to consider the expediency of the Bank of England resuming cash payment, and was afterwards adopted in the Bill for their resumption introduced by Mr., now Sir Robert, Peel. In practice it was found completely to answer the object of checking over-issues, but inasmuch as it required the place of sovereigns should be filled up with one-pound notes, the forgery of the latter began to be extensively carried on, and it was wisely judged better to incur the expense of recurring to and keeping up a mixed currency than to continue a plan which, although productive of a large saving, held out an all but irresistible temptation to crime.”

I have cited this passage for two reasons. The first is, to point out that in the recent debate in the House of Commons there does not appear to have been a single person, at least of those who alluded to the subject, who had the least knowledge of these proceedings. Had some speakers looked a little more into the subject we should hardly have heard a plan, the theoretical soundness of which is vouched by the respected names of McCulloch and Ricardo, described as “a paper standard of value based on an ideal redemption of gold—a redemption seemingly as ideal as anything that ever perplexed the brain of the most bewildered student of metaphysics;” nor would another gentleman have failed to understand how a currency as good as gold, in which gold is to have no part, can be devised. The second reason for introducing the passage was to point out an error into which Mr. McCulloch has fallen. Any one reading the passage which I have quoted would suppose that the plan of Ricardo for introducing notes exchangeable for gold had been made the law, and

then repealed on account of the prevalence of forgery. The first is only partially true, the latter is not true at all. By the 4th section of the 49th Act of 1819, the "Act for resuming Cash Payments," it was enacted that at any time after May, 1821, and before May, 1823, when any person shall tender to the Bank notes of the value of 60 ounces of gold, the Bank shall pay to him such quantity of gold, of the fineness declared by law to be the standard of the gold coin of the realm, the same being assayed and stamped, as shall, at the rate of £3 10s. 10½d., be equal to the notes so presented.

From this it is quite clear that the plan, an alternative one, was only to be in force for two years and then dropped out of the Act, and was not repealed as McCulloch seems to have imagined; and that as one-pound notes were not abolished till 1827, forgery, which could be carried on up to that time, could have nothing to do with the Act which dropped by efflux of time.

I have reserved to the last the plan of Colonel Smith, a gentleman so profoundly versed in the subject of which he treats, that it is to be feared that he takes for granted in his readers a knowledge of the subject much nearer to his own than will be found to exist. Colonel Smith proposes, either gradually or at once, to bring the rupee up to the standard of gold by closing the mint of India to the silver bullion of private persons, and by instituting a fixed price at and not under which gold will be admitted for coinage. I see no reason to doubt that such a plan would have the effect attributed to it. The late Mr. Bagehot, while objecting to the proposal on the threefold ground that it would in the course of its introduction bring confusion into trade, be the cause of much illicit coinage, and interfere with the profits which India derives as emporium for silver in the East, admitted that the plan would have the effects that Colonel Smith ascribed to it; and I cannot help thinking that had his valuable life been prolonged till this time he would not, in the face of the present emergency, have insisted on objections which, however just, can hardly be considered to be of paramount importance.

Thus far, as it appears to me, the plan of Colonel Smith would accomplish the purpose which it is designed to attain; it would by the stoppage of the mint and the signorage raise and maintain the rupee at the value of one-tenth of an English sovereign. I do not feel quite so certain, probably from some oversight of my own, of the working of so much of the plan as suggests that, side by side with the appreciated silver currency, a golden currency may be introduced. I cannot help fearing that we may thus introduce a double standard, and be landed in alternations from one to the other whose result it may not be easy to foresee. But whether right or wrong, I am quite ready to admit that the plan of Colonel Smith as regards the appreciation of silver would be a very great improvement, and

would at any rate, as admitted by Mr. Bagehot, remedy the terrible situation under which India is now suffering.

With unfeigned diffidence I venture to prefer the suggestion of limiting the currency of the rupee to amounts of small value, and introducing by such means as Indian experts may think best a paper currency, sustained at par with gold by the right to require bullion for notes and notes for bullion in certain specified quantities. This would give all the advantages of the plan of Colonel Smith, and, in addition to basing the exchange on a perfectly sure and equal footing, place at the disposal of the Indian Government a very considerable portion of the two hundred millions which are said to constitute the present currency of India.

Of course with such a treasure it would be easy without taxing or borrowing to discharge the debt of India and to complete her system of railways. How strange that the treasure should be lying at our feet, and that we will not stoop to pick it up when the alternative is something like national bankruptcy.

It seems strange to say so, but it is nevertheless true, that there is nowhere so much difficulty in obtaining a fair hearing as in matters of finance a little out of the usual course. The parson is naturally on the defensive, and prefers his old *mumpsimus* to your new *sumpsimus*. The lawyer often listens with impatience to the notions of an age more enlightened than that in which his code was framed. But for thorough unreasoning and dogged obstruction, commend me to a thriving and highly-respected man of business, especially if the business be inherited. By that single fact he becomes an oracle. Why should he waste his time in thinking, when the balance at his banker's testifies for him that he is entirely master of the mysteries of his profession? Why tire his eyes with reading, when he is already master of all that has and all that can be said on the subject? To try to impart to such a person a new idea is a sort of insult, for it implies that there is anything left for him to learn, which, as the mathematicians say, is absurd. If it be difficult to argue with the master of twenty legions, it is equally vain to propose anything new to this master of a prosperous business. If you doubt this, look at the reception which the currency question received from persons who are engaged in actual business. They professed that they did not understand it—which was no doubt perfectly true, but not understanding it they were equally sure that it was wrong. The proposal was no novelty, it was only a novelty to them. They evidently knew nothing of the principles on which Sir R. Peel's Bill for returning to cash payments was framed; nothing of the proposal of Ricardo, which obtained the approbation of the Committee of both Houses; nothing of its temporary incorporation into an Act of Parliament. Of course they were ignorant of Ricardo's posthumous work on the

question, and of Mill's and McCulloch's opinions, both of whom admit that the measure would have the effect attributed to it; and yet this enormous amount of non-knowledge does not prevent them from offering the most decided opinion on questions of the very rudiments of which they are uninformed. Of by far the most formidable objection, the fear of forgery, the only objection that occurs to McCulloch, they appear never to have heard. I can only hope that this protest against condemnation without trial, by judges by no means overburdened with the necessary knowledge, will induce others to refer to the works of Ricardo himself, his *Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency*, and his posthumous work, *Plan for the Establishment of a National Bank*. To persons who have read these two books the decision of the controversy will not only be possible but easy.

ROBERT LOWE.

SAINT-EVREMOND.

It is recorded that Archbishop Turpin once appeared in a dream to a trouvère named Nicolas of Padua, and enjoined upon him for the health of his soul to put the veracious *Chronique* into verse. This Nicolas proceeded to do, and in order to make the matter sure, extended his version to some twenty thousand lines. On this, M. Léon Gautier, who tells the story, and who, though a pious Catholic, is a Frenchman, remarks, not unnaturally, "Le ciel se gagnait alors bien laborieusement." It is at any rate certain that a good many French authors would, on such terms, have but little chance of any heaven, literary or other, and of hardly any French writer is this truer than of the famous courtier, wit, and free-thinker whose name stands at the head of this page. As a writer, Saint-Evremond, though one of the least voluminous of his kind considering the numerous forms he tried, had once a commanding reputation, and though it may have become somewhat dim, it is not yet extinct. The piratical booksellers of the end of the seventeenth century are said to have more frequently ordered "du Saint-Evremond" from their hacks than any other compound, and to this day it is sometimes difficult to separate accurately the false work from the true. Although Voltaire was not too just to his forerunner, the popular estimate of the relation in which the two stand to one another is sufficiently accurate. With Pascal and Bayle Saint-Evremond constitutes the immediate literary ancestry of the author of *Candide*, and perhaps displays more of the special characteristics of his descendant than either of the other two. Yet it would probably be difficult, even for those who have more knowledge of French literature than the average Englishman possesses, to name many of Saint-Evremond's works, much more to give an account of them. For Englishmen, however, Saint-Evremond has some special interest. He lived for nearly half his long life amongst us, and, unlike some other refugees, he had a decided love for our nation. He was the first Frenchman of distinction to give anything like a rational or critical account of any portion of English literature. Besides all this, and notwithstanding the fact that he was a Frenchman of Frenchmen, he had a strongly English vein in his composition, and serves as a link to explain the close connection that for some half-century existed between English and French belles-lettres, a connection which was by no means a matter of mere court influence or fashion, and which is as little apparent after the death of Chesterfield as it is before the manhood of Dryden.

Charles de Marguetel de Saint-Denis was born at Saint-Denis-le-

Guast, near Coutances, on the 1st of April, 1610, and died at London on the 20th of September, 1703. Men of letters in France in the seventeenth century, who were also men of rank, had a curious habit of living to the most surprising ages, and Saint-Evremond, like Fontenelle and Saint-Aulaire, was almost a centenarian. His family was a good one, allied to the best houses of Normandy, and his father was fairly wealthy, but he himself (with a designation which he took from one of the family estates) was the third of seven children, and his portion was modest, though sufficient for the time. At no period during his life was he wealthy, and it is only fair to remember that, in his time, almost any man who had birth, brains, and a good address could obtain wealth if he chose. When he was nine years old he was sent to Paris, and entered at that famous school which, under the successive names of Collège de Clermont, Collège Louis le Grand, and Lycée Louis le Grand, has educated so many of the greatest men of France. Like several other pupils of the Jesuits, Saint-Evremond requited the pains of his instructors with not very welcome *θρέντρα*, but for his special master, the Père Canaye, he seems to have entertained affection, and the raillery with which he treats him in a notable conversation is good-humoured enough. After four or five years of school he returned to Normandy, and studied philosophy at Caen, whence he was moved to the Collège d'Harcourt. Destined for the law, he worked for some time at it, but soon took to a more congenial occupation, accompanying Bassompierre and Créqui on the Italian expedition of 1629-1632. After this, the Thirty Years' War gave him abundant occupation in the North, and he served for several years in the Netherlands and on the Rhine, the comfortable system of winter-quarters permitting him plenty of opportunities both of study and society. In 1639 he made the acquaintance of Gassendi, and learnt from the great Neo-Epicurean the doctrines which coloured all the rest of his life and work. He was present at the siege of Arras, at Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nordlingen (in the last of which fights he was severely wounded), at the capture of Dunkirk, at the battle of Lens. This gave him something like twenty years of foreign service, and he afterwards took a part in the intestine disturbances of the Fronde. For many years he was a favourite and constant companion of Condé, but some real or reported slips of his sharp tongue angered the great leader, and Saint-Evremond lost his favour. During the Fronde he adhered steadily to the Royalist side, which he aided not merely with his sword, but with a satire on the Norman partisans of the Duke de Longueville. Under his friend, the Duke de Candale, he enjoyed some employments in Guienne, from which he succeeded in amassing, during the space of two years and a half, the sum of fifty thousand livres, a considerable amount

for the time, though there does not seem to be any evidence to show that he abused his opportunities. Among his other friends was the common friend of all men of letters, Fouquet, and it was this acquaintance which was at any rate the occasional cause of his disgrace. On Fouquet's downfall he accompanied Louis XIV. to Brittany. But he left behind him, in the care of the superintendent's friend, Madame de Bellière, a case of papers, which fell into the hands of Colbert, as the result of a domiciliary visitation to which the lady was subjected. The case contained a copy of the "Letter on the Peace of the Pyrenees," in which that arrangement was very sharply criticised. Colbert, as usual, did not lose the opportunity of crushing a friend of his rival, and little was wanted to rouse the susceptible vanity of Louis. Warned of danger, Saint-Evremond for a time wandered about the provinces, thinking that the storm might blow over; but it did not, and he finally made his way to England.

Here he was welcomed with open arms by the King, by courtiers of the stamp of Buckingham and Rochester, and by literary men, such as Waller and Hobbes. Charles gave him a pension of three hundred a year, which was probably paid, inasmuch as long afterwards we find Saint-Evremond eulogising the place of his exile as one "where guineas were plentiful, and where there was full liberty to spend them." In 1665, the plague year, he retired to Holland, and stayed there for some time, but England was much more to his taste, and he returned to our shores after a year or two, nor did he ever afterwards quit them. Soon, too, he had an additional tie to the country. Hortense Mancini, Duchess Mazarin, tired of battling with her half-lunatic husband, came to England, and Saint-Evremond at once established himself as her mentor, lover, and satirist, all in one. His influence undoubtedly had not a little to do with the formation of her salon, and with its reputation for wit and easy living. In the early days of his exile he had, through the Count de Lionne and others, made some overtures for his recall. There is, however, a sarcastic flavour about his apologies which Louis, who was no dullard, may very possibly have perceived; and besides, it seems probable that Saint-Evremond's free-thinking (though of a very decent, moderate, and unaggressive type) was made to work against him by the King's spiritual advisers. However this may be, no recall was granted, and by degrees Saint-Evremond ceased to desire any; so much so, that at length, when, after the English Revolution, a restoration to favour was offered him, he declined it. The Revolution itself made no difference to him. William, whom he had early known and admired in Holland, regarded him with quite as much favour as the Stuarts, and the society of England suited him far better than the new faces and other minds of Versailles could pos-

sibly have done. The death of his Hortense in 1699 was doubtless a blow to him ; but he survived her as well as William and most of his early friends, dying in 1703 at the age of ninety-three. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and the soil of Albion, which had certainly not been perfidious to him, still holds his bones. His bust and tablet may be seen in Poet's Corner, immediately to the right of Prior's monument, and above that of Sharp.

It was in England, and at the extreme end of his life, that the first and only authoritative collection of his works was made. He had long refused to publish, and most of his productions circulated, if they circulated at all, in manuscript. Like all his contemporaries, however, he suffered from pirates, and not unfrequently had "works" of his submitted to him, which did not contain a single line of his writing. At last he took counsel of the well-known man of letters, Des Maizeaux, and put into his hands what he supposed to be the whole of his work. But he seems to have admitted that his memory might in some cases play him false, and advantage of this was taken after his death to begin once more the attribution of spurious works. Saint-Evremond has more than once undergone the process of selection which he both needs and deserves. The two most recent of these selections are a volume of the Collection Didot edited by M. Hippeau, and a better printed and more ambitious one by M. Charles Giraud. The latter contains a huge biographical introduction which takes some four hundred pages to reach the date of its hero's exile, and seems to have been regarded by its author as a sort of waste-pipe for relieving himself of his miscellaneous knowledge of the period. It is remarkable that (at least to my knowledge) none of the industrious publishers who, in the last few years, have put forth pocket-*editions de luxe* of the little masterpieces of French literature, has given a volume or two to the author of the *Conversation du Père Canaye* and the *Letter to Créqui*.

Saint-Evremond's literary attempts did not begin till he had already reached middle life, and till the Thirty Years' War was drawing to a close. I have said that in the intervals of his campaigns he devoted himself to society in Paris. That society was in the full swing of the literary fashion which the starting of the Academy and the formation of the Rambouillet and other *côteries* called forth. Almost the earliest work which came from Saint-Evremond's pen was the *Comédie des Académistes*, a satire on the immortals which was attributed to more than one of their own body. From that time until his death, nearly sixty years afterwards, it was rare for any considerable time to elapse without his writing something. These productions were invariably of the occasional order. One of the peculiarities of the time was its affection for particular literary forms in which the wits of the period could vie with one another.

Such were the famous sonnets of the Uranistes and Jobistes; such the short historic sketches of striking events of which Sarrazin and De Retz set the example; such, later, the fairy tales in which mobs of gentlemen and ladies who wrote with more or less ease vainly endeavoured to rival Hamilton and Perrault. There were, however, certain styles which were peculiarly popular, which were specially well suited for this class of composition, and which have resulted rather surprisingly in the production of some of the masterpieces of the world's literature. Such are the *Pensée*, the *Maxim*, the *Portrait*, the *Conversation*. Saint-Evremond did not much affect the shorter forms in which his great contemporaries, Pascal and La Rochefoucauld, were to obtain imperishable renown. But his characters, his portraits, and his conversations are among the very best of their kind. The moralising tendency, of which Montaigne had set the fashion, was never stronger than in him, and he showed it in almost every production of his pen. In the art of tale-telling he had a singular skill, and his short history of the Irish *illuminé*, Valentine Greatrakes, strikes one, as do many of his other writings, with a curious sense of modernness as compared with most of the literature of the period. At all times he was greatly given to professed moralising on religious and philosophical matters, and he has left not a few *Pensées*, *Reflections*, and *Discours*, dealing directly with religion. History, however, and public business were far from being neglected by one who had in his time been an active soldier and politician. His letter on the peace of the Pyrenees is the most authentic cause which has been assigned for his disgrace, and his longest and most regular work consists of reflections on the character of the Romans at different times of their history. The historical and moralising spirit unites with that of literary criticism in some papers on the captains of his time, Turenne, Condé, Beaufort, and on some of those of antiquity, as well as on the historians, ancient and modern, who had dealt with them.

A considerable part of his work consists of almost purely literary criticism; tinged, it is true, by an infusion of the moralising of which Saint-Evremond rarely divests himself wholly. He was, like Madame de Sevigné and others of the brightest wits of the time, a staunch supporter of Corneille against the rising popularity of Racine; and his parallel of the latter's *Alexandre* with Corneille's work drew from the older dramatist a warm acknowledgment. Drama, not merely French, but Spanish, Italian, and English, came in for much of his attention, and he has also left a large number of critical discourses in the taste of the time (a taste which perhaps might be revived without much harm) for dealing with more abstract literary questions. Like all his contemporaries he dabbled in poetry, and I fear I cannot say that his dabbings were any more successful or

productive than was the case with most of those contemporaries. Last, but not least, comes to be mentioned his correspondence, in which many of his best things occur. Like much other correspondence of the time, it was intended to be at least semi-public, and we find him alluding to expressions of his own in letters which had evidently got abroad and had become the subjects of general comment. Nor was his early legal education entirely without result in the work of his later life, and it may have stood him in some stead when he composed for his beloved Hortense Mancini a formal reply to the formal complaint of her doubtless sorely tried but almost equally trying and indeed half-insane husband.

The *Conversation du Maréchal d'Hocquincourt avec le Père Canaye* is fortunately short enough to be given here in full, with some slight necessary omissions. It needs no prelude except to say that the scene is laid in the middle of the Fronde, that Canaye was Saint-Evremond's tutor at the Collège de Clermont, and that D'Hocquincourt was a typical French noble of the time and a lover of the famous Madame de Montbazon, the ghastly legend of whose burial is well known :

"I was dining one day with Marshal d'Hocquincourt at Peronne, when Father Canaye, who was of the party, turned the conversation by degrees upon the submission of reason which religion asks from us. He told us of some bran-new miracles and some entirely modern revelations, and ended by observing that the plague was not more to be shunned than those free-thinkers who wish to examine everything by the light of reason.

" 'Who talks about free-thinkers?' said the marshal; 'nobody knows them better than I do. Burdouville and Saint Ibal were my particular friends, and, indeed, 'twas they who drew me over to the side of M. de Soissons against Richelieu. Do I know the free-thinkers? Why I could write a book about them and their speeches. When Burdouville died, and Saint Ibal went to Holland, I made friends with La Frette and Sauveboeuf, who were not exactly geniuses, but very good fellows. La Frette was a capital companion, and a great friend of mine. I think I showed my friendship in his last illness. I saw him dying of low fever like an old woman, and it made me quite mad to think that La Frette, who had fought with the greatest fire-eaters of the time, was going out like a candle. Both of us, Sauveboeuf and myself, were anxious to keep up our friend's character, and I made up my mind to blow his brains out that he might die like a man. I was just putting the pistol to his forehead when a rascally Jesuit who was there struck up my arm and spoilt the shot. It vexed me so that I became a Jansenist at once.'

" 'Ah, monseigneur,' said Father Canaye, 'observe how constantly Satan is on the watch, and how he goes about seeking whom he may devour! You take a trifling grudge against our society, and he improves the occasion to surprise and devour you. Nay, he does worse than devour you, he makes a Jansenist of you. Oh! let us be watchful. It is impossible to be too watchful against the enemy of the human race.'

" 'The father is quite right,' said the marshal. 'I have been told that the

devil never sleeps, and one must meet him on his own terms and keep on the alert. But never mind the devil, let us talk of ourselves. For my part I used to love war above all things, after war Madame de Montbazon, and after Madame de Montbazon philosophy.'

" 'It is reasonable,' said the father, 'that you should love war, monseigneur, for war loves you, and has loaded you with honours. Do you know that I too am a man of war? The King has made me hospital chaplain in his army of Flanders; is not that being a man of war? Who would ever have believed that Father Canaye would become a soldier?' I am one, monseigneur, and I find that I do God just as much service in the camp as I used to do Him at the Collège de Clermont. There is, therefore, no harm in your loving war. To go to war is to serve one's king, and to serve one's king is to serve God. But as for Madame de Montbazon, if you regarded her with eyes of concupiscence, I hope you will excuse my remarking that your wishes were culpable. I am sure, monseigneur, that you did not. You loved her with an innocent affection.'

" 'What, father! do you want to make me out a fool? I can assure you that Marshal d'Hocquincourt has been taught better than that. I meant, father, I meant—— You know quite well what I meant.'

" 'Fie! fie! monseigneur; what do you mean by "I meant?" Our good fathers would be quite shocked at that "I meant." But you are joking. When one is an old soldier one becomes accustomed to all sorts of ways of talking. Well! well! as I said, you are joking.'

" 'Not in the least, my good sir,' said the marshal. 'Do you know how much I loved her?'

" ' *Ueque ad aras*, no doubt, monseigneur.'

" 'I don't know about *aras*, father. But look here,' said the marshal, taking up a knife, and gripping the handle very hard, 'if she had told me to kill you, this knife would be deep in your heart at this moment.'

" Now the good father was shocked at the tone of this conversation, and still more at the marshal's excitement. He had recourse to secret prayer, and prayed very heartily to be delivered from his state of peril. But as he was not entirely confident of the success of this method, he kept shuffling away from the marshal by a gentle process of movement on his seat. The marshal followed him in exactly the same way, and as he kept the knife raised, one really might have thought that he was going to carry out his idea. Natural malice made me enjoy his reverence's alarm for a moment, but at last I became afraid that the marshal in his transport might turn jest into earnest, and so I reminded him that Madame de Montbazon being dead, there was, fortunately, no danger of peril from her to Father Canaye.

" 'Ah, yes,' said the marshal, 'heaven does all for the best. The loveliest of all women was beginning to look askance on me. She had a little wretch of an Abbé de Rancé always about her, a miserable little Jansenist, who talked to her in public about grace, and in private about very different subjects. That made me break with the Jansenists. Before that I used not to lose a single sermon that Desmares preached, and I swore by all the Port Royal people. Since then I have always had a Jesuit as a confessor, and if my son has sons I will have them educated at the Collège de Clermont on pain of being cut off with a shilling.'

"Oh, how admirable are the ways of Providence!" cried Father Canaye. "How deep are the secrets of its policy! A little Jansenist dandy admires a lady of whom monseigneur is fond, and a merciful Providence avails itself of the spirit of jealousy to restore monseigneur to the fold. Wonderful, indeed, are its judgments!"

"As soon as the good father had finished these pious reflections, I thought that I might as well say something, and I asked the marshal whether he had not said that philosophy had succeeded Madame de Montbazou in his affections.

"Philosophy! I should think so!" he said. "I have been only too fond of it. But I have got clear of it now, and I shall not go back. There was a deuce of a fellow who so muddled my brains by talking of our first parents and apples and serpents and cherubims and paradises that really I was within an ace of believing nothing at all; in fact, I didn't believe anything at all, hang me if I did. But now I am ready to go to the stake for religion's sake. It isn't that I see the sense of it; on the contrary, I see less sense than ever. But still I would go to the stake for it without knowing why, and that is all I can tell you."

"So much the better, monseigneur," said the father in a tone slightly nasal, but very devout, "so much the better. This is not the doing of man, but of God. "I see no sense in it." That is true religion, that is. "No sense in it!" How gracious Providence has been to you, monseigneur. We are told to be as little children. Children are innocent; and why? because they have not got any sense. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for they do not sin." Why? Because they have no reason. "I don't see any sense in it." "I can't tell you why." "I don't know why." What beautiful words! They ought to be written in letters of gold. "It is not that I see any sense in it; on the contrary, less than ever." Certainly this is the work of heaven, for those at least who know how to appreciate heavenly things. "No sense in it." How gracious Providence has been to you!"

"It is possible that the father would have pushed his holy detestation of sense and reason still farther, but at this moment letters were brought to the marshal from the Court, which put an end to the edifying discourse. The marshal read his letters to himself, and when he had done so he was good enough to communicate their contents to the company. 'If I wished to play the politician,' said he, 'like some people, I should go into my study to read my dispatches, but I always act and speak openly. The cardinal tells me that Stenay is taken, that the Court will be here in a week, and that I am to have the command of the besieging army to go and relieve Arras with Turenne and La Ferté. I have not forgotten that Turenne let M. le Prince beat me when the Court was at Gien; perhaps I shall have a chance of paying him back in the same coin. If Arras could be relieved and Turenne beaten it would exactly suit me. I'll do my best towards it, and I say no more.' He would doubtless have told us all the circumstances of his battle and his grievance against Turenne, but news was brought that the convoy was already at some distance from the town, so that we had to take leave somewhat earlier than we should otherwise have done.

"Father Canaye, who had no mount, asked for one to take him to the camp. 'And what sort of a horse would you like?' said the marshal.

"I shall answer you, monseigneur, as the good Father Suarez answered the Duke of Medina Sidonia in like case, "*Qualem me decet esse; mansuetum.*" A gentle and peaceable beast, such as I ought to be myself."

"I know something of your Latin," said the marshal. "Mansuetum! That would suit a sheep better than a horse. Give my own horse to the father; I love his order and himself. Give him my good horse."

"I dispatched my business, and shortly rejoined the convoy. We got safely through, but not without some fatigue to Father Canaye. I met him during the march on M. d'Hocquincourt's good horse—a lively beast, never still, always champing his bit, shying and neighing after every horse he met, to the father's great dismay. 'Why, father,' said I, as I came up to him, 'is that a mount in the style of Suarez?'"

"Ah, sir," he began, "I am quite worn out; I can't stand it any longer." But at that moment we put up a hare. At once a hundred horsemen left the ranks to gallop after her, and there were pistol-shots fired enough for a respectable skirmish. The father's horse, well accustomed to fire, ran away with him, and made him in a minute outstrip all the hunters. It was pleasant to see a Jesuit showing the way to the field without the least intention of doing so. Luckily the hare was soon killed, and I found the father in the midst of a score of troopers, who were congratulating him on being in at the death, after a run which really might be called a providential interposition.

"He received their politeness with a good grace, and in his heart he began quite to despise Suarez' *mansuetum caballum*, and thought not a little of himself for the excellent figure he flattered himself he had cut upon the marshal's thoroughbred. But he soon had occasion to remember that fine saying of Solomon, *Vanitas vanitatum, omnia vanitas*. As he grew cool he felt a pain to which excitement had hitherto rendered him insensible, and vainglory giving place to real anguish, he regretted the repose of his society and the sweets of the peaceful life he had quitted. But his meditations were useless. The camp had to be reached, and he was so tired of his steed that I could see he was quite ready to leave Bucephalus to his own devices, and head the infantry on foot.

"I consoled him for his woes, and partly cured them by giving him the most easy-going animal that he could possibly have desired. He thanked me a thousand times, and was so sensible of my courtesy that, forgetting his cloth, he talked to me more like a frank and open-hearted man than a wary Jesuit. I asked him what he thought of M. d'Hocquincourt. 'He is an excellent gentleman,' he said; 'indeed, a precious soul. He has left the Jansenists, and we are much obliged to him; but, for my part, I shall not sit next him again at table, and I shall never borrow another horse of him.' Satisfied with this first confidence, I thought I would try to draw him out further. 'What,' said I, 'is the origin of the terrible enmity between you and the Jansenists? Is it really due to a difference of opinions about grace?' 'That would be absurd,' he answered. 'It is folly to think that our mutual hatred is due to divergence of opinion on such a point. Neither grace nor the five propositions have really set us by the ears. It is all due to rivalry in the direction of consciences. The Jansenists found us in possession of the confessional, and wished to drive us out. To do so they adopted a plan of action diametrically opposite to ours. We use gentleness and indulgence, they affect austerity and rigour. We

soothe souls by pointing out God's mercy, they startle them by dwelling on His justice. They apply fear while we use hope, and try to subdue where we try to attract. We both of us wish to save souls, but each wishes to have the credit of the process; and, to be plain with you, the interests of the director generally take precedence of the salvation of the penitent. I am speaking to you in a way very different from that in which I spoke to the marshal. With him I was simply the Jesuit, with you I use the openness of a soldier.'

"I complimented him very much on the changed sentiments with which his new profession had inspired him, and he appeared to like the compliment. I might have gone on longer, but as night approached we had to part, the father apparently as much pleased with me as I was amused at him."

I am much mistaken if the modernness of this does not strike most readers in a work which dates from 1656. Of the same year, and almost more surprising, is the following charming argument on the question "Whether a Catholic or a Protestant makes the best wife?":—

" 'You tell me that you are in love with a girl who is a Protestant, and that, were it not for the difference of religion, you think you could make up your mind to marry her. If you are so minded that you cannot bear the idea of being separated from your wife in the next world, I should advise you to marry a Catholic. But if I were a marrying man, I think I should prefer a lady of a religion different to mine. I should be afraid that a Catholic, being sure of her husband's society in the next life, might, perhaps, take a fancy to the society of a lover in this. I have an idea, too, which is not a common one, but in the truth of which I am disposed to believe. It is that the reformed religion is as favourable to husbands as the Catholic faith is advantageous to lovers. The Christian liberty of which Protestants boast tends to form a certain spirit of resistance, which helps women to defend themselves from the insidious approaches of a gallant. On the other hand, the submission which Catholicity demands predisposes them to allow themselves to be conquered. And, indeed, a soul which can resign itself under persuasion to what is unpleasant ought not to make much difficulty in yielding to what is delightful. The reformed religion seeks only to establish regularity of conduct, and regularity easily becomes virtue. Catholicism makes women much more devout, and devotion easily becomes love. The one, again, teaches only abstinence from what is forbidden. The other, which admits the virtue of good works, allows its votaries to commit some trifling acts from which they are told to abstain, at the price of doing a good deal of good which they are not strictly enjoined to perform. Protestant chapels, moreover, are a great safeguard to husbands, while Catholic churches are the reverse. There are objects in our sacred buildings which only too often inspire amorous sentiments. In a picture of the Magdalen, old ladies may take her repentance as expressing the austerity of her life; young ones will take it for a trance of swooning passion; and while the former may think chiefly of the saint, the latter are likely to find considerable matter for meditation in the history of the sinner. . . . '

" 'I shall be safe then,' you will say, 'if I marry a Protestant.' I shall answer in the words of the excellent Father Hippothadée to Panurge, 'Yes, if

it please God.' A wise man leaves this matter to Providence, expecting from it safety, and from himself, in any case, equanimity."

For a third and still shorter example we may take the portrait of the Duke de Candale. It will, I think, bear comparison even with the best of such things, of which it is hardly necessary to say the century produced, both in France and England, masterpieces that have never been surpassed or equalled :—

"As M. de Candale made a sufficient figure in the world to leave behind some curiosity as to his character, it may not be amiss to give a regular description of it. I have known few people who had so many discordant characteristics. But he had one great advantage in his intercourse with other men. Nature had prominently exposed all his amiable traits, and had hidden those which might have proved repulsive in the recesses of his heart. I never saw a man more impressive than his. All his personal characteristics were amiable, and he made the most of parts which were of no extraordinary merit, so as to be an agreeable companion. A slight acquaintance produced a liking for him. A thorough intimacy could not be long kept up without exciting disgust, since he was little careful to preserve your friendship, and very capricious in the display of his own.

"As he was thus careless of his friends, men of sense effected their retreat from his society without making any outcry, and reduced the connection to mere acquaintanceship : but sentimental persons would often complain of him as of a faithless mistress, from whom they could not tear themselves. Thus his personal charms kept him up in spite of his defects, and found a lingering tenderness even in justly irritated souls. For his own part, he lived with his friends as ladies are wont to do with their lovers. Whatever service you might have done him, he ceased to like you when you ceased to please, being easily sated with a long-standing intimacy, and as fully alive to the charms of a new friendship as are the other sex to the exquisite tenderness of a dawning passion. For all this he would let his old ties stand without attempting to break them ; and he would have been a little annoyed at a violent rupture on your part, such a thing having a sort of roughness about it which did not suit his temper. Besides, he did not like to exclude the possibility of a *redintegratio amoris*, should you once more render yourself agreeable or useful to him. As he was a lover of pleasure and a man of business, keenly alive to his own interest, he came back to you for any amusement you could offer him, and would even seek you if you could do him a service. He was at once avaricious and prodigal ; fond of the show which could be made by expense, but grudging the expense which was necessary for show. He was vain, yet not unaccommodating ; selfish, yet not treacherous ; qualities which found themselves strangely assorted in the same person. It would have been very disagreeable to him to deceive you, and when his interest (which was the usual guide of his actions) made him break his word, he was ashamed of having broken it, and dissatisfied with himself until you had forgotten his offence. Then his affection for you rekindled, and he felt a secret obligation to you for having set him at ease with himself. Unless it was his interest to do so he rarely disobliged you, but you received as little good from his friendship as harm from his enmity ; and

between friends it is, perhaps, a subject of complaint to be obliged only for the evil which has not been done."

There are some points in this to which, I think, Swift was not unindebted in the most famous specimen of this kind of literature which we have in English—the character of Wharton. But it still more closely resembles in germ a weighty and most melancholy remark of Hobbes, for whom, as was natural, Saint-Evremond had a great admiration. "For the most part," says the sage of Malmesbury, in words which ought to be written in letters of iron over the door of any temple of friendship or of love, "they have much better fortune in love whose hopes are built upon something in their person than those that trust to their expressions and service; and they that care less than they that care more; which not perceiving, many men cast away their services as one arrow after another, till in the end, together with their hopes, they lose their wits." If we may trust Saint-Evremond, the Duke de Candale's friends, of whom the satirist himself was one, must have had occasion to meditate upon this.

One more extract of a very different kind will show the practical side of Saint-Evremond's epicureanism. He had, before his exile, a great reputation both as gourmand and gourmet, and belonged to a sort of informal society called "*Les Côteaux*," from their curious judgment in vintages. His friend (and the husband of a still greater friend) the Count d'Olonne, had fallen into one of those disgraces which were so frequent at the French court, and had had to retire to his estates. Saint-Evremond, an experienced exile, writes him a consolation. He begins by recommending books, especially Lucian, Petronius (for whom he had a somewhat disproportionate but easily explicable admiration), and *Don Quixote*, and then he passes to the root of the matter. It is only fair to premise, as a reminder, that Don Perignon had not yet made the wines of Champagne effervesce, and that the heresy (a most undoubted heresy) as to Burgundy was afterwards recanted:—

"Adjust, as far as you can, your tastes to your health. It is a great secret to know how to marry the agreeable to the necessary in a matter where they are generally opposed. To attain this great secret, however, nothing is necessary but temperance and nicety. And what trouble ought one to grudge in order to learn how to eat delightfully at meals—a thing which keeps body and mind in good order for all our other hours? A man may be temperate without being nice, but he cannot be nice without being temperate. Happy he who has both qualifications, for then his diet and his desires agree.

"Spare no trouble to provide yourself with champagne, were you two hundred leagues from Paris. Burgundy has lost all its credit with people of taste, and even the dealers only succeed in keeping up a remnant of its old reputation. No province gives us such excellent wines for all seasons as

Champagne, which supplies Ay, Avenay, and Haut Villiers till spring, and Tassy, Sillery, and Verzenay for the rest of the year. If you ask me which I like best of all wines, without attending to fashion, I shall tell you that Ay is the most natural of all—the wholesomest, the most free from earthy taste, the most delicate, in virtue of its peculiar peach flavour, and to my fancy the first of wines. Leo X., Charles V., François I., and Henry VIII., used each to keep a house at or near Ay, in order to make up their stocks of it more carefully, and amid all the weighty affairs which these great princes had to supply themselves with, Ay was not the least of their cares.

“Do not be curious in out-of-the-way meats, but prefer those which are easily procured. A very simple broth, neither too much nor too little done, should form the basis of every meal, as well for the cleanness of its taste as for its supporting qualities. Tender, juicy mutton, well-fed veal, white and delicate poultry, which has been fed but not crammed, fresh-caught quails, pheasants, partridges, rabbits, each with its proper flavour, are the meats which, season by season, should furnish your table. The moor-hen is excellent and to be well spoken of, but too rare where you are and where I am to be recommended. If an indispensable necessity makes you dine with some of your neighbours who have escaped the conscription by money or good luck, compliment them on their hares, their venison, and their wild boar, but be careful not to touch either, and let the same rule guide you as to ducks, and, I had almost said, teal. Of all brown meats let the snipe alone be saved by its flavour, though at some small cost to health.

“Regard all cook’s mixtures, such as ragoûts and hors d’œuvres, as a variety of poison. If you eat a little of them, they will do you only a little harm; if you eat much, the pepper, the vinegar, and the onions will surely spoil your taste, and in the end affect your health. Simple condiments which you apply yourself can do no harm. Salt and orange-juice are the best and most natural seasoning. Mixed herbs are more wholesome and better flavoured than spices, but they are not universally applicable. They must be employed with discernment, and so adjusted that they bring out the proper taste of the food without making their own flavour evident.”

These practical and minute instructions, which perhaps contain as sound a theory of cookery as has ever been put on paper, are completed by some equally practical hints on “the rule of not too much,” by some remarks on *ce qui regarde l’amour*, and even by some counsels on religious matters, so that M. d’Olonne had the whole duty of man put before him in a letter of some half-score pages. Perhaps parts of this letter might seem undignified to transcendental persons; but one may venture a guess that Saint-Evremond’s attention to these matters probably had not a little to do with his ninety-three years.

In making these extracts I have thought it well to show chiefly the lighter side of Saint-Evremond’s style and talents. But for this there are some other pieces which would perhaps have given a higher if not a truer idea of him. Such are, for instance, his admirable *Thoughts on French Tragedies*, a piece of criticism which for a con-

temporary of Boileau is altogether astonishing in the justness of its sentiments and principles. The same may be said of his strictures on the French historians of his time, and of his observations on Italian Opera, which contain the substance, and are probably the source, of all that Addison and Chesterfield—the latter our English Saint-Evremond—with many others since their time, have said about that singular growth. I do not hesitate to place these three pieces of criticism above anything of the kind which was written before the middle of the eighteenth century; while the views which they express hardly obtained general currency till the beginning of the nineteenth. Saint-Evremond is the best exponent of *goût* that I know. His fastidious liking for delicacy and refinement might have been thought to predispose him towards an unhesitating adoption of the extreme academic system of French criticism, with its rigid adherence to rule, its *doucereuse* tragedy, and its comedy formed on a plan for which even Molière was too lawless and farcical. Yet the native literary sense of the man, and his early associations with writers of the vigorous stamp of Théophile and Saint-Amand, kept him clear of these errors. His admiration of Corneille is as hearty, and at the same time as discerning, as admiration can well be, and towards Molière, though he is less enthusiastic, he is equally clear-sighted. But it is obvious that, while admitting his great merits, he could not like Racine. He had a great admiration for Ben Jonson, which, however, he probably took at second-hand from Waller, for his knowledge of English does not seem to have been quite equal to the appreciation of such intensely idiomatic work as *Bartholomew Fair* and *The Silent Woman*. In his judgments of ancient literature he is, like most men of his century, better worth listening to on Latin authors than on Greek. He has in especial some uncomplimentary remarks on Lucian, which are rather incomprehensible. But his comments on Virgil are not to be slighted, though they will scarcely satisfy the most ardent admirers of the Mantuan. Saint-Evremond, like other people since his time, evidently had some difficulty in refraining from looking at Virgil as at an Augustan *doucereux*. I may conclude these observations on his literary studies by noticing a very curious piece of verbal criticism on the word *vaste*. Saint-Evremond, whose taste in language was unerring, very properly objected to the use of this term as a mere synonym for “great,” and pointed out that its connotation includes the idea of desolation, wildness, or sterility, thus making the phrase *esprit vaste* by no means an unmixed compliment. His friend the Abbé and historian, Saint-Real, submitted this point to the Academy, and received from that courtly body, as might have been expected, an opinion adverse to that of the man on whom the sun of Marly was not shining. The dissertation in question is a half-satirical, half-

serious rejoinder. It contains some very acute literary argument, followed by a historical survey of the persons to whom the term *esprit vaste* might be applied. Finally, there comes (at least in the first draft, for Saint-Evremond cancelled it later) the following characteristic attack :—

“ ‘Come, gentlemen, would you yourselves have laboured for some forty years upon the exclusion of some dozen words from our language, were it not for the just aversion you have conceived to the *esprit vaste*? Your best-famed members have grown old on the strength of translations, judiciously making it their business to submit their judgment to that of others. Could anything be more opposed to the *esprit vaste*? Would you give vent to your genius in its full force, you might have produced historians worthy of the greatness of our State. But, gentlemen, you content yourselves with publishing some neatly turned story or some polished nouvelle. You evidently take all possible precautions against the danger of the *vaste*. Some of you dutifully imitate Horace; others are good enough to give us Greek and Roman works, done to suit the modern taste; no one gives the reins to his fancy. No doubt this is from fear of the *vaste*, wherein the just precision of your rules might run a risk of being neglected.

“ ‘I am not, therefore, disturbed, gentlemen, at the judgment you have delivered. Your writings contradict your words, and your works, everlasting protests against the *vaste*, quash your decision. In fact, all that you do is so admirably characteristic of *l'esprit borné*, that no man of sense can think you sincere in your approval of *l'esprit vaste*.’ ”

This passage, which concluded with a still more unkind though perfectly just hit at Racine and Boileau by name, Saint-Evremond changed into the following, which expresses more politely but perhaps even more pointedly its essence :—

“ ‘Si je ne me suis pas soumis au jugement que vous avez donné, c'est que j'ai trouvé dans vos écrits une censure du *vaste* beaucoup plus fort que celle qu'on verra dans ce discours. En effet, messieurs, vous avez donné des bornes si justes à vos esprits, que vous semblez condamner vous-mêmes le mot que vous défendez.’ ”

Great as was Saint-Evremond's reputation as a critic, his social and philosophical reputation was perhaps greater. Much of his written work is intimately connected with his attitude towards society. The earliest of all, or almost the earliest, consists of some maxims of the selfish-moralist kind, treated with less conciseness and literary brilliancy than those of La Rochefoucauld, but not altogether dissimilar in sentiment. The portrait of the Duke de Candale which I have given, and some other writings of his middle life, have also a certain tinge of unamiable hardness. But after his exile his tone is generally softer. His love-letters, of which we have a fair selection, are very perfect of their kind. Those to the chief divinity of his manhood, the beautiful and hare-brained Countess

D'Olonne, have a tone of bitterness about them which is sometimes almost Catullian. The correspondence with Ninon de Lenclos is mostly of a date when both the modern Epicurus and the modern Leontium (the latter name is his own) were far advanced in years. But that with Hortense Mancini is a model in its kind, and is perhaps the only instance of an old man making love on paper to a young woman, without at the same time making himself ridiculous. The *Portrait de Madame Mazarin* is altogether rapturous, though in nothing of Saint-Evremond's is his observance of due measure more evident. The letters show him alternately coaxing and scolding the duchess out of her numerous intended follies, looking after the parrot "Pretty" and the cat "Poussy" (which, on Mr. Lewis Carroll's principles, may be a compound of pussy and *poussif*, the latter not a bad name for a spoilt tabby), arranging excursions, organizing dinners, and so forth. For a septuagenarian not to be fatuous under such circumstances is surely hard enough. But Saint-Evremond is never fatuous, and the rare occasions on which he is tempted to murmur "Si vieillesse pouvait" save him from the charge of frivolity, without bringing upon him any counter-charge of unmanly melancholy. He was commonly called by his friends, especially Créquy and Grammont, *Le Philosophe*, and the appellation may suggest to any modern Plutarch of literature a pleasant parallel between the two men to whom in two following centuries it served as sobriquet. Our present subject had perhaps hardly as much right to the title as Diderot, yet it was not a misnomer in his case, nor was its application limited to the special sense which, as the *Conversation du Père Canaye* will have shown, *philosophe* had already acquired. His professedly serious work beyond the domain of literary judgment is not large. But what there is of it, historic or moralising, is so deeply tinged with a definite and practical system of life-philosophy that the dye cannot escape notice. A sentence in one of his earliest writings strikes the key-note of this philosophy, which he professed to have learnt from Gassendi, but in reality seems to have formed pretty much for himself. "Fame, riches, love, and pleasure, well understood and well managed, are of great assistance in mitigating the rigour of nature and softening the miseries incidental to life. Thus wisdom has been given to us chiefly for the government of our pleasures." To this principle he was faithful throughout his life, and the application of it threw a moralising, some would say a demoralising, cast over the attitude with which he regarded things in general. This indeed was common enough in the seventeenth century, and if men were then as likely to act merely on impulse as they are now, there was a much greater tendency to endeavour to reduce actions to some common principle. In no one was this tendency more marked than in Saint-Evremond. His own principle

may have been a narrow or an erroneous one. But he carried it out persistently with regard to his own affairs, and was anxious that his friends should apply it to theirs. His philosophy was not unlike that of a bird which makes its nest of all materials that can be laid hold of and made to serve. He never gave himself trouble about anything not likely to conduce to the living of a tolerably pleasant and honourable life; and he carefully avoided the doing of anything which might prove unpleasant or dishonourable. This perpetual study of probabilities and consequences conferred upon him, in many ways, an extraordinary long-sightedness, and there are probably few writers in whose practical judgments, if we put arbitrary prejudices aside, more wisdom is to be found. It is no wonder, therefore, that he should have hit the taste of a time which before all things preferred philosophising of a more or less practical kind, and which in Hobbes, Descartes, Malebranche, Locke, Spinoza, and Leibnitz produced a group of philosophic writers such as has never been at any time surpassed. Nor must it be forgotten that the form of Saint-Evremond's writings, little as it has conduced to their ultimate fame, was singularly calculated to give them vogue. Their great literary excellence, at a time when literary excellence was first beginning to be recognised, and their adoption of the fashionable forms of the time, could not fail of this result, while on the other hand both fairly entitle their author to an important place in the history of literature. In two things at least Saint-Evremond had no superior in his day, and he may be thought even to have had some claim to originality in both. The first was the application to serious and practical subjects of the ironic method; the second was the use of this method in fashioning light essays conveying important conclusions. In the first he serves as a link between Pascal and Voltaire; in the latter as a link of perhaps still more importance between Montaigne and Addison.

Saint-Evremond's portrait drawn by himself may not improperly help to conclude this paper. It is flattering, but hardly flattered, if we may judge both from the work he has left and from the testimony of others:—

"He is a philosopher who keeps aloof alike from superstition and from impiety; an epicurean, whose distaste for debauchery is as strong as his appetite for pleasure; a man who has never known want, but at the same time has never enjoyed affluence. He lives in a manner which is despised by those who have everything, envied by those who have nothing, appreciated by those who make their happiness and their reason agree. In his youth he hated waste, being persuaded that property was necessary to make a long life comfortable. In his age he cares not for economy, feeling that want is little to be feared when one has but a little time left to want in. He is grateful for the gifts of nature, and finds no fault with those of fortune; he hates crime, endures error, and

pities misfortune. He does not try to find out the bad points of men in order to decry them, but he looks for their foibles in order to give himself amusement; is secretly rejoiced at the knowledge of these foibles, and would be still more pleased to make them known to others, did not his discretion forbid. Life is to his mind too short to read all sorts of books, and to load one's memory with all sorts of things at the risk of one's judgment. He devotes himself not to the most learned writings, so as to acquire knowledge, but to the most sensible, so as to strengthen his understanding. At one time he seeks the most elegant to refine his taste, at another the most amusing to refresh his spirits. As for friendship, he has more constancy than might be expected from a philosopher, and more heartiness than could be looked for even in a younger and less experienced man. As for religion, he thinks justice, charity, and trust in the goodness of God of more importance than sorrow for past offences."

In this and other utterances of Saint-Evremond's we have the whole philosophy of the *Essay on Man*, and much of that contained in other writings as dissimilar to one another as those of Temple and Addison, Shaftesbury and Steele. Nor is this at all surprising, for in England the influence which Saint-Evremond exerted was far from being merely a social influence. In passage after passage of the great Queen Anne writers, his teaching and style are discernible. *The Conduct of the Allies* shows in point of style and flavour distinct reminiscences of the *Lettre sur la Paix des Pyrénées*. His characters and portraits foreshadow more clearly than any contemporary writings the great essayists of the decade immediately succeeding his death; and his philosophy, religious and practical, was the direct and immediate ancestor of the religious and practical philosophy of Bolingbroke and Chesterfield.

It will hardly do, no doubt, to judge him from the point of view of a strict or ascetic morality. His *epistola dehortatoria* to Louise de Querouaille, imploring her to pause before rejecting the advances of Charles II., and thereby subjecting herself to the chances of a lifetime of futile regret, is one of the oddest topsyturvifications of noble sentiment to be anywhere found. It might be bound up as a companion to *The Court of Love*, to Carew's *Rapture*, and to the famous passage in *Aucassin et Nicolette*. But Ninon's friend and Gassendi's disciple could hardly be expected to be a votary of the cult of sorrow and self-denial. As a man, Saint-Evremond's chief claim to respect is, that he fully appreciated and obeyed the maxim in which M. Leconte de Lisle has embodied the philosophy of life:—

" Le faible souffre et pleure, et l'insensé s'irrite,
Mais le plus sage en rit, sachant qu'il doit mourir."

If Saint-Evremond had no great troubles to undergo, he had troubles which to many men of his time appeared crushing enough. He was never rich, he made no great figure in the world, and he

fell under that displeasure of kings which, for the second time in history, seems to have had the singular faculty of crushing and paralysing the spirit even of men of no small merit and powers. As an exile from France and an outcast from the sunbeams of Louis' favour, Saint-Evremond permitted himself no abject entreaties or base compliances. He remained like Rotrou's saintly hero, "*debout et dans son rang.*" But as a figure in literary history he is of greater importance. He produced no work of magnitude, and even of his numerous small achievements only a few letters and essays possess intrinsic merit of a very high class; but he had the great merit of being original. In him we hear the first note of the tones which were to dominate French literature for a hundred and fifty years. He displays a combination of solid sense and cultivated taste with refined badinage and a certain independence of thought which is hardly to be met in French before him, and which, if often missed since, has at any rate been constantly aimed at. Voltaire was undoubtedly his scholar, and all the lesser lights of the eighteenth century have to acknowledge the same obligation at first or second hand. There were doubtless many things that he could not and did not do, but with these, according to the view which I venture to take of literary criticism, it is not necessary to concern ourselves. It is sufficient that what he did do is remarkable, that imitation of it has produced a large amount of literary work of high excellence, and that it stands in definite and sufficient contrast of style and manner to the work of other literary persons and periods. The list of writers of whose work as much may be said is far from being extensive, and in that list Saint-Evremond undoubtedly deserves a place of more distinction than has usually been accorded to him.

· GEORGE SAINTSBURY.

THE PROGRESS OF HEAVY ARTILLERY.

THE various questions in connection with heavy artillery are of such vital importance to a naval power like England, that a retrospect of the means whereby heavy artillery has attained to its present stage cannot but prove interesting, even to those persons who are unacquainted with the subject from a scientific point of view, and whose ideas must certainly be completely mystified by the different theories and views which during recent years have been so warmly supported by artillerists, both official and unofficial. The recent *Thunderer* catastrophe, by whatever cause produced, clearly demonstrates that the general belief entertained as to the indestructibility of our heavy ordnance, in particular with regard to its safety from bursting explosively, cannot any longer be upheld. Now it is of paramount importance that heavy guns should be so constructed as to render them virtually indestructible, and confidence cannot in the nature of things be perfectly restored until this has been effected. It would seem to follow, therefore, that the question which the new Heavy Gun Committee will chiefly have to consider is not whether the heavy guns of the present day are good of their kind, but whether they are the best guns which this country can produce, and, if not, which are the best? A most careful examination of the whole subject therefore becomes necessary. The great progress in the manufacture of iron and steel has for a long time made the construction of perfectly safe guns of the heaviest kind possible. It will, however, be found that there are two points which have mainly to be considered before a correct decision with regard to this question can be arrived at. One has reference to the method of the gun's construction, which is clearly a problem for eminent experts in metals, and the other relates to the law or principle of their design—the first being a question of metallurgy, the second of scientific gunnery. Now though these are two quite distinct matters of study, inasmuch as a perfect knowledge of the one is quite consistent with a complete ignorance of the other, yet, as in estimating the value of any particular kind of gun the power and efficiency of the latter will be found to depend so greatly on the material of which it is composed, the two questions can hardly be considered apart. Thus the scientific artillerist will be unable to obtain the highest practical results which his study and knowledge of the subject have shown him to be attainable without a proper metal and method of construction for his guns; nor will the person most deeply versed in the science of metallurgy be able to designate the best kind of metal and mode of construction for a gun, unless he possess a knowledge of the true

nature of the destructive agent he has to deal with. It will be seen also from this that a knowledge of the true nature of the action of fired gunpowder is the very keystone on which the stability of the whole edifice of the labours both of the artillerist and metallurgist, in connection with the construction and design of artillery, must depend, since, practically, the relative charges which can be continually fired with safety and convenience from guns of a given weight must determine the value of a given system. When heavy guns are constructed of an inferior kind of metal, it need scarcely be pointed out that it must detract very much from their efficiency.

A glance at the official list of the performances of our service guns will afford evidence that the relative power of these guns is much below what it ought to be. We can, therefore, only conclude that this is in consequence of their being constructed of an inferior kind of metal, that is, of wrought iron, whilst it is well known that the guns of other nations are being constructed of Bessemer's steel. Moreover, the plan adopted with the coiled wrought-iron guns of placing a steel tube, previously hardened in oil, in the interior of the gun, is notably most dangerous, and certainly wrong in principle, since the softer and more yielding metal should be placed in the interior of the gun, where the first shock of the explosion takes effect. This is also the opinion of a most eminent artillerist, viz. Sir William Palliser. Besides, unless the steel tube is most accurately fitted into the gun, it has to bear unsupported the whole force of the explosion, and, as a consequence, may give way without a moment's notice. Hitherto the question appears to have been treated by our authorities chiefly as if it were one of mere mechanical detail rather than (as it is) a scientific one, involving the consideration of nearly every law relating to the science of dynamics, the most difficult and imperfectly known of all sciences. A slight retrospective view of the progress of artillery, since the principle of the rifle was first adapted to cannon, will tend to make this evident. As an instance of how completely the question was considered at that time by the authorities to be one of mere mechanical detail and invention, it may be remarked that the great Armstrong and Whitworth competition, which cost the country so many thousand pounds, was ostensibly undertaken to determine the question whether a hexagonal form of rifling with a solid shot, or a multigroove form of rifling with a lead-coated projectile, was the best, though neither of them was considered worthy of adoption, since eventually a totally different kind of rifling from either was used.

Before the year 1851 the spherical ball was in general use both for cannon and small arms. During that year the so-called Minié musket, firing an elongated bullet, which required therefore the musket to be rifled, was introduced into the army by Lord Anglesea,

who was at that time Master-General of Ordnance. From that date down to the present time improvements have from time to time been made which have resulted in the present service weapon.

Experiments had been made by private individuals at various times to apply the same principle to cannon, but with so little success that the *Times* could write at as late a date as April 27th, 1857, as follows: "Are these principles of construction and improvement" (that is, as applied in the case of the musket rifled to fire long projectiles) "applicable to artillery as well as to small arms?" The first attempt to employ rifled cannon was made with the Lancaster gun, which was a service 68-pounder gun rifled with an oval bore. The charge used was 10 lbs. of powder and a shell of 90 lbs. in lieu of the service charge of 16 lbs. of powder and a 68-lb. round shot; but in many respects this gun was deemed to be more powerful before than after its conversion. There were also other objections, which caused it to be very soon abandoned. This gun was used in the Crimea.

In the meantime several persons had turned their attention to the subject and were experimenting upon it, with a view of discovering the best method of applying the principle of the rifle to cannon, amongst whom were Blakeley, Longridge, Whitworth, Scott, Lynall Thomas, Armstrong, Haddan, Britten, and others; but no one had produced a gun which was thought sufficiently to answer the requirements of the service to allow of its being adopted. In 1858, however, the Ordnance Select Committee, after a short trial, recommended the adoption of a 6-pounder Armstrong breechloader into the service, a gun which was remarkable rather for the mechanical ingenuity of its construction than for its fitness as a military weapon. So much has been said on the subject of this committee (to whom were submitted all questions relating to artillery at that time) in connection with the adoption of the Armstrong gun, that it may not be out of place here to quote an article which appeared in 1865, headed, "Peace Establishments and War Salaries," which contains an account of its formation:—

"The Ordnance Select Committee is one which extends a long way back, though, as will presently appear, the organization of it underwent a profound alteration a few years ago, contemporaneously with the passing of Sir William Armstrong's breechloading ordnance into the service. It may be as well to state what that modification consisted in, and why it came about. . . . At present, then (i.e. in 1865), it should be borne in mind that every member of the Ordnance Select Committee is a paid member, though before the period of General Cator's committee only the president was paid, every other member being called upon to give his services gratuitously. During General Cator's presidency it was that the proposition of adopting the Armstrong breechloading ordnance into the British service came as a matter of business before the Ordnance Select Committee; the latter, all save the president unpaid, declined to recommend the Armstrong breechloader, whereupon the committee was dissolved, and the War Office, with a liberality the motives of which have never been explained, appointed another Ordnance Select Committee, of which

every member was paid. That committee it was that passed the Armstrong gun, and the passing of the Armstrong gun has cost the country upwards of three millions sterling."

One of the chief practical objections to the above gun was that the services of a skilled mechanic were required to each gun. It also necessitated the carriage of a large number of tools, and was objectionable in many other respects. Owing to the very imperfect knowledge of the subject which then prevailed, the notion which generally obtained (before 1858) as to the proper method to be followed in applying the principle of the rifle to cannon was that, as greater ranges were obtained with long rather than with round projectiles, with comparatively smaller charges of powder, therefore smaller charges (as in the case of the Lancaster gun) ought only to be employed for the former. Thus, the old 12-pounder field-gun fired a 12-lb. shot with a charge of 4 lbs. of powder, while the 12-pounder Armstrong field-piece fired a 12-lb. shot with a charge of $1\frac{1}{2}$ or $1\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. only. It seemed to be considered that range and power were always convertible terms, and it was not until a later period, when the Armstrong 100-pounder was fired against the old 68-pounder smooth-bore gun, and the latter showed an unmistakable superiority at short ranges, that the eyes of the authorities were opened to the fact that a diminution in the charge meant loss of power at short ranges. Then came a strange revulsion. It seemed to be supposed that there was some kind of charm in the round shot, and not only were a certain number of smooth-bore 100-pounder guns ordered for firing round shot, but it appears that all systems of rifling for heavy guns were condemned which would not admit of the advantage of allowing round as well as long shot to be fired from the same gun. This idea, however, was soon abandoned after the plate-piercing rifled guns came into notice. A further reason why rifled cannon were fired with reduced charges was that they were found more easily to burst, and this was attributed to what is called the "lead" afforded by the rifled grooving in the bore, which would tend to facilitate the rupture of the gun; and as all the experiments on a large scale had been made with cast-iron guns, there were some grounds for this supposition.

An attempt was made in 1859 to rifle the service 32-pounder guns, but was abandoned on this account; and so erroneous was the theory which then prevailed with regard to the nature of the action and force of gunpowder, that a further attempt was made to use these guns as rifled guns by placing a wrought-iron band or jacket on the *outside* of the breech of the gun, and it was only after a large sum had been spent in doing this that it was discovered to be utterly useless. Sir William Palliser, who had perceived the fallacy of this method, reversed the plan, and placed the wrought-iron coiled tube in the *inside* instead of the *outside* of the gun, and thus rendered an

immense number of our old cast-iron guns serviceable as rifled guns, which would otherwise have had to be cast aside as so much old iron.

Costly as was the experiment, no blame whatever can be attached to the authorities for acting as they did in this matter, since it was in perfect accordance with the received theory on the subject. This theory was that the charge of powder was converted into a permanently elastic fluid, which acted in the same way as so much compressed air confined within a given space, and exerting a given pressure on the inch in inverse proportion to the space in which it was confined.

In 1858, however, Mr. Lynall Thomas read a paper before the Royal Society, in which he showed, from the result of numerous experiments, that the above theory was altogether false, and that, so far from the pressure arising from the combustion of the charge being uniform, it varied enormously both with the quantity and disposition of the powder. Also the proposition was put forward that the action of a charge of powder against the sides of a gun and the base of the shot not only increased with any increase in the quantity of the powder, but in a much higher ratio than that quantity. Moreover, that the action was percussive, which is a different application of force from that of a simple pressure, and has a value which has to be estimated in a very different manner. In fact, that there was "work" done in the chamber before the shot was moved.¹ This would, of course, account for the many anomalies which had been observed in practice, such as the greater facility with which rifled cannon burst when fired with heavy projectiles even when reduced charges were employed, and also pointed out the remedy, since with

(1) Thus on the first impact of the gases evolved from the combustion of the charge the shot was found to acquire a *finite* velocity, as a billiard-ball may when sharply struck by another, without having previously passed through any space. It was also found that with the same relative charges, the larger the shot the higher was the velocity of its first movement, in the proportion of the square root of the diameter. This was totally at variance with the theory then received, which taught that the larger the shot the *slower* was its first movement. For since its weight increased as the cube and its surface as the square only, and the pressure was assumed to be always the same, the larger shot was naturally supposed to be at first more slowly moved.

That this was not mere theory only, but was actually believed to be true and practically acted upon, no better proof can be had than is afforded by an article in the *Mechanics' Magazine* of 26th September, 1857, as it was written by Captain Blakeley, R.A., who claimed to be the inventor of the so-called Armstrong gun, and who had, perhaps, gone more deeply into the subject at that time than any other artillery officer. His topic is on the construction of cannon, and in speaking of the first movement of the shot in guns of different calibres, he says, "The powder occupying in each (gun) the same relative space, the small shot moves in, say, $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a second a certain number of inches, the larger shot in the same time moving fewer inches." Many proofs could be adduced to show that this was at that time the received opinion, and that all the practical *formulae* were in accordance with it, of which Boxer's *Treatise on Artillery*, which was published about that time, affords numerous instances.

this knowledge the exact strength and kind of metal required in the gun for resisting any given charge could be easily ascertained. It also showed (a fact of which no cognizance had been taken before), viz. the important influence which the *quality* of the powder must have in the construction of rifled cannon. It was probably a want of knowledge of the true nature of the action of gunpowder, or a negligence of it on the part of those who were responsible for the construction of the gun, which primarily led to the *Thunderer* catastrophe, for had this been properly considered a better provision would have been made against accidents, and a hardened steel tube would not have been placed in the interior of the gun.

The above propositions, when put forward by Mr. Lynall Thomas, were so entirely at variance with all received opinions, and so subversive of all existing formulæ, that they were treated by the authorities as visionary; and when he at first sought permission to have a powerful gun constructed in conformity with the above principles, the attempt met with strong opposition, on the ground that they were considered too revolutionary in their character to allow of consideration. He proposed that, instead of reducing the charge, with naval guns the heaviest charges should be fired which could be used with effect, and that a proportional strength should be given to the guns by constructing them of steel instead of cast-iron, and by considerably increasing the thickness of the metal round the seat of the explosion. But guns of this kind were then considered much too heavy for the navy, and it was objected that no ship could carry them. He, however, soon afterwards obtained permission to construct a 7-inch steel gun, of about 7 tons in weight, which was fired with about double the usual charge. The result showed that arms could be made of a power never anticipated, for although the weight of the gun was greatly increased, yet a great deal more than an equal increase in power was thus obtained. This gun appears to have effected a complete revolution in heavy ordnance, though it was not until after the Armstrong guns had failed that guns of this powerful kind were finally adopted into our service (in 1866-7, up to which period the old 68-pounder smooth-bore was the most powerful gun we possessed), when guns of the above proportions and weight became the pattern or standard guns of the service.

It was soon afterwards found desirable to construct guns of larger calibre, when proof was afforded that it was necessary to undertake experiments on the action and force of fired gunpowder, the results of which completely established the truth of Mr. Lynall Thomas's propositions. It was found that the pressures exerted by similar charges in guns of different sizes varied in about the proportion of the calibre (or size of bore) of the gun. Thus the force exerted in a musket of .577-inch bore was about 2 tons per square inch, whilst with the 8-inch gun fired with the old strong powder it was about

28 tons. It was also found (as the following tables will show) that with every increase in the quantity of powder the pressure increased not only in a higher ratio than the quantities of powder, but in a continually increasing ratio with every increase in the quantity. Thus with an 11·6-inch gun fired with a 700-lb. shot the pressures given with different charges were as follows :—

75 lbs. gave a pressure of 17·1 tons to the square inch.					
100	"	"	25·4	"	"
110	"	"	31·8	"	"
120	"	"	46·3	"	"
130	"	"	63·7	"	"

Also in an experiment lately made with an 8-inch chambered gun which fired a shot of 180 lbs. weight with a slower burning powder, the pressures obtained were as follows :—

80 lbs. gave a pressure of 13·3 tons to the square inch.					
90	"	"	15	"	"
95	"	"	19	"	"
100	"	"	21·3	"	"

It is clear, therefore, that a different provision of strength is required not only for guns of different calibre, but also that it should be in proportion to the quantity and quality of the powder employed, and a system which ignores these facts must be fundamentally wrong in principle. To make guns of all sizes on a fixed rule of thumb system, giving to all heavy guns indiscriminately, whatever the calibre of the gun or quality of the powder, a determinate thickness and arrangement of metal, as is confessedly the case in our service, where the rule is to give to each gun a thickness of 1·75 calibres, or that of the first 7-inch or standard gun, *must* be wrong, and is in itself quite sufficient to account for any catastrophe which may occur with our guns of larger calibre than the 7 or 9-inch guns. Seeing how important an influence these matters must have on the durability and safety of a gun, it is difficult to understand how it comes that they have been taken so little into consideration, or rather, it might be said, so completely ignored. Imagine the kind of navy we should have, were our ships constructed with the same disregard of all scientific considerations !

What is called the crusher gauge was employed in the official experiments which were made for the purpose of ascertaining the relative force of different quantities and qualities of powder when fired in a gun. But though no doubt the crusher gauge may serve fairly well to show the pressure of a completely confined fluid or gas against the sides of a containing vessel, it is difficult to see what indication it can give of the disruptive action of fired gunpowder, nor, therefore, of the best kind of metal for resisting its action. The crusher gauge no doubt gives evidence of a certain amount of "work" done, but appears to afford no indication of the nature of the

action which produced it. And this is precisely what ought to be known before the best kind of metal can be found for resisting it. If a glance is taken at the nature of the improvements which had been effected from the time when cannon were first employed up to the middle of the present century, it will be found that they have mainly resulted from the improvement which has taken place in the manufacture of powder and in the increased power of the latter. In former days, before powder was grained, or corned, as it was called, cannon were of enormous length, over sixty calibres long, and the charge of this slow-burning powder was of a weight exceeding that of the shot. Owing, however, to the advances which were made in the acquisition of a better and stronger quality of powder, a superior result was at length obtained with guns of scarcely one-fourth of the length, fired with charges one-third only in quantity, but of a quality and strength which would have blown the old iron hooped guns to pieces. Improvements in artillery have thus always tended in one direction. No doubt when long projectiles came into use the quality of the powder might with advantage have been made to undergo some modification, but the present tendency to reduce the pressure to the lowest possible standard of strength is not only wrong in principle, as necessitating the employment of the most unwieldy kind of guns, but evinces a very suspicious want of confidence in the metal and mode of construction of our service guns. It would seem that the true course to follow would be to obtain the strongest and best metal and method of construction for the gun, and then to use the most powerful and the best quality of powder which can be continually fired from it with safety and convenience. Surely there must be something radically wrong in the construction of our guns, if powder of the same strength cannot be fired from them as was used with perfect safety with the old cast-iron guns. For the projection of long shot, as before remarked, a different kind of powder from that which was used with spherical shot may with advantage be employed; but when metal can be obtained like Sir Joseph Whitworth's compressed steel, so many times stronger than cast-iron, it seems scarcely necessary to return to the use of a kind of powder which requires the employment of charges as well as guns of inordinate length, which renders them ill-adapted for the naval service. It can only be the inferiority of the method that has been adhered to in the construction of our guns which has led experiment to take this direction. Much has been said about the enormous advantages of chambering the gun, and of the high velocities which may thus be acquired. No doubt with a slow-burning powder a chambered bore may have a certain advantage, in that it may perhaps permit some reduction in the length of the bore, but there the advantage ends. There can be no better proof of the mistaken ideas which appear to prevail, and of the easy manner in which persons who possess little or no technical

knowledge of the subject may be misled in matters relating to the science of gunnery, than that which is afforded by an article which appeared in the *Times* of the 6th of January last. After giving the different charges of a slow-burning powder, fired from an experimental 8-inch gun of 11·5 tons weight with a chambered bore, and the velocities acquired with each charge, as follows:—

Charge in lb.	Initial Velocity in Feet per Second.
70	1,723
80	1,840
90	2,027
95	2,092
100	2,182

the article thus proceeds: "Some idea of the progress thus made in gunnery may be given if we compare the velocities thus obtained with those of some of the service guns." And then it gives the velocities ordinarily obtained with the different service guns, the lowest being that of the 12-inch 35-ton gun, with which a velocity of only 1,300 feet a second is obtained; and then the writer remarks, "We may say at once that the penetrative force of the new 8-inch Armstrong gun with 95 lbs. of powder is superior to that of the 35-ton gun unchambered with 110 lbs. charge." Now, admitting this to be true (which can scarcely be said to be the case, since the striking energy of the 12-inch gun fired with a charge of 110 lbs. of powder is stated in the *Text Book of Rifled Ordnance* to be 8,200 tons, whereas the striking energy of the 8-inch chambered gun fired with 95 lbs. of powder is stated to be only 5,458 foot tons), what does it really amount to? Simply to this—that an excessively large quantity of powder may be fired without adding so considerably to the length of the gun as would otherwise be the case, and which would be required with a very slow burning powder. With regard to the velocities, they appear to be rather below than above what they would be with an unchambered gun, since the velocities acquired by shot of equal weight are nearly in the ratio of the square roots of the quantities of powder employed. Now the muzzle-velocity of the unchambered 8-inch service gun, fired with the service charge of 35 lbs. of pebble powder and a shot of 180 lbs. weight, is 1,413 feet a second. So that a similar increase in the powder charge to that given above, supposing the gun to be long enough to allow of the firing of such heavy charges with proper effect, would give the following velocities. For

Lbs. of Powder.	Velocities in Feet per Second.
70	1,982
80	2,133
90	2,265
95	2,317
100	2,387

If the velocities given with the chambered gun had been obtained by the use of smaller quantities of powder no doubt some practical advantage would have been gained; but as it is it simply resolves itself into a question of length for the gun. The only gain acquired by the chambering of a gun appears, therefore, to consist in the fact that a gun so treated will not require to be of so great a length, which is a matter of some importance when a very slow-burning powder is used. There is nothing novel in the idea of chambering a gun. Experiments were made of the subject many years ago, but the practical drawbacks to guns with enlarged chambers were considered to outweigh any advantage which might accrue therefrom. With mortars and very short guns the gain in velocity was really perceptible.

If we carefully consider what has been done since the first heavy rifled cannon were adopted into the service in 1866-7, it is to be feared that it will be found that very little practical advance has been made, and that scarcely in a right direction. All guns of larger calibre than the 9 or 10-inch guns may be said to be experimental guns, and are not probably of the kind which will eventually be adopted. The only decided acquisition that has been made is the Palliser chilled shell, for when the heavy rifled guns were adopted the full extent of their power was unavailable against iron plates, from the fact that no projectile could be made of sufficiently hard material to allow of that penetration which was due to the power of the guns. The Palliser shell solved the difficulty, and added enormously to the penetrating power of the guns. The value of this invention can hardly be over-estimated; but with this exception it would be difficult to say in what respect any real and tangible progress has been made since the adoption of the first 7 and 9-inch guns, and for a nation to stand still in these matters is to retrograde. The want of progress may be traced chiefly to the inferior method which has been adopted in the construction of our guns. The coiled iron system with a steel tube in the interior can never be safely relied upon, as so much must depend on the quality and the nicety of fit of the steel tube, which may vary with different guns, rendering the whole number untrustworthy; and when this is the case it is quite impossible even to attempt to obtain those great practical results which would otherwise be perfectly attainable with guns of equal weight and calibre. It is satisfactory at least to know that enough has been accomplished by private enterprise to enable us, if taken in time, to retrieve our position amongst other nations.

Fortunately Sir Joseph Whitworth has produced 35-ton guns made of a metal which would seem to be expressly designed for the construction of heavy artillery, and it is to be hoped that one of the first acts of the new Heavy Gun Committee will be to recommend

this metal for the future manufacture of our heavy guns. The expenses to be incurred by such an alteration in their mode of manufacture must, from the nature of the case, always be more or less heavy; but it would seem to be almost an incongruity to mention the cost (supposing it to be greater than with the coiled iron guns) when it is remembered that nearly three millions of the public money was expended on the Armstrong inventions within the first four years of the adoption of the Armstrong field-piece, and that it was all virtually thrown away. It is highly probable that the coiled iron system may be found inferior in another respect, namely, when struck by a shot in action. A shot striking one of the Whitworth steel guns would indent it only, but were a coiled iron gun struck, the probability is that it would be knocked into fragments, which would prove greatly destructive to the men who served the gun. This seems to be a question which is worth the consideration of the new Heavy Gun Committee, and could easily be made the subject of experiment.

Ten or twelve years ago, after we had finally adopted the heavy plate-piercing guns, we were far in advance of all other nations. Since then we have been gradually losing ground; that is to say, we have not advanced as other nations have, so that instead of being ahead we are actually behind other nations, as the following comparison between the German and English guns will show:—

GERMAN.			ENGLISH.		
Nature of Gun.	Muzzle Velocity in Feet per Second.	Muzzle Energy in Foot Tons.	Nature of Gun.	Muzzle Velocity in Feet per Second.	Muzzle Energy in Foot Tons.
12-in. 36-ton.	1,525	10·510	12-in. 35-ton.	1,300	8·200
11-in. 27-ton.	1,640	9·699	11-in. 25-ton.	1,315	6·415
10-in. 22-ton.	1,575	7·112			
10-in. 18-ton.	1,509	6·553	10-in. 18-ton.	1,364	5·160

These facts speak too forcibly to require any comment. It will be seen that the velocities with the German guns increase rather with the calibre, whereas with ours the contrary is the case, and it may be remarked that all the German guns are of steel.

If the purpose of the new Heavy Gun Committee is (as was stated in the naval and military intelligence of the *Times* the other day) simply to “establish the stability of the Woolwich system,” it will be greatly to be deplored. What the country expects, and will not be satisfied unless it gets, is the most enduring and powerful system of artillery which can be had. The welfare of the nation, let us hope, is not to be sacrificed to either private or official interests, of whatever nature they may be.

FRANCIS LEAN.

THE FUNCTIONS OF MODERN PARLIAMENTS.¹

SOME years ago it was suggested that Parliamentary institutions were on their trial, and though the phrase only meant that it was a question how far the model of the English Parliament could be adopted in Continental countries, it has, I believe, a much wider significance. In fact, every idea that influences human society for good or bad has to justify its *raison d'être* anew from time to time, as if it had never originated in men's wants or established itself by some victory over precedent. Probably no one seriously fears that the right to hold private property is endangered in Western Europe or in North America; but even in countries of a deep-rooted civilisation there is a disposition, and, indeed, a need to examine anew the boundary-line between the rights of the State and those of the individual. How far a man may turn a country into a deer-forest, or exclude Dissenters from an estate, or simply drive the rural population into towns, are only a few of the questions that challenge attention, and that were no questions at all a century ago. Every middle-aged man can remember how Free Trade triumphed, till its establishment throughout the world seemed only question of time; and its best friends are now those who are girding themselves, like Professor Fawcett, to teach its very catechism again. The student of Parliamentary institutions knows well that the English Parliament has been different in every century of its existence; and that the House of Commons has gradually wrested power from the Sovereign and from the Peers, while it has itself suffered loss by the growth of foreign political powers in the State. The belief in its own divine right to legislate, which hurried it into the great conflict with America, has been replaced by a distinct acknowledgment that it takes its powers from the community. Transplant the British Parliament into a new country, and it will not only have to leave behind it its Peers and many of its traditions, but it will have to accept in its most naked form the theory of its powers that has been half-consciously adopted in England: In moving the tree every fibre of its roots has been laid bare; and it has to settle into new earth by its own weight.

There is, I believe, no country in the world in which every class of the community or important shade of thought is represented at all proportionately in Parliament, or in which many of the ablest men are not shut out. In England the working classes do not as a rule return any representatives from their own ranks, and in America wealth and

(1) A further Chapter on Democracy in Victoria. See Fortnightly Review for May, 1879.

education are said, with more or less truth, to be very imperfectly represented in Congress. In the Victorian Houses of Parliament there is a fair sprinkling of men who have risen from the ranks, and the electors, other things being equal, prefer to elect rich and educated men; so that the conditions for perfect representation would seem to exist. Nevertheless it is not unusual to hear the reproach urged that the best men in the country cannot obtain seats in the Assembly; and though this is of course said by those who consider Conservatives the best men, it may be conceded that a Chamber from which eminent members of an influential party in the State are likely to be excluded, is not in itself thoroughly representative. Moreover it is, I think, true of every country, and not least of Victoria, that many men of every generation, who might add much weight to political counsels, are necessarily excluded from Parliament.

The best educated men in an Australian colony are the members of the learned professions, of the Civil Service, and of the Press, together with a few land-owners and merchants, who got some schooling in early life, or who have educated themselves. Out of this number all ministers of religion and all members of the Civil Service, which includes the greater number of engineers, are excluded by law. Medical men and schoolmasters for the most part keep out of politics, and are probably too busy to spare time for Parliamentary work. Barristers and solicitors are fairly but not inordinately represented in the Assembly, mustering altogether about a sixth, which is, I think, very nearly the English average. Considering the advantage which a barrister's habit of fluent speech gives him at elections, and the great amount of legal patronage of which the Government disposes, the reason why there are not more lawyers in Parliament must be sought, I think, in the growing reluctance of country constituencies to elect any but local men. The up-country lawyer cannot as a rule leave his business, and the Melbourne lawyer starts at a disadvantage. Bankers, for professional reasons, scarcely ever offer themselves for election. Merchants and land-owners just now are strongly Conservative, and can, therefore, only secure seats in those exceptional constituencies, which are kept Conservative by duplicate votes or by some reason of local interest. This enumeration will show why certain classes of the community are scarcely or not at all represented as classes in Parliament. It may be added that in Victoria the class of thoughtful, cultivated, independent men, not specially concerned with any class interest, to which scores of men in the English Parliament belong, can scarcely be said to exist. But if it did, there is no reason to suppose that Victorian electors, any more than English, would elect a man of unpopular opinions, or a man who was quite wanting in the gifts (shallow as they may be) that please every popular constituency, an easy address, a fluent deli-

very, and some power of repartee. On the other hand, agents and auctioneers, who are constantly conducting negotiations, working on committees or addressing boards, have an advantage like that which barristers possess, and are well able to combine their peculiar businesses with Parliamentary work. The Assembly, therefore, numbers several land, mining, and commission agents among its members, a good average of lawyers and auctioneers, a few journalists, and a sprinkling of merchants, land-owners, farmers, retail tradesmen, and former schoolmasters. As a rule merchants, land-owners, and lawyers make up the Council. Were the Council abolished the representation of class interests in Parliament would be very incomplete; but even with one House supplementing another, some important sections have no spokesman, and many educated and intelligent men, who may occasionally have keen political interests, are precluded from sitting or cannot hope to be elected.

These statements may seem an indictment against the practical working of Victorian institutions, but any one who takes the trouble to dissect a Parliament of any country, will find that I have said nothing of Victoria that might not be urged in one shape or another against the Parliaments of other lands. Nay, more, the present state of Victoria must be regarded as singularly good. At this moment only three men of recognised Parliamentary distinction are without seats in Parliament as the penalty of their unpopular opinions; and the present conjuncture is one of exceptional bitterness. No one can seriously wish that professional men should be tempted to neglect their work for politics, that the Civil Service should have members in either Chamber, or that the ministers of religion should be allowed to import the element of sectarian intolerance into discussions of the education question, and to reinforce the phalanx which steadily tries to revive the Jewish sabbath. No doubt, in a small country, the exclusion of any large number of educated men from a share in Parliamentary discussion is some loss, and the interests with which these gentlemen are connected may sometimes suffer from not being specially represented. On the other hand, it is not, I think, true that the present Assembly is not good and creditable to the community. Its members, I suppose, know little Latin and less Greek, but they are, as a rule, practical, sensible, and fluent men, respected in their several communities, anxious to do good service to the country, and studying what is done elsewhere with much penetrative insight. I doubt if any English county with the population of Victoria¹—and it is with an English county that a young colony should be compared—could elect an Assembly that would do its work as well and decorously as the Victorian does it.

To justify this I must revert to the premises from which I started,

(1) Let us say, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Cornwall, or Shropshire.

and assert my conviction that the conditions of political equilibrium are altogether changed in the present century from what they were even one hundred years ago, when Parliamentary rule meant responsible rather than representative government. The House of Commons, even as lately as George III.'s reign, contained so much of the genius and practical ability of England as to outweigh all the rest of the community. Had public meetings been as powerful a factor in politics then as they are now, no one can doubt that Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Windham, and a host of others, to quote only from a single period, could have held their own on the platform as easily as on the floor of the House. The chief writers of the day on politics, Burke, Mackintosh, Sir P. Francis, and Wilkes, were also members of Parliament; and daily newspapers were only beginning to be organs of opinion. To some extent, this state of things was unnatural. The pamphleteers of Puritan times, of whom Milton, Harrington, and Prynne are conspicuous examples, had anticipated the influence of the modern press; and Swift and Steele (the latter, of course, a member of Parliament, like his coadjutor, Addison) had revived the glories of free discussion under Queen Anne; but the censorship in one instance, and the stamp duty in another, extinguished the new growth, and maintained the ascendancy of Parliament by destroying its only real rival after the Church had ceased to be a reality. It was not in the nature of things that this could last, and at the moment when the House of Commons was most brilliant, new powers were forming in the State. Adam Smith, whose influence is still paramount, and Price, whose ephemeral influence was very great, are types of men who solved political problems in the study with such instantaneous effect as to modify the legislation of their own times. Then the absorbing interest of the great war made newspapers a necessity, and the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Times*, as their circulation increased, borrowed the assistance of trained writers to give a better literary form to the leading articles. Lastly, as it was more and more felt that the unreformed Parliament did not represent the nation on certain cardinal questions, such as the Emancipation of Dissenters, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Labour Laws, public meetings and political unions, such as trade unions have often been, became a favourite weapon with minorities; and at one time, some of the most powerful men in the British Isles were men who, like Clarkson and Granville Sharpe, O'Connell and Shiel, Major Cartwright and Orator Hunt, had never obtained a seat in Parliament.

Not only have powers outside Parliament sprung up, but Parliament has closed its ranks. Sometimes it has been that constituencies have refused to elect men who might have been assumed to have given special proof of qualification, but more often the men themselves, either doubtful of success, or not caring to achieve it, have not

offered themselves for election. Political economy is a subject whose professors ought, one might think, to desire the opportunity of stamping their ideas upon legislation, and to be eagerly accepted. The names of Ricardo and Overstone, of Cobden and Mill, of Goschen and Fawcett, show that, in fact, several economists have had seats in the British Senate, but, on the other hand, we may note an even larger number absent, as Malthus, Jones, Senior, Whately, Tooke, and M'Culloch among older writers, and Cairnes, Newmarch, Rogers, B. Price, Leone Levi, and Cliffe Leslie among the more modern. Lord Redesdale was, no doubt, a great constitutional lawyer, and Romilly, Mackintosh, and Brougham did good service in Law Reform, while International Law has had Phillimore and Harcourt for representatives. But the learned editors of Coke and Littleton, Butler and Hargraves, were not in Parliament; nor Serjeant Stephen, the editor of Blackstone; and four men who have remodelled the science of jurisprudence, Bentham, Austin, Maine, and Sir James Stephen, have been compelled, or have preferred, to deliver their thoughts in books. Among historians, we may count the great names of Grote and Macaulay; but Hallam, Palgrave, Lingard, Allen, Freeman, Froude, Carlyle, and Erskine May have never sought, or never obtained seats. Sir W. Molesworth and Sir G. C. Lewis may be classed separately as thinkers in Parliament; but the list of political thinkers outside Parliament includes the names of Coleridge, Fonblanque, W. R. Greg, Herbert Spencer, Bagehot, Buckle, Ruskin, Morley, F. Harrison, and Helps. An analysis of the few names I have cited as typical would, I think, go far to show that the men elected and the men excluded were chosen or rejected for reasons that had nothing to do with their peculiar eminence. Grote, Molesworth, and Mackintosh were not eminently practical men or fluent orators, but were elected because they had money or connection. On the other hand, Bagehot was a practical thinker, and Sir James Stephen a successful lawyer; and I know of no one whose talent would seem to be of a more common-sensible, practical kind than Mr. Greg, who has never, I believe, courted a constituency. Among leading men in the House of Commons, Mr. Lowe would be uncertain of success in any but a university constituency; Mr. Grant Duff would perhaps fail with any English electorate; and Mr. Gladstone finds it easier to shake England to the centre than to secure his own seat.

The reasons of this change seem worthy of consideration; for though undoubtedly men of the highest class were often hard pushed for seats in the last century, yet so far as can be judged they never failed to obtain them one way or another. Burke was driven from Bristol but found a patron and Maldon; Fox was returned against all odds at Westminster; Sheridan kept his seat till near the end of

his life; and Romilly bought himself without much trouble into Parliament. At present, as has been wittily said, the first condition of getting into the English Parliament is to be rich, and the second to seem rich. Neither can it be argued that the press which represents average public opinion is at all inclined to support intellectual men, except in the case of a few recognised leaders. At the election of 1870 a few Liberals of recognised ability stood for Parliament, and failed, with a single exception in Scotland, because being men of limited means, they could only afford to contest constituencies where the influences of great landlords predominated. Their appearance in the field of politics had attracted some attention. Their defeat was hailed with a song of triumph by the *Times* newspaper, which congratulated the country on its good sense in rejecting young doctrinaires. Yet, in fact, they were mostly middle-aged professional men of good social position, who held the accepted Liberal creed, and who only differed from their successful competitors in possessing a wider culture, and a certain capacity for original thought. To have chosen men of this type, in a few instances, was the one service to their country that has saved the owners of rotten boroughs from indiscriminate infamy.

The change cannot be concealed; but even those who deplore it in the extent to which it has been carried in England, may yet pause before they pass a sweeping condemnation upon it. It is not, I think, mere Philistinism, the worship of wealth and success by a material age, though undoubtedly it is largely leavened with this. Neither is it simply the result of giving the suffrage to untrained ignorant masses, who cannot distinguish true metal from counterfeit. The change had begun before the first Reform Bill; and it may be questioned whether the constituencies created by the second were not as a rule quite equal in character and intelligence to such constituencies as Bristol and Westminster, which distinguished themselves by happy choices under the old system. The true reasons for the change seem to me to be that since the work of legislation has become more complex and various with the increase of empire and the growth of new and important interests, and inasmuch as at the same time the right of the community to modify or determine legislation, at least indirectly, has come to be recognised, the men who think out the principles of change, and the men who apply those principles, have fallen into separate ranks by a natural division of labour. It may happen, indeed, that the real thinker is so far in front of his age, or so incapable of speaking its language, that he requires literary interpreters, from whom again the practical politician borrows. Bontham's thoughts are the source of a great deal that is best on subjects of such engrossing political interest as the framing of constitutions and judicatures, codification, the simplifying of the rules of procedure

and evidence, the reform of criminal law, and even some economical matters; yet of Bentham's numerous disciples only Lord Brougham, Bowring, and Ricardo sat for any long time in Parliament, and Bentham's real interpreters were Austin, Dumont, the two Mills, and Fonblanque; of these Austin himself needs a commentator. Let us take an instance on the other side. No one can doubt that if Peel had devoted his somewhat sluggish but eminently sound intellect to the mastery of a single science, he would have ranked at least among its foremost expositors. Yet Peel, in early life, was so ignorant of the true principles of finance that he fought resolutely before the Bullion Committee in 1810 against the very idea which he has incorporated in the famous Act for the restriction of cash payments. The peculiarity of Peel's mind, which exposed him to much unjust attack in after days, was that he changed altogether if he changed at all; and that when he had once discovered a leading premiss of his opponents to be correct, he accepted it in all its logical bearings. He is no doubt open to the reproach that he acquired his influence by advocating one set of ideas, and used it to establish another; but the fault was not in himself. He was a good speaker, a good party leader, a good administrator, and a competent student; but he could not combine with all these—perhaps no man could have combined—the power to originate economical science, like Ricardo, or O'Connell's capacity to detect the hollowness of Protestant ascendancy, or Cobden's prophetic vision of free trade.

It is difficult to believe that England would have been better served if Bentham had been in Parliament, as he once hoped to be through Lord Shelburne's influence. The chances are that he would have frittered away much energy on his doubtful Panopticon scheme, and that the world would have been poorer by several works which it can ill afford to spare. He could scarcely have served the cause of reform as Russell and Brougham served it, or have carried Catholic emancipation like Peel. No doubt scholars and abstract thinkers may acquire great influence in Parliament. Sir G. C. Lewis was a notable instance of a man who combined the tastes and characteristics of a German scholar, with such Parliamentary success that he would probably one day have been Premier. Mr. John Stuart Mill, during the short time he sat for Westminster, was a recognised Parliamentary force. The reason why, as a rule, scholars are unfitted for Parliament, is not that they cannot do Parliamentary work better than the average country squire, or cadet of good family, or professional lawyer, but that they can be doing better work than good average Parliamentary work elsewhere. Mr. Grote's life in Parliament is chiefly remembered for his premature advocacy of the ballot. Being in advance of his time, he failed to carry a simple and useful reform. But having left Parliament he enriched literature by a

stupendous work on Greek history, which incidentally did more to promote the opinions that Mr. Grote had at heart, than his speeches for twenty sessions could have accomplished. Mr. Gladstone is, perhaps, the most eminent instance of a man who combines scholarly tastes with the highest Parliamentary efficiency. But though it is not easy to judge what a man, to whom book-making has only been a relaxation, might have accomplished in literature, many will probably be of opinion that Mr. Gladstone owes such success as he has achieved in book-making to his eminence as a statesman which attracted attention to anything signed with his name, and that he was wisely counselled in electing to stake his fame on his achievements as orator, financier, and leader of English Liberalism.

In France, and indeed all over the Continent, the editors of newspapers are among the most popular candidates for Parliament. In England the editors of papers seem instinctively to abstain from offering themselves for seats, and it cannot be said that the contributors to journals, who are fairly numerous, find any favour with constituencies on account of their writings. To write for the *Times* or for the *Daily News* does not damage a candidate, but does not help him appreciably. On the whole the English practice seems preferable. Party allegiance in Parliament practically means and must mean allegiance to a particular leader, whose faults of temper and tactics often have to be endured at the cost of some special pleading or of a party vote. Party allegiance for a journal means allegiance to the principles which the Parliamentary leader is supposed to represent, but from which he may at times swerve. An editor in Parliament is, therefore, exposed to find himself in the difficult position of being bound to vote with a chief, whose political programme he is every day denouncing in the press. Besides this, there is another important difficulty that embarrasses the position of a Parliamentary editor. Even the occasional contributor to a journal finds that he often becomes unpopular because he is the supposed writer of articles reflecting on the conduct of his brother members, or because he is supposed to be traversing the party tactics in his paper, or simply because it is thought that he is brought into undue prominence in its columns. But an editor cannot escape the responsibility for every and any offence of this kind; and being perpetually between two fires, the dread of making personal enemies among the men with whom he associates every day, and the fear of misleading the public, he will be liable to all the perplexity and oscillations that habitually attend such a position.

The result of all this would seem to be, that in proportion as a country is highly developed, will the functions of political action that used to be concentrated in an English Parliament be divided between Parliament and certain outside powers. When there is a

popular cry, Parliament must follow rather than guide the country, studying the constituencies to know what measures are called for immediately, and recognising the high value which the counsels of the press have from its greater independence of party exigencies. When there is no popular cry, the Government or individual member, who are wisely bent on legislating for futurity, have no doubt a somewhat greater latitude, but even here the practical statesman must be guided nine times in ten by the work of professed specialists. Not merely is this necessary, because only in the writings of specialists can the information that will save from blunders be found, but electors throughout the country will force it upon their members. Formerly the post came down two days after a debate was concluded and brought a meagre summary of results, to men who scarcely cared to look even for this in the county paper. Now the last arguments of the chief speakers are flashed almost while they are speaking, to every country town with a population of two thousand and a paper; and in some at least of these will be found men able to pass sound criticisms on one or other of almost all measures that are before the country. How profoundly this change is felt in Parliament itself may be seen by reference to the debates. Formerly men spoke to convince one another, or at least to justify their intellectual standing-point to friends and enemies in the House. Now speeches are delivered as much to the outside world as to Parliament. Secret powers, as it were, mingle in the debates, and a House of Commons has members outside its walls.

The superficial objection to the theory of Parliament controlled from without rests on the half-fanciful distinction between a representative and a delegate, to which many even now attach an extreme importance. The delegate, it is said, goes to a conference fettered by instructions from which he cannot deviate; but the representative is chosen for certain qualities and principles, which popular estimation approves, is limited to no particular course of action, and gives no account of his stewardship till it is concluded with the expiration of Parliament. The strict rules of party discipline make this theory of little importance in England. A man in England is elected as Liberal or Conservative, and is bound to act with his party so long as there is a coherent party to act with. When there is a split in the party, such as Peel's policies of Catholic Emancipation and Free Trade caused among the Conservatives, it is held that an honourable man may follow his leader or stand aloof with the larger portion of the rank and file. But wayward or factious desertions, such as the *Adullamites* practised in 1866, are habitually resented and visited with condign punishment by the constituencies. In fact, as Mr. Bagehot has pointed out, the penalty of disloyalty to a party is absolute impotence. The free lance may hinder others from doing

work that is needed, but can accomplish nothing himself. There is, therefore, a grave practical reason why a constituency should object to capricious action on the part of its representative. The real reason, however, lies deeper. A constituency that should surrender its right of controlling State policy for seven or three years to its representative, that should allow him to deviate from the principles he professed and misrepresent it, would be forfeiting its self-respect, and paralysing its capacity for self-government. No doubt, the question of the day may assume a very different complexion during the latter years of an English Parliament; and what at first only seemed desirable to a few, may be recognised as necessary by the great majority of men later on. The question of Free Trade in corn was very differently estimated by men of all parties after the existence of the potato blight was demonstrated. Nevertheless, though Peel resigned office that his opponents might carry out the new policy, and only resumed the reins of office because the Whig leader could not hold them, public opinion never thoroughly forgave Peel for his supposed apostasy. As far back as twelve years before, he had declared himself only withheld from voting for Free Trade by motives of expediency; his conversion had been predicted year by year before it happened, and it was justified at the time by absolute necessity. Peel's followers were accordingly forgiven for acting with him by all but their old Parliamentary associates, and Peel himself was so far acquitted that moderate men said he had saved the country at the cost of his own reputation. More than this was never allowed, till the grave had closed over the great statesman.

It is the great difficulty of Parliamentary government in a young country that party organization does not at first exist. It takes some years before the pioneers of a colony have made up their own minds about certain grave issues, about the tariff or the land question, and self-government is chiefly desired in order that pressure for local needs may be brought to bear upon the administration. No doubt some very great changes were carried in the early Parliaments of Victoria, but they were intended to make self-government a reality rather than to apply it to any particular purpose. Substantially, therefore, the prizes of office were contended for by rings or cliques, uniting round particular leaders, who combined debating power with some talent of administration. Now and again, of course, the clique represented a principle, supported denominational education because its chief supporters were Catholics, or advocated liberal land-laws to conciliate the democracy. The so-called independent member flourished during this period, and Victoria has twice witnessed the spectacle of a defeated Premier deserting his late colleagues, and taking subordinate office in a new Cabinet under the very leader who had supplanted him, once without any interval, and once with

only the interval of a few weeks. Under this system all maintenance of definite principles is of course impossible, and the only interest in politics is to watch the fluctuating fortunes and combinations of successive gangs of adventurers. The smallness of constituencies and the large means at the disposal of an unscrupulous Minister for bribing a needy district by public works, make the appeal to the country on the reconstruction of Cabinets a mere formality for the worst offenders. It is not in ordinary human virtue to reject a man who has carried a railway at heavy loss to the State up a steep hill to benefit his constituents, has given them a large system of water-works and every possible public institution, and who can confer new favours if he remains in office.

It may be said that if the rigid law of party allegiance is to be maintained, the country will lose the great benefit it ought to derive from having as its representatives men who on the whole sympathise with and understand the community, but who, from a better education or a higher standing-point, are slightly in advance of it. The case of Burke is one of the strongest instances that can be cited in support of this theory. Burke was what would be called in the colonies a good local member, and there are few more amusing passages in literature than the grandiose pages in which he explains to the electors of Bristol how he had jobbed and lobbied for his constituents. But Burke was also a man of intrinsic greatness, who saw the iniquity of the penal laws in Ireland and attempted to mitigate them. The lowest Protestant rancour was aroused in consequence, and Burke was driven from a seat of which he had been the ornament for years. It may be admitted at once that religious tolerance is a matter in which no compromise is possible. Burke seeing the light was bound to advance towards it. But how about his constituents? That several thousand men in the eighteenth century should have thought it a religious duty to discourage a religion they disliked by statutory enactment, is no doubt a very melancholy recollection; but can any one maintain that a philosophical representative was entitled to disregard the wishes of his constituents on the precise point where they felt most deeply? A Parliament that should be thirty years in advance of its time, as Burke was of his, would not have established toleration, but would have provoked a civil war. From the moment the question of toleration came up as a new and important issue, Burke was bound to ascertain the wishes of his constituents, and if he could not carry them with him, or obtain leave to act as he liked, to resign and seek another seat, or fight the battle of free-thought as a pamphleteer.

This position will be found to receive strong support if we look at some of the great reforms of the past hundred years, and observe

that they were not forced by Parliament on the people, but by the people on Parliament. Relief to Protestant Dissenters and Catholic Emancipation were carried by the energy of a small section of the English middle classes and by the enthusiasm of the unrepresented Irish peasantry. The fate of every Reform Bill, but especially of the first and most important, has been determined outside Parliament. Public meetings and associations forced the abolition of slavery on a House which, if left to itself, would have voted as the West Indian interest bade it. Free trade in corn was granted by a Parliament whose members were for the most part sincere Protectionists, but who did not dare to hold out against a popular demand, which the Conservative leader declared to be just. The members for Oxford and Cambridge Universities, who it might be assumed would be picked men, more clear-sighted than their fellows, have been among the staunchest supporters of old abuses; or if, like Peel and Gladstone, they came to think wisely on any question of the day, they have promptly paid the penalty of enlightenment by forfeiting their seats. In a word, humiliating as it may be to confess it, no single great reform would have been carried in the last sixty years if Parliament had been chosen exclusively by the most highly educated classes, or if its members, who as a rule reflect the opinions of the educated and wealthy minority, had not been habitually controlled by public opinion. It may be added, that no reform is ever carried in England but what is accompanied by scarcely suppressed discontent among the rank and file of the very men who have achieved it, but who do not care to disguise that they think it premature, and that their leader should have manœuvred so as to avoid doing anything. In fact, the world we live in is the best of all possible worlds for the average wealthy man, and whatever view he may profess he is apt to regard those who attempt to change the status quo as theorists, or, it may be, as incendiaries.

The genesis of great changes must be and ought to be outside Parliament. Neither the working classes, who as a rule need and feel most, nor those among the wealthy who speak best, or who possess administrative capacity, are in general gifted with insight or with creative energy. The genius of revolution may take almost every form. It may be bitter and cynical, as it was with Swift in his latter days, when he saw that vision of Ireland's oppression and misery, for which the people rightly counts him its first patriot. It may be moody and fanciful, as it was with Rousseau, when he preached that return to Nature, which had its ghastly fulfilment in the French Revolution. It may be intellectual and abstract with Bentham, or tender and sweet with Wilberforce. It may wear the royal purple of the orator with Burke, or the court dress of the diplomatist with De Maistre. But in proportion as it is deep and

earnest will it have taken counsel with solitude; and if it would do its work thoroughly among men, it must go out to the multitude as a book, rather than be delivered to a Parliament as a speech. Burke's oratory wearied a critical Senate, but the letters on the French Revolution breathed the breath of life for fifty years into English Conservatism. The thought was greater than the man, and English society, with all its Philistinism, understood that this was a new faith delivered to it, where the House of Commons only heard the speech of a partisan. It may be that it is more difficult to get the first hearing in our own times, than it was in Swift's and Burke's. There is so much good imitative thought, which almost approaches genius, that some uncertainty must be allowed for before even the critical eye can separate pure metal from electro-plate. Habitually, there is some suspense of judgment in the first instance, and an unquestioning partisanship afterwards. It is scarcely too much to say that Mr. J. S. Mill's later works were never adequately criticised, in consequence of the veneration his name inspired. Given, therefore, the thinker who is to move the world, he will not long be without disciples, and these will have at their command the most perfect machinery for reproducing and multiplying his opinions. The new thoughts will be discussed and asserted in reviews and newspapers; they will pass from these to the platform and the hustings, and they will presently demand recognition in Parliament. In the process of sifting, in being written over and talked over, they will have lost, it may be, much that was original and valuable, but that was unavoidably alien to common-place modes of understanding. Society cannot change its inner being, though a greater than Moses spoke to it. It must assimilate what it takes after its own crude fashion, and it will lose faith in its own practical capacity if it does not mould into new shape what it recognises as in its first form the thought of an idealist. None the less will it have gained from the bread eaten with vigils and salt tears of the solitary Reformer, what countless sessions of Parliamentary orators could not have given it.

Unless it be said that men of science have lost in dignity with that advance of knowledge which condemns all to be specialists, and which excludes the dream of a master of all knowledge, there seems no reason why a Parliament should be held to have lost rank because the function of its members is only to discuss the details of changes, which have been thought out and ratified elsewhere. Unless it be held that authority is only venerable when it can disregard the convictions and will of a whole community, it is difficult to understand why Parliament should be assumed to possess powers of which English sovereigns have been deliberately divested. But, in fact, on all great questions it is conceded that Parliament must bow to the expressed will of the constituencies; and if these insist

on carrying a measure of persecution or of confiscation, their representatives can only stipulate for delay and consideration. The duty of an honourable man in such circumstances is not to employ his trust in thwarting those who confided it to him, but in resigning it. He has no right to stand to all time between a people and their folly; he can only claim not to be made its instrument. On great questions this is now very commonly conceded. On small questions there will always be larger latitude, because the whole community does not interest itself in these. The sphere of independent action for a member of Parliament is therefore considerable. As member of a party he may influence its deliberations, and may constantly amend in committee so as to reduce the imperfections of a radically bad bill. It may happen that a well-argued debate will even produce a revulsion of public opinion. To his own constituents a member will always speak with authority, and he may sometimes obtain leave from these to separate from his party even on an important issue. It is practically certain that for half the measures that come before him he will be left to his own unfettered discretion. If, in addition to all this, he desires the license of acting without fixed principles and making new political combinations at pleasure, he is asking what no constituency that respects itself ought to grant, and what only a self-seeking adventurer would desire.

Ultimately, it seems difficult to doubt that the principle of submitting disputed measures to a general vote of the people will be adopted in all highly organized democracies. The English method of taking the sense of the country by a dissolution is uncertain and violent; uncertain, because it may often happen that particular men are voted for at the elections rather than a particular policy; and violent, because it complicates the war of opinion with the struggle for office. The application of the plebiscite in France, when men have been driven to the polls in revolutionary times to choose or endorse the choice of a leader, has thrown discredit upon this method of expressing opinion. Meanwhile, it has been advocated by Bentham, and is found to work easily and successfully in Switzerland, and in many States of the American Union. In Switzerland it is applied to laws of every kind; in America only to constitutional changes, which, however, cover a good deal in a country where a constitution may contain several hundred enactments. The essential seems to be that the plebiscite should be granted whenever a respectable minority in the Assembly or in the country has reason to think that it could carry the constituencies against a measure affirmed by a Parliamentary majority. Instructed by debates in Parliament, by the press, and by public meetings, electors ought to have no difficulty in appreciating the broad merits or demerits of a particular measure.

CHARLES H. PEARSON.

THE COLOURED MAN IN AUSTRALIA.

THE coloured races of Australia—as all those not of European extraction are concisely called—are a constant source of anxiety to the white settlers. No sooner has the colonist disposed of one “shade,” than he is confronted by some trouble arising out of the commissions of another; and disputes as to the best mode of dealing with Asiatics, Polynesians, and aborigines form some of the most prominent of Australian questions. From the date of the first settlement, the degraded original owners of the soil have commanded the attention of the settlers who appropriated their property. The mischievous propensities of the aborigines have been a source of constant annoyance to the pioneers, whilst the rapid decline in their numbers has disappointed the philanthropist, who vainly sought to raise these barbarians in the scale of intelligence, by teaching them habits of continuous toil and a sense of moral responsibility. The helpless brutality of the aboriginal does, however, secure him from active hostility on the part of the white settler; and the problem of dealing with him in the most humane and advantageous manner will at no distant date be solved by his disappearance from the face of the earth. Very different is the case with the aliens who have imported in large numbers from Asia and the South Sea Islands. These races show no signs of decay. Their numbers are constantly increasing. They have invaded Australia from Cape York to Port Philip, and from South Australia to New Zealand. Partly because they represent cheap labour, partly because “Australia for the white man” is become an article of faith from one end of the continent to the other, these importations have met with the most determined hostility—with antipathy which might long ago have culminated in serious violence, had not the various colonial governments performed something, and promised more, in the way of repressive legislation. The coloured man is the stock subject of the newspapers, the regular topic at public meetings, and the theme of numerous parliamentary debates. In short, he has risen to the dignity of the question of the day.

The coloured races of Australia are of three principal varieties. The aboriginal is black, the Chinaman is yellow, and the Polynesian may be of any tint from copper to black. Since the conclusion of the Maori war in New Zealand, the aboriginal has not attracted any attention beyond the limits of Australia. The colonists, however, especially in the north, have by no means heard the last of him. The two races of New Zealand are rapidly declining through the

combined influence of too much rum, and, apparently, too little fighting.* Drink and inactivity co-operate towards the same result. Peace is now maintained between the natives and the settlers, and the former are more considerably treated than of yore; but alike in peace or war, whether drinking rum or cutting throats, the native New Zealander goes down before the advance of civilisation. The aboriginals of Tasmania are extinct. On the continent their condition becomes more degraded and hopeless in proportion as they are remote from the sea. The coast natives are far superior to those of the inland districts. The former are capable of continuous industry, and display a considerable amount of intelligence. Some specimens that I saw about Moreton Bay (the entrance to the River Brisbane) were remarkably fine men. In the north of Queensland—in the peninsula of Cape York and round about the gulf of Carpentaria—the native is of an entirely different race, and probably migrated originally from the islands of the great Indian archipelago. He is athletic, intelligent, ferocious, untameable, and is credited with an appetite for human flesh. Traces of cannibalism have also been found in the western interior; but nothing exact is known of the natives of that unexplored region. The most degraded of the aboriginal tribes have proved less unteachable than might have been inferred from the accounts of early travellers; but nowhere have these races been so advantageously affected by civilisation as to afford any hope of their escaping that natural law which dooms the weaker race to disappear before the stronger. The blacks will occasionally work for the squatters, and work well; but they soon grow tired of remaining in one place. Continuous application seems beyond them. They are useful in tracking malefactors—a business for which most of them have qualified by a long training as evil-doers on their own account. In some places areas have been set apart for them, and homes have been established under the care of white officials. Here the aboriginal has acquired a little knowledge of agriculture and some of the simpler arts; but it is noticeable that women or old and infirm men mostly seek these institutions, which thus do little to lighten the lump of able-bodied savagery. In Northern Queensland the relationship between the whites and the blacks is one of war to the knife. The savage uses his spear, the settler his rifle, whenever an opportunity presents itself. Nothing is attempted in the way of negotiation, overtures for peace, or reclamation. The latter is pronounced to be an impossibility; but no effort has been made to establish a *modus vivendi*. It is said—and probably with too much truth—that the irreconcilable hostility of these northern savages was first provoked by atrocities on the part of the early settlers; but it is not at all certain that the blacks could not be propitiated. They have decidedly the best of the present

permanent state of warfare, which annually costs Queenslanders several lives and a large amount of property:

So much for the black man. The Kanaka, South Sea Islander, or Polynesian, as he is variously termed, may be generally classed as the brown man, though every island rejoices in its peculiar tint. These immigrants are confined to Queensland, and almost to one industry—the cultivation of sugar. About ten years ago the English Government and people were astonished at the receipt of reports to the effect that the South Sea Islanders were systematically kidnapped and compelled to work on the Queensland plantations. These accounts had too much foundation in truth; but such practices wholly ceased long ago. An Act passed in the year 1868 placed this kind of immigration under strict regulations. Every vessel bringing Polynesians to Queensland must be licensed. Every importer of South Sea Islanders must sign a bond with two sureties, agreeing, under a penalty, to fulfil the conditions of the Act. These stipulate that the Polynesian shall be employed for a term of three years, at wages not under £6 a year. He is to be provided with a certain amount of clothing yearly, with rations, and medical attendance when required. At the end of the term of three years his employer must provide him with a passage—the accommodation on board ship being also specified. These labourers are industrious and for the most part well behaved. They suffer no hardship from their employers; but the mortality amongst them is excessive, arising mostly from pulmonary diseases. Though the climate here is tropical, the mornings in midwinter are very cold, with occasional frosts. Some of these Polynesians remain in Queensland after the expiration of their term of service, and these often display a propensity for arraying themselves in fine linen and gold chains. The remainder return to their native islands (the New Hebrides), carrying with them the equivalent of their £18 in the shape of rifles, revolvers, and other instruments of war. As these are the marks of civilisation of which they are most proud, it is to be feared that their intercourse with higher intelligences does not prove an unmixed blessing to their benighted brethren at home. In the year 1877 the number of Polynesians who came to Queensland was 1986, including only 74 females. The number who departed was 906. The total number imported into this colony up to the end of March, 1878, was 13,933. Of these 1,694 died, and 5,570 went home again, leaving 6,669 in the country.

The insignificant number of women who come hither from the islands forms an objection to the employment of Kanakas. As for the rest, it might be thought that a body of labourers who are engaged for a limited period, and who perform a kind of work that is not suitable for Europeans, would excite no jealousy or animosity.

amongst the whites. This, however, is not the case. The Australian's antipathy to the coloured man is beyond the reach of argument. The Polynesian, limited as is the sphere of his operations, has narrowly escaped exclusion from Queensland. The Premier who has just retired from office (Mr. Douglas) was greatly opposed to Kanaka labour; and a measure further "regulating" the employment of the South Sea Islander was all but passed in the session of 1877. The newly-arrived immigrant from Great Britain or Europe, who is landed at the Northern ports, is especially dismayed at the sight of these dark-skinned fellow-labourers. The immensity of the distances in these countries, the interminable forests of gum trees, the roughness of everything around, the villages where he expected to find cities, and the hamlets where he imagined there would be towns, are calculated to depress the new-comer at first; but these novel influences are as nothing compared with the prospect of having to work side by side with *black labour*! Appalled at such an unexpected discovery, many of the immigrants, who are brought hither at a cost to the colony of some £20 a head, hasten southwards; and thus New South Wales secures many a good citizen at the expense of Queensland.

The Polynesian, however, as an object of public interest and of public dread, sinks into insignificance before the Chinese. This ubiquitous, all-suffering, all-capable individual—the future possessor of the world in his own opinion—has invaded Australia in thousands. He competes with the white man in almost every industry. He is careless of hardship, and apparently indifferent to climate. He flourishes equally under the almost equatorial heat of northern Queensland, and in the moist cool atmosphere of New Zealand. He possesses the power of working almost without limit, though he is slower and feebler than the Englishman; he can live upon a sum which would astonish a Dorsetshire labourer; and he regards an occasional period of semi-starvation as something quite in the ordinary way of business. These qualities, much more than certain vices to which the yellow man is addicted, have excited against him the bitterest aversion. The slang name for this invasion of the celestial children is sufficiently expressive. It is called the Yellow Agony. The Chinaman is regarded, in short, as an instrument for taking the bread out of the white man's mouth, as an agent for the reduction of wages; and his tendency is undoubtedly to monopolize any industry in which he once gets a footing.

It is remarkable that a question which is vital to Australia, and which is of no little imperial importance, should have excited so little attention in England. From time to time the English papers have noticed the Chinese invasion of California; and some years ago the Philadelphia correspondent of the *Times* very felicitously de-

scribed the hostility to the Chinese in America as caused by their "underselling white labour, and setting up their idols in a Christian land." The *Times* itself brought the artillery of political economy to bear; it upheld the right of the employer to buy labour in the cheapest market. And possibly this off-hand decision was sufficient as regards the case in America. The Chinese there are only obnoxious in the one corner where they reside; they are but a drop in the ocean of the great republic. If we estimate the Chinese in California at 35,000—an extreme number, I believe—such an alien population is not likely to cause any social disturbance amongst a community of forty millions, however offensive they may be to their immediate neighbours. In Australia the case is widely different. The Chinese swarm throughout the eastern continent. There are 4,000 in Sydney alone. In Queensland they number at least 20,000, out of a total population of little over 200,000. The report of the Queensland Department of Mines for the year 1877 states that the total number of gold-miners at the end of the year was 17,903. Of these only 4,634 were Europeans, and the remainder, 13,269, were Chinese. In some places, notably Cooktown, these visitors form the majority of the population. Viewing the matter apart from prejudice, antipathy, or panic, these figures do suggest a serious question. If this immigration of Chinese be continued, is there not a danger lest the yellow race should, at any rate in certain districts, become the dominant one? These colonies are held by white men in the name of Queen Victoria; are we to allow any portion of them practically to pass to the Emperor of China? The question is a complicated one, since we have to consider—first, the general right of the employer to get his work done at the cheapest rate; secondly, the treaty obligations of the empire of which Australia forms a part; thirdly, the undoubted right of the colonies to self-preservation. The last consideration seems likely to overpower the others. Rightly or wrongly, the colonial electors and their representatives have decided that Chinese immigration constitutes a danger which must not be suffered to continue. If one expedient fails to keep out the yellow man, another must be tried; excluded he must be. This feeling is practically unanimous. It has brought about repressive legislation in Queensland, and the example of the younger colony will soon be followed in New South Wales.

When the Chinaman first arrived in Queensland, he devoted himself to occupations in which his services were very welcome. He raised vegetables which no one else would raise; he caught the fish which had hitherto swum almost unmolested in Moreton Bay; and he did the work both of an English country hawker and a London costermonger. The Queenslander is apt to despise small industries. The command of boundless territory, the enervating climate, and the

still more enervating system of government, all tend to foster a dislike to occupations which require attention to minute detail. To such a community the plodding Chinaman was useful—and, indeed, still is, as far as the above-mentioned occupations go. But the case assumed a totally different aspect after the discovery of the northern gold-fields, especially that on the Palmer River (1873). The almond-eyed race rushed thither in thousands, all animated with the hope of realising that very modest capital which secures a competence in China. The alluvial diggings of the North¹ were totally unequal to the support of the multitudes who flocked to them. In some localities the yield of gold was insufficient to procure the necessaries of life—even the necessaries of Chinese life. Great privations were endured by the majority. Many died of sheer starvation. But their fate did not check the invasion. A few gained the coveted fortune, and each individual was willing to brave every risk in the hope that he might be numbered among the lucky minority. The Chinese are inveterate gamblers—a propensity in strange contrast with their indomitable perseverance and plodding industry. Suffering the Celestial bears patiently; he holds life cheaply; and so long as he sees a chance of success for himself, he views with the utmost unconcern the bleached bones of his companions around him. Nearly all the yellow immigrants to the gold-fields came out under a sort of contract with their wealthier brethren at home. Not having the money to pay their own passages to Queensland, they engaged to make over a certain proportion of their gains to the capitalists who gave them a start. Notwithstanding the number who left home never to return, the speculation seems to have paid the Hong Kong merchants who embarked in it, for the stream of Chinese immigration never ceased to flow as long as the alluvial deposits on the northern fields held out, and until the adoption by the Queensland Parliament and Government of the measures which I am about to describe.

This form of Chinese enterprise gave rise among the Europeans to a measure of discontent and enmity that never could have been excited by fishing or market-gardening. No matter that a European could not live upon the gains out of which the Chinese would save money; no matter that the aliens often worked ground that the European would regard as worthless. The total amount carried off by the Asiatics was imposing in the mass, and the white men considered themselves robbed of their property. It must be admitted that these Chinese gold-seekers were perfectly useless as

(1) In alluvial mining the gold is sought by washing the soil; in the other branch of gold-mining, "reefing," the precious metal is extracted from the quartz rock by crushing. The latter operation requires expensive machinery, the former only the simplest appliances.

colonists. They did not bring their families, they did not settle. Their only object was to secure as much gold as would recoup their patrons and leave a balance for themselves. They then decamped. During their stay here they dealt with traders of their own race, so that much of even their necessary expenditure would also find its way back to China. Immigrants who have left no trace behind them, except the exhaustion of the alluvial fields over which they worked, could hardly be regarded as desirable colonists. Such visitors cannot be welcomed. The Colonial feeling, however, goes far beyond this negative phase. It is a feeling of determined hostility; it has brought about several Acts of Parliament; and, whilst I write, further dramatic novelties of the same order are announced by the new Government as being in preparation.

But, however precise the public demand might be, a practical method of meeting it was not readily discovered. Queensland is an integral portion of the British Empire, and the treaty obligations of the Imperial Government must be respected here as elsewhere. The Chinese could not be forcibly kept out. They could not be hanged or imprisoned after they landed. At length the Brisbane Government resolved to exclude these visitors by the indirect method of rendering their expeditions hither unprofitable. The Hong Kong patrons would not send their countrymen over, unless the speculation proved remunerative; and accordingly the Ministry set themselves to prevent such a favourable result by imposing extra licenses, and exacting a sort of caution money. In a word, the white man was to be *protected* by a *duty* on the yellow man. The first measure passed by the Queensland Legislature was the Gold Fields Act Amendment Act of 1877. This provided that all Asiatic or African aliens should pay £3 for a miner's right or license, whereas the ordinary fee is 10s., and £10 for a business license, whereas the charge to Europeans is £4. Governor Cairns withheld his assent from this measure, on the ground that to impose special charges upon the Chinese was contrary to the spirit of the Imperial treaties with China. That the measure was directed against the Chinese only was obvious, since Queensland contains no African aliens, nor any Asiatics except Chinese. The Queensland Ministry of the day waxed wrath at this interference. They sought and obtained sympathy from the other Australian Governments, and they composed some Ministerial effusions which must have given intense amusement in Downing Street. Finally, the bill was assented to. Whilst it was in abeyance, the Government passed a second measure, which, though still more oppressive to the yellow man, received the royal assent without delay. This was the Chinese Immigrants Regulation Act of 1877. It stipulates that the master of every vessel bringing Chinese passengers to any Queensland port shall, before

making an entry at the Customs, deliver to the collector a list of the Chinese on board, and pay a deposit of ten pounds for each one of them. A certificate is given to each of these passengers, and constitutes a sort of passport through the colony. The purpose for which this deposit is made may be best exemplified by quoting the 7th Clause of the Act :—

“ 7. All sums so paid by or on behalf of any Chinese shall be paid over to the Colonial Treasurer, and be by him applied in manner following, that is to say : If at any time within three years from the date of the landing or arrival of any Chinese in respect of whom such sums shall have been paid, such Chinese shall depart from the colony to parts beyond the seas, and shall before his departure prove to the satisfaction of the Colonial Treasurer that during his residence in the colony he has not been confined in any gaol or lock-up after conviction of any offence, and that he has paid all fines and penalties imposed upon him under the provisions of any Act in force in the colony, and that he has paid all expenses incurred in respect of his confinement or medical treatment in any public hospital, benevolent asylum, lunatic asylum, or other place for the care, treatment, or cure of the sick poor or insane, and that no expense or charge has fallen upon the revenue,—then upon the production to the collector or other principal officer of customs at the port of embarkation, of the certificate given to such Chinese on his arrival, the amount so paid in respect of such Chinese shall be repaid to him on board of the ship by which he shall so depart. But if he shall fail to make such proof within the period aforesaid, the amount shall be paid into the Consolidated Revenue.”

The penalties for the infringement of any of the provisions of this Act are very severe—heavy fines, the forfeiture of the vessel, &c. The chance of any Chinese immigrant getting his £10 back is obviously infinitesimal. He must not only keep out of gaol, not only pay for his maintenance if he is compelled to go to a hospital, a benevolent asylum (a sort of workhouse) or a lunatic asylum—the latter being a very likely destination for any Chinese who come hither after the passage of this Act,—but he must prove all this. The onus of showing that he has been immaculate rests with him. Imagine Ah Sing, the Hong Kong John Smith, endeavouring to prove in a strange country that he was not the Ah Sing who did this or that which he ought not to have done ! In nine cases out of ten the deposit must remain an absolute poll-tax.

The deposit, however, is not all. No vessel can carry more than one Chinese passenger for every ten tons of registry. Previously to the adoption of this proviso in Queensland, the steamship companies were able to make this trade profitable by carrying large numbers, tightly packed, at £3 or £4 a head. The Chinese had no objection to the tight-packing; indeed, they are not thankful for any of the blessings of civilisation, as Europeans interpret them; and they were only too glad to get here anyhow, provided the demand upon their pockets was of moderate amount. I am informed by a leading merchant that, under the Act of 1877, a Chinaman cannot be profitably carried from Hong Kong to Cooktown (the most northerly

Queensland port) under £30. Anything like this charge would be prohibitory. As a matter of fact the Chinese Immigrants Regulation Act has achieved its object, that of preventing immigration altogether. The number of Chinese who arrived in Queensland in 1875 was 7,254; in 1876, 6,555; and in 1877, 7,460. Since the end of 1877, the total of yellow immigrants has not reached 200. In all likelihood a falling off in the number of visitors from Hong Kong would have been inevitable in any case, since the alluvial fields of the north are well-nigh exhausted. But so complete a suspension of the "yellow agony" can only be owing to the effect of these prohibitive measures.

Yet even the two Acts I have described were not deemed sufficient by an anxious Ministry. The first one—the Gold Fields Act Amendment Act—proved a dead letter. It was found impossible to get the license money from the Chinese. In many cases they did not possess it; in other cases they would not pay. As this patient race were always ready to starve or to go to gaol, their *vis inertiae* gained them a complete victory as regards this measure. The deposit under the Regulation Act must be paid before the Chinese can land, and hence the decisive effect of that law; the license was payable after the Chinese had got on shore, and in practice could not be obtained at all. This result was, of course, unsatisfactory. The Regulation Act prevented fresh importations, but it did not affect those Chinese who were already in the colony. Something was needed to make these uncomfortable, and the Gold Fields Act Amendment Act had proved a complete failure. Nothing daunted, the Ministry passed the Gold Fields Act Amendment Act of 1878, which repealed the Amendment Act of 1877, and forbade "Asiatic or African aliens" from mining on new gold fields, a field being defined as "new" for three years after proclamation. Thus if a Chinese gold-seeker does get over the difficulty of the £10 deposit—which has so far proved insuperable—he can only take the leavings of the Europeans. No new fields worth mentioning have recently been discovered, and the old alluvial deposits must speedily cease to afford a livelihood even to a Chinaman. Some of the ground has been worked over three times already. Whether this repressive legislation is in accordance with the spirit of British treaties with China is a question for the Colonial Secretary at home: certain it is that the desire of the vast majority of Queenslanders is rapidly being realised.

The history of the Chinese question in New South Wales has been marked by a very significant episode. For some time past the competition of the Chinese in that colony has excited the same feeling of dissatisfaction which is manifested throughout Australia. In Sydney alone the obnoxious race number 4,000. They have almost mono-

polized the cabinet-making business, for which they display remarkable aptitude, and in other trades their rivalry is formidable. The animosity of the whites has often seemed on the point of breaking out into violent measures, in that most rowdy-ridden of Australian cities—Sydney; but peace was preserved up to the middle of last November, when the Australasian Steam Navigation Company—much to their own surprise—brought about a serious crisis. The A. S. N. Company (as it is popularly called) is one of the most powerful of Australian corporations. Its large fleet of steamers ply along the whole coast of the continent from Cooktown to Adelaide, and trade with New Zealand, Tasmania, Fiji, and New Caledonia. Previously to the middle of November Chinese firemen and dock-hands were employed on board three steamers trading with Fiji and New Caledonia. The directors resolved to avail themselves further of this cheap labour, and Chinese began gradually to make their appearance in the vessels trading between Sydney and Queensland. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Company intended to supersede European seamen and firemen as far as possible throughout their service. One hundred Chinese were brought specially from Hong Kong, and this consignment was followed by another and a much larger one. On Monday, November 18, the directors attempted to put their resolution into force at Sydney, and were met by a strike of all the crews in port. The whites broke their engagements, packed up their effects, and went on shore. The example was followed by every other crew, when and wherever they landed, until nearly the whole fleet was laid up. Only with the utmost difficulty could the Company insure the imperfect fulfilment of their mail contracts. One steamer was manned entirely by captains and officers; and very amusing it was to hear the “Have the goodness to belay that rope, Mr. A.,” and the “Be kind enough to keep her off, Mr. B.” The weekly loss to the Company was enormous; but they held out in the full expectation that the men would be beaten in the end. And doubtless so powerful a body would have triumphed without much difficulty in an ordinary strike. But this was no ordinary dispute between capital and labour. It was a strike against the yellow man. Thus it acquired a sacred character; it became an Australian movement, securing universal sympathy, and, what was more to the purpose, substantial support.

A storm of popular feeling—unanimous, with insignificant exceptions, from one end of the continent to the other—burst upon the Company. Public meetings were held everywhere, and without ceasing. The newspapers mostly took the side of the seamen. Ministers, *in esse* and *in posse*, were interviewed, and promised to “settle” the Chinese question as soon as Parliament assembled, or as soon as they got into office, as the case might be. The public put their

hands in their pockets, and subscribed for the support of the strikers a sum much in excess of the requirements of the case. So bitter was the feeling of Australians generally, that large numbers of working men forbade their wives to deal with Chinese hawkers and gardeners, and thus endangered the health of their children, for in this climate vegetables form a specially essential element in the food of the young. Violence was studiously avoided, save in one or two trivial cases; albeit the *canaille* of Sydney was with difficulty restrained from displaying its peculiar style of patriotism. But no feature of this popular movement was so striking as the fact that the cause of the seamen was supported not merely by raw politicians seeking after popularity, *non homines* grasping at a chance of making themselves, but by the moderate and established leaders of Australian politics. In Queensland the Ministry and the Opposition were at one in the matter; and the former gave notice to the A. S. N. Company that, in consequence of the irregular delivery of the mails, the contract for carrying them would be terminated. In a word, the Company, instead of having to contend against a few seamen and stokers, found itself face to face with the entire Australian community. Long before the strike terminated, defeat became inevitable; indeed, the Government of New South Wales threatened legislative measures. In one circular to the shareholders the directors hinted at the preposterous expedient of selling their property; in other words, having declared that they could not make a profit unless they employed Chinese labour, they would sell their steamers because they were prevented from using such labour! Better sense prevailed in the end; and ultimately the directors accepted a compromise, by which they agreed to pay the wages of the strikers up to the time of their leaving work, to employ Chinese on certain lines only, and to restrict the total number so employed to 130. So ended this important contest; important because it was brought about by the first attempt of European employers to introduce Chinese labour on a large scale; for, be it noted, though the yellow man abounds in such numbers in these countries, he almost invariably works for himself or an employer of his own race.

The Prime Minister of New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes, has lost no time in drawing up a measure for the purpose of effecting for his colony what the Chinese Immigrants Regulation Act has so thoroughly done for Queensland. Indeed, the bill is an exact copy of the Act, with the exception of the use to be made of the £10 deposit. The Queensland Act makes a pretence, as we have seen, of returning this sum. Sir Henry Parkes proceeds in a more straightforward manner. His bill provides that all sums "so paid by or on behalf of any Chinese shall be paid over to the Colonial Treasurer, and by him set apart under a separate account as a fund to be applied

towards the support of Chinese within the hospitals or other public institutions of the colony. This affords the Celestial a substantial prospect. Instead of being buoyed up with the delusive hope of regaining his deposit in money, he has before him the certainty of being able to take it out in medicine, or even to claim a wooden leg for nothing. The measure is not yet passed, but there is no doubt that it will become law. Sir Henry Parkes commands a large majority, and it is not probable that any of his followers either could or would rebel in the present state of the public temper.

The total number of Chinese in New South Wales at the end of last year was 9,616. There are few, if any, women of this race in the colony, but 352 European women live with Chinese, of which number 181 are married. The condition of the remainder is a favourite topic at the indignation meetings, but it is right to say that these women had small social standing to lose when they joined fortunes with their Mongolian partners. In Victoria the number of Chinese is comparatively small, and no measures have been taken against them. A few meetings have been held, and the general attitude is one of sympathy with the anti-Chinese movements in the north. In South Australia the Government have issued an order prohibiting contractors from employing Chinese on any public work. It will thus be seen that the same disposition prevails throughout the colonies.

Such are the facts of the case. The logic, the justice of this question, are of course another matter. To most Englishmen, probably, these legislative proceedings will appear monstrous. In British Columbia, indeed, an impost similar to the deposit or protection duty levied upon the Chinese in Queensland has been pronounced unconstitutional by the supreme court; but as "constitution" and its derivatives are precisely that class of words to which everybody attaches the meaning that pleases him best, it is not probable that a decision of this kind will make much difference. The Queenslanders have secured the royal assent to their measure, and what has been granted to one colony can hardly be refused to another. Equally little to the purpose is it to uphold the virtues of the Chinese on the one hand, or his vices on the other, though these are generally the subject of fierce contention between the advocates of the two sides. Both the good and the bad qualities of the unpopular race are more or less doubtful quantities. The Chinese are inveterate gamblers, but they are not alone in this respect. Many of them smoke opium, but the consumption of this drug by the yellow man does not produce worse effects than the consumption of rum by the white man. Intoxication is a greater public nuisance than stupefaction. Then these invaders bring no women with them, and very few can or will obtain European wives. Hence very mischievous consequences; but it is alleged with

much reason on behalf of the Chinese that they cannot be expected to bring women hither, while the men meet with such scant courtesy. The yellow man, in fact, invariably becomes of a more deplorable moral character, in proportion as his industrial rivalry grows more formidable. "Henceforth I'm opposed to cheap labour," said Bret Harte's Californian, when he found that the Heathen Chinese could cheat at euchre more effectively than he could himself. On the other hand, the virtues of the Chinese have been absurdly extolled, and equally require discounting. He is "orderly and inoffensive." Is he so at home, when he finds himself supported by an overwhelming superiority of numbers? Here in Australia his quiet behaviour is very intelligible. The 4,000 Chinese, for example, who inhabit Sydney have good reasons for being orderly, in the presence of an unfriendly population of 140,000. Again, that the Chinaman is industrious is a rule to which I have never met with any exception. He labours to excess; his capacity for patient toil seems inexhaustible. But he has never had any opportunity of developing any other qualities besides this plodding perseverance. White philosophy now universally recognises that man should not live for work alone; yet many generations of something very like serfdom have left the masses in China with the power of labour, and with very little else. The industry of the Chinese is a virtue run to seed.

Let us fix the moral status of the Celestial as nicely as we may, there still remains unsolved the perplexing problem arising out of the European's instinct of self-preservation. For this is really the root of the matter. The Australian is neither intolerant nor unreasonable with respect to other races generally. All manner of Europeans are welcomed here: they arrive in shiploads, settle down, and amalgamate with the rest of the population. The Irish are remarkably numerous in Brisbane, and, as a class, are prosperous. Germans swarm in the best agricultural region of Queensland, the Darling Downs. Out of 6,212 European immigrants who landed in this colony during 1877, 1,378 were Germans. At the last general election an important constituency rejected an Englishman who had sat in Parliament for five years, and had been Chairman of the Committees, in favour of a German storekeeper. Italians also have been brought hither at the public expense. The ordinary European is, in short, sought after, whether he speaks English or not. Why is the Asiatic so bitterly opposed? The specious pleas of "passion," "prejudice," "antagonism of race," will not serve to explain a feeling which is so deep and universal. The instinct of self-preservation, I repeat, is the true explanation of this difficulty: the Australian is fully convinced that the issue is one of life or death, and that where the Chinese are, the Europeans will, sooner or later, cease to be. Nor is the question merely one of cheap labour—of underbidding

in the wages market. The adhesion to the cause of the seamen of nearly all the Australian political leaders—including many men of wealth—shows that something more is at stake. A very few words will suffice to show what this is.

When the A. S. N. Company made their attempt to supersede white labour, the rate of wages for a European fireman was £8 a month. The Eastern and Australian Mail Company pay their Chinese firemen £2 15s. a month, and four Chinese are equal to three Europeans. The difference between the wages of the two is therefore equal to the difference between 11 and 24. Can it be doubted that, with such an advantage in prospect, the employment of Chinese would, if the A. S. N. Company had succeeded, in time have become universal? It may be argued that if the capitalists can command this difference, they have a right to it; but, before admitting this inference, let us glance at another set of facts. The population of Australia is augmented not only by natural increase, but also by the constant influx of immigrants brought hither at the expense of the various colonial governments. These new-comers are collected in shiploads by agents in London, and, in the case of Queensland, lecturers are paid to travel throughout Great Britain, and explain to the multitude the advantages of settling in this El Dorado. Neither lecturers nor agents spare the colouring in their pictures of colonial life; yet in the main an artisan or labourer does benefit by availing himself of these facilities. Queensland is now suffering from a period of temporary depression, but in ordinary times the chances of success here are much greater than in the old country, whilst comfort is almost a certainty. The case would be utterly altered if the myriads who are ready to leave China at a moment's notice were allowed free ingress and an industrial *champ libre*.

To induce Europeans to come hither by holding out a prospect of from six to fourteen shillings a day, and to leave them after their arrival to compete with a race who are thankful for half-a-crown, would be a cruel fraud. It would, indeed, be impossible to practise such deception. European free immigration would cease altogether, and what such discontinuance would mean may be inferred from the fact that of the 6,212 Europeans who came to Queensland in 1877, only 420 paid their own passages. And not only would the white man cease to come in; he would in many cases be driven out. A slow but sure transformation of these British colonies into Asiatic communities would be brought about, with a result disastrous to all classes, not excepting the capitalists, whose gain by the employment of yellow labour would be more than counterbalanced by the loss of white custom. The spendings of the Chinese are proportionate to their earnings. Such a result would be all the more calamitous,

since Australians generally are beginning to evince a desire for a closer connection with the mother country, and it is probable that some of the starving workpeople of Great Britain will be compelled ere long to seek a new home. This they might find here with advantage to themselves and the colonies. If, as is more than probable, England has reached the limit of her population-bearing capacity, an advantageous arrangement might be made by which the boundless capabilities of these regions might be rendered available for the surplus—Australia would obtain the population she needs, and England would secure a more extended market for her commodities. This, however, can never be, if the unrestrained competition of the Chinese is to be tolerated. That my forecast of the consequences of such competition is not overdrawn, is evidenced by the present condition of Cooktown and the district round about. This region is a Mongolian province. The Chinese are predominant. It is true that they are not allowed to share in the government, but they have not been trained to desire this kind of power. Their persons and property are safe, and they are sagely content to leave the trouble of government to the whites.

It is the reality of this danger which has led a majority of the educated and well-to-do colonists to join the multitude in the campaign against the unwelcome visitors. On the whole they cannot be blamed. The balance of argument in this most difficult question inclines to the side of the exclusionists. The expedients with which they have met the invaders are undoubtedly artificial; they are even, as we have seen, grotesque; but it is only fair to their originators to say that they were not tried until all others had proved useless. Nor can it be doubted that any other English community, or any European community whatsoever, would adopt similarly decisive measures if they were suddenly swamped by a horde of uninvited guests. In matters of this kind the advocates of toleration are always those who have nothing to tolerate. In reluctantly arriving at a conclusion like this, I trust I have overlooked nothing that can be urged on the Chinese side of the question. Indeed, it would be difficult to do so, since the Chinese have spoken with no uncertain sound in their own behalf. Three Chinese merchants of Melbourne, L. Kong Meng, Cheok Hong Cheong, and Louis Ah Mony, have issued a pamphlet, in which the case is discussed from their side with great force. They are not supposed to have written this paper, but the fact that they have been the means of giving so excellent an argument to the world does them the greatest credit. Here is their estimate of the Chinese character:—"Man for man, we unhesitatingly assert that our countrymen will compare favourably with any European people in morals and manners; in proof whereof we refer to Hayter's Statistics on Crime, &c.: and that they are superior

to the average Englishman in filial affection, in respect for the aged, in honesty, in cheerfulness, and in patient, plodding industry. They are free from moroseness and discontent, very good-tempered, grateful for kindness, faithful to their employers, quick to learn, clever to imitate, peaceful, orderly, sober, and methodical." Kong Meng and his coadjutors then proceed to argue that Australia is large enough for all, and that China is overcrowded. Australia is probably half as large again as China proper, and it contains fewer than two millions and a quarter of Europeans. Why, then, do not the Chinese betake themselves to some part of Australia where they will not interfere with Europeans? If the average Chinaman is half as fine a fellow as these three merchants represent him to be, he is fully the equal of the Englishman. Why, then, does he not (being "clever to imitate") do as the Englishman has done, and found colonies of his own, instead of trespassing upon other people's preserves? The world would be all the better for a few independent Chinese communities. For the yellow men to settle down amongst a people with whom they can no more amalgamate than oil can mix with water, is merely tempting Providence. During the last ten years they have invaded various white communities, and yet have made no more progress towards fusion than is indicated by the formation of a few connections with women who are generally the most degraded of their sex. That painful industry, that life-darkening frugality, which are so much admired by some observers, are not the offspring of innate virtue, but the result of a permanently inadequate food supply. It is not possible that a race reared like the English can imitate such qualities; nor is it desirable, except on the theory that man was born to make himself miserable. Why continue an attempt which is obviously futile, and which involves such fierce antagonism of race? The world is wide, and still contains numerous unsettled areas. If the Chinese fail in the endeavour to possess them, the result will go far to establish that inferiority which their advocates so strenuously deny.

JOHN WISKER.

AGRICULTURAL PROSPECTS.

THE depression which for the last five years has weighed upon the manufacturing and commercial industries of this country has now made itself felt in almost every department of agriculture, so far at least as England and Scotland are concerned. From every part of the country we hear of bankrupt tenants and farms thrown on the landlord's hands. We are assured, by persons very competent to form an opinion, not only that the condition of agricultural affairs is worse now than it has ever been since the years that immediately succeeded the repeal of the Corn Laws, but that the outlook is far less hopeful. It was not in any case to be expected that, while every other branch of industry was suffering, the agricultural interest should escape without injury. But other circumstances, some of them at least exceptional in their character, have tended to aggravate the depression which prevails among the classes connected with agriculture. In the first place, we have till last year had a succession of bad harvests. And even last year the barley crop, which has of late been the most profitable of all the cereals, was in many instances not harvested in good condition. In the next place, while the general depression of trade has caused a falling off in the demand for agricultural produce, the severity of foreign competition has been intensified by the commercial distress in the United States. It is not merely that the demand there has slackened, and that, therefore, they have had a larger amount of surplus produce to export. There has been a large migration from the Eastern States of persons who could no longer find employment in the industries to which they had been accustomed. An unusually large amount of new land has, therefore, been taken up and brought into cultivation within the last few years, and there has thus been a largely increased supply of agricultural produce, while, at the same time, the demand has been falling off. Lastly, a process has been discovered by which fresh meat can be brought from America and landed here in good condition. This last circumstance, more than any other, has probably tended to dishearten those who depend for their livelihood on the profits arising from the cultivation of land. The farmer used to be assured that though he might be undersold by the foreign wheat grower, he could defy foreign competition so far as beef and mutton were concerned. He was exhorted to turn his attention mainly to the production of those articles; and for many years the rearing and feeding of sheep and cattle has been the mainstay of our agriculture. But now he finds himself exposed to a sharp competition in that

quarter where formerly he felt himself most secure. There has been a heavy fall in the prices of fat sheep and cattle, and the feeder has suffered severely in consequence. A tenant-farmer, who breeds and feeds cattle of the best quality, told me the other day that whereas last year he was selling his three-year-old oxen at from £36 to £40 apiece, he had this year received only from £28 to £31 for equally good cattle of the same class. It will, I think, be generally admitted by practical men that since the spring of last year there has been a fall of more than 20 per cent. in the value of fat stock.

The future range of prices is not a very profitable subject of speculation, because it depends on many conditions which we cannot foresee. But even here there are, I think, some elements of hope. When trade revives we shall have a better demand for agricultural produce as well as for other things. I believe that the present low scale of prices, in respect at least of sheep and cattle, is owing as much to the slackness of trade, and the consequent falling off in the demand, as to foreign competition. I have before me the weekly report (second week in April) of Messrs. John Swan and Sons, the great Scotch cattle salesmen. They say, "The consumption in Glasgow, as compared with same time last year, is certainly 33 per cent. less, while prices are from 16s. to 18s. per cwt. less than were readily made at same time." In this case, the falling off in the amount taken for consumption considerably exceeds the reduction in price, which is not more than about 20 per cent., and any considerable increase in demand, therefore, would probably cause a substantial rise in price. I am informed too, by persons conversant with the meat trade, that very heavy losses have been made by American exporters; and the recent failures of some of the American firms would seem to corroborate this statement.

I observe that Mr. Arthur Arnold, who not long since addressed a letter to the *Times* (April 16), on the subject of Agricultural Depression, takes a somewhat desponding view of the prospects of the farmer. He says that if the United States adopt a Free Trade policy freights will fall, because, whereas ships now go out to America in ballast, and the grain which they bring back has to pay such a freight as will cover the cost both of the outward and homeward voyage, if the Americans adopt Free Trade the freight outward will be paid by our manufactured goods. And as regards cattle, he says that when the present restrictions on the importation of live cattle are removed, the British farmers will suffer severely. With respect to Free Trade, I do not think our farmers need be much disquieted by the prospect of low freights for grain as the result of the adoption of that policy by the United States. Many people here are under a delusion as to the progress which Free Trade doctrines are making in America. They seem to think that there

is a great and growing demand for Free Trade in the Western and Southern States. They argue, very justly, that Free Trade would be advantageous to the people of those States, and they jump to the conclusion that, therefore, the people are in favour of it, and that it will soon be adopted because the centre of political power is moving rapidly westward. But when I was last in the Western States, I was told, by men who were themselves Free Traders, that though a considerable number of the old men were in favour of Free Trade, yet that the great majority of the younger generation, even among the farmers, were Protectionists. They had persuaded themselves that it would be a great advantage to them to have markets for their produce close to their own doors, and that such markets could best be established by a system of protective duties. In the South, no doubt, the great majority of those who exercised political influence were at one time in favour of Free Trade. But the customs duties on sugar, which were taken off soon after the Civil War, have been re-imposed since, mainly to protect the sugar-producing interest of Louisiana. And cotton mills are now being started in Georgia and other Southern States. So that the numerous and powerful "rings," which are opposed to Free Trade, and which, to a great extent, control the legislation of the United States, have lately been reinforced by two protected Southern interests. Taking these things into account, together with the circumstances that the recent Protectionist movement in Canada is sure to react on the United States, I am afraid that the efforts of Mr. Wells and his able coadjutors are not likely to be successful for some time to come.

Nor is it clear that the importation of live cattle from the United States would be injurious to the British farmer. The competition of American meat has, as yet, done little but reduce the price of fat stock. The feeder here suffers not only from the low prices of fat animals, but also from the relatively high price which he has to pay for store cattle. But when the Americans are able to show a clean bill of health, and the restrictions on the importation of live stock are removed, we shall be able to obtain store cattle from the United States at a comparatively low price. The profits of the Irish breeder will, perhaps, be somewhat diminished, but the English and Scotch farmers, the great majority of whom feed cattle and do not breed them, will be gainers by the removal of the existing restrictions. Before the importation of live cattle from the United States had been put a stop to, considerable numbers were purchased half fat by Scotch farmers at prices far lower than home-bred animals of the same class could have been bought for; and they appear in most instances to have paid fairly well for their keep.

As regards wheat, no doubt the prospects of the English grower

do not appear to be brilliant. At the same time, when commercial affairs in the United States begin to improve, it is probable that the migration westward towards the unoccupied lands will have a tendency to slacken, and, therefore, that the production of wheat is not likely to go on increasing at the same rate as during the last few years. Mr. Bear seems to think that the prices lately obtained for wheat in this country cannot have paid the American grower and exporter. We have, perhaps, hardly sufficient data to enable us to come to a certain conclusion on this point, but in any case the profits cannot have been large. I think, too, that there has been a tendency of late, on the part of some writers, to place the price at which American wheat can be profitably sold at an unduly low figure. Mr. A. J. Wilson, for example, writing in *Macmillan's Magazine* of April last (p. 579), estimates the net cost of delivering American wheat in Liverpool at 30s. a quarter. He bases this calculation on the fact that the freight from Chicago is about 10s. But the wheat has to be brought to Chicago, and in some instances the cost of transport is very heavy. The railways from Chicago to New York have to compete with the lake steamers, and thus freights are kept down; but the lines which run into Chicago from the West enjoy a monopoly. Not long since I was offered some large blocks of good land lying along the line of the Southern Minnesota Railroad at what seemed a very low price. I made inquiries as to the cost of sending produce to Chicago, and was informed that the charge made by the railroad for wheat was 21 cents per bushel, or \$1.68, equal to about 6s. 9d., per quarter. That would have brought the net cost in Liverpool to 36s. 9d. a quarter, even if nothing were charged for hauling the grain from the farms to the railway stations. It is to be observed, too, that the first comers have had the choice of land in the best situations, and those who enter upon cheap lands now have to betake themselves to land more distant from a market, and consequently the charges for transportation will in most cases be heavier.

As regards cost of production, Mr. Wilson says (p. 578), "On good settled land, such as a great deal of the land in most of the States now is, the average yield of wheat is higher, and the cost of production of course less." This statement is not borne out by facts. With the single exception of Ohio, which appears to possess an extraordinarily rich soil, the average yield of wheat per acre is greater in the more newly settled and less in the older States. Thus, Illinois produces barely 10 bushels per acre, Iowa 14, and Minnesota 16. Not only is this the case, but it is an ascertained fact that the yield has fallen off in those States which have been longest settled. It is said that in California the yield has fallen from 20 to 13 or 14 bushels. The late President Lincoln told me that in his younger days winter wheat was successfully grown in Illinois, but that then (1864) the

land would not stand it, and they were obliged to sow spring wheat. The reason is obvious. The American farmers with few exceptions have, if I may use the expression, been living on their capital; they have taken crop after crop without manure, till the land has become exhausted. No doubt the powers of the soil may be restored by manuring and deeper cultivation. But then the cost of production is enhanced, and the American grower loses a great part of the advantage which he now enjoys over the English farmer. I think, however, it is very likely that the acreage under wheat here will be much curtailed within the next few years, and that other cereals will be largely grown instead. Good barley has always commanded a satisfactory price, even in the worst times. And though the price of oats has not been very remunerative of late, yet it has paid better than wheat, and it is a much less expensive crop to grow. In respect, too, both of barley and oats, there is less risk of foreign competition than in the case of wheat. The latter cereal can be grown in almost every part of the world, so that a scarcity in one quarter is very likely to be compensated by an abundant yield elsewhere, and a slight rise in price is sure to bring in largely increased supplies. But the area within which barley can be grown is very limited as compared with wheat. The same may be said of oats; and the home grower has also this advantage, that being a much lower-priced article, oats will not bear the cost of carriage so well as wheat.

I am disposed, then, not to take so gloomy a view as some persons do of the prospects of the arable farmer, first, because I think that the present extremely low price of wheat is, in part at least, to be attributed to causes which are in some degree exceptional, and in the next place, because it appears to me that wheat may, to a great extent, be replaced with advantage by other cereals. As regards live stock, I have given the reasons which induce me to believe both that with a revival of business we may reasonably look forward to a more satisfactory state of things in the cattle trade, and also that the admission of American live stock will be an advantage, rather than an injury, to the majority of our farmers.

If we turn from the causes which have produced the present state of things, to the remedies that are proposed, we certainly have no reason to complain of any lack of advice. It is not easy to enumerate all the suggestions that have been made, but I think those which have been put forward most prominently will be found under one or other of the following heads:—(1). That farmers should practise greater economy in their personal and family expenditure; (2). That rents should be reduced; (3). Increased production; (4). Compensation to tenants for unexhausted improvements; (5). Freedom of cultivation; (6). More grass and less corn; (7). Abolition of

the right of distraint, and of other laws which give the landlord an advantage in dealing with the tenant; (8). Subdivision of large farms; (9). Greater facilities for the sale of land.

Some of the farmer's volunteer advisers exhort him to cut down his personal expenditure. They say it is absurd that he should keep hunters for himself and engage governesses for his daughters. But the breeding and making of hunters is sometimes far from an unprofitable business. The owner of a horse that can live with hounds going their best pace across Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, or Warwickshire, has no difficulty in selling him for £200 or more. And it does not follow because a man keeps a few young horses of the right stamp, which by dint of good nerve and good hands he makes into first-class hunters, that he is therefore neglecting the ordinary business of his farm. A large grazier has plenty of spare time on his hands during the winter months. As to the outlay on the education of his children, a man who has several thousand pounds invested in a business can well afford to give his children a good education if he is getting a fair return for his capital. If he is not getting a fair return on an average of years, the obvious inference would seem to be, that he should withdraw his capital from an unprofitable business, not that he should stint himself and his family. As to the class who occupy small farms and possess but little capital, I believe that they are not only a very hard-working body of men, but that they live with extreme frugality.

As regards rents, there can, I think, be little doubt that in many cases a considerable reduction, for a time at least, will be absolutely necessary. But there is a wide distinction in this respect between the circumstances of England and of Scotland. It is notorious that in England, more especially on the larger estates, a great part of the land was let considerably below its real value. In many cases, though there had been a great rise in the value of agricultural produce, there had been no revaluation for a long period, and the occupiers, though nominally they were yearly tenants, not only held their farms during their own lives, but transmitted them to their sons. It is clear that in such cases there is a very large margin, and though we may have reached a lower level of prices, a reduction may perhaps not be necessary. In Scotland the system of management has been different. Long leases, which in England are the exception, are the rule in Scotland. And it has been the usual, though by no means the universal practice to put up farms to competition when the lease expires. This system has tended to raise rents. And the tendency of rents to rise has been assisted by the Law of Hypothec, which, like the Right of Distraint in England, gives the landlord a first lien on the tenant's property in the event of his becoming insolvent. The landlord under the protection of

this law can give long credit without the risk of losing his rent, and it is not necessary for him to be so careful in selecting as tenants men possessed of sufficient capital, as it would be if his claims only ranked along with those of other creditors. I do not mean to say that Scotch landowners have not in general been anxious to secure men of capital as tenants. I refer only to the tendency of the law, which undoubtedly has been to increase the number of offerers for farms, and to encourage the landlord to dispense with those precautions which would have been necessary if the law had not given him an exceptional security for his rent, instead of leaving him to protect himself by a careful selection of his tenant and by contract. Rents in Scotland have thus been brought up to a high level, and when they are based on the comparatively high prices ruling some years ago, I think that there must be a serious reduction. I do not myself approve of the practice of putting up farms to competition when the leases expire. I did not find it in operation, and I have never adopted it when I thought the tenant was doing justice to the land, and was willing to pay what seemed to me a fair rent. All other considerations apart, it is obvious, if a tenant believes that his farm will be put up to competition at the end of his lease, that he will take as much out of the land and put as little into it as he can during the last years of his occupation. On the other hand, if the landlord can arrange with the tenant for a renewal of the lease a year or two before it expires, the latter knows that he can safely continue to keep the farm in good heart, because he will reap the benefit of his unexhausted manures without the risk of the rent being raised upon him in consequence of the improvement effected by his own outlay. There appears at present to be a strong feeling entertained by the occupiers of land against long leases. No doubt those who took farms a few years since, at rents calculated on the basis of the prices then ruling, are now suffering severely. But on the other hand, if a lease is taken during a period of depression when prices are low and rents are tending downward in consequence of the difficulty of letting farms, the tenant gets the benefit of any subsequent rise in prices. Very large profits, for instance, were made by those who had taken leases during the years which preceded the Crimean War. It was not uncommon at that time to hear of a Scotch farmer making his rent out of the potato crop alone. And perhaps the experience of those who take farms on lease at low rents during the present period of depression may be of a similar character.

There are few recommendations more common than that the difficulties which the farmer has to contend with should be met by increasing the amount of produce. And no doubt there is a great deal of ill-cultivated land which might with advantage receive more

liberal treatment. But when land is well farmed already, the advice to meet a fall in prices by farming higher and producing more is, to say the least, questionable. When land is in a high state of cultivation, the outlay required to make it yield a still larger amount of produce is very heavy and the result very small, compared with that which may be attained by the same or even a smaller expenditure on land whose fertility has not already been increased and stimulated by high farming. When once a certain point has been reached it may become a matter of very nice calculation, and one which depends entirely on the state of the market, whether or not a given outlay will be recouped by a larger amount of produce. Say that an increased outlay of £1 an acre on manure will produce four bushels more wheat per acre. The outlay may pay with wheat at £2 10s. a quarter. But if wheat falls to £2 there will be an actual loss, though the receipts and expenditure appear to balance one another, unless the extra manure applied produces a larger amount of straw as well as of grain. There is not only a loss of interest, but it costs more to harvest the bulkier crop and to send it to market. The advice which is offered to the farmer is not acted upon in any other business. No coalowner or manufacturer would think of meeting a fall in prices by working overtime. And as a matter of fact, I believe that some of those who have farmed most highly have been among the heaviest losers during the last few years. I must admit that there is an exception in the case of those permanent improvements which ought to be executed by the landlord. In consequence of the present depression of trade, wages are now lower and material cheaper than they have been for many years, and perhaps than they are likely to be when trade begins to revive. I therefore think that in respect of permanent improvements the landlord has now an excellent opportunity of bringing up any arrears of work, and that it may even be prudent, in some degree, to anticipate future requirements.

As regards compensation for unexhausted improvements, I do not now propose to discuss the expediency of compulsory interference with contracts, in order to give the tenant security for his capital. But I would observe that so far as we have the means of forming a judgment, compensation for improvements does not appear to have done much in the way of assisting the tenant farmer to grapple with the difficulties by which he is now beset. Mr. Bear has obtained reports from the various counties in England and Wales as to the degree in which they are affected by the existing depression. For the most part, these reports are of a very gloomy character. In some few counties or districts, though in very few, the reporters are more or less hopeful, and some go so far as to say that as yet there is not much to complain of. But in Lincolnshire the tone is uniformly de-

sponding. "Very bad, not been so bad since 1851,"—"Very much depressed,"—"The greatest depression, and the fear of catastrophe to come" (Fortnightly Review, Feb., p. 259), are the terms in which Mr. Bear's Lincolnshire correspondents express themselves. But by the Lincolnshire custom, which I understand is almost universally in force throughout the county, a very liberal compensation is given for unexhausted improvements. The Lincolnshire tenure has been held up as a model, and we have been told that the one thing needful to stimulate improvement and insure the security of the tenant's capital is to impose, by force of law, on all landlords and tenants throughout England and Scotland those arrangements which the Lincolnshire landlords and tenants have adopted voluntarily. I do not wish to disparage the Lincolnshire custom, which, I believe, has worked well. But the present distress does not arise from the absence of security for the tenant's capital, as appears from the example of Lincolnshire, where that capital is amply secured. It is the result of a succession of bad harvests, followed by a heavy fall in the price of agricultural produce. And no legislation, as between landlord and tenant, can guarantee the latter against loss occasioned either by adverse seasons or by a fall in prices.

Freedom of cultivation is a favourite remedy for the farmer's difficulties. And I am quite willing to admit that many leases contain unnecessary restrictions which might be abrogated with advantage. But freedom of cultivation is an expression which implies very different things in the mouths of different people. Some writers appear to think that so long as a tenant pays his rent, he should be allowed to work the land as he pleases, and that no contract which interferes with his absolute liberty in this respect should have any validity. That, if I am not much mistaken, is the view taken by a weekly newspaper which is conducted with great ability, though I cannot say that its dissertations on agricultural affairs inspire me with much respect for the practical knowledge of the writers. Suppose that all contracts which interfered with the tenant's absolute liberty to treat the land as he pleased were declared by law to be null and void, and that a tenant were to enter upon the lease of a farm with the intention of getting as much out of it as he could in a few years, and then leaving it on the owner's hands. A thoroughly good farmer can, by dint of constant cropping, and the application of such stimulants as nitrate of soda, reduce the land to a very exhausted condition long before the end of an ordinary lease. The landlord, if I rightly understand the drift of the *Spectator*, is to be compelled to look on with his hands folded while this process is going on. As soon, then, as the last remunerative crop has been disposed of, our tenant takes his passage for New York, having previously invested his profits in a freehold in Kansas or Minnesota. The landlord, when

he comes to enter on his exhausted farm, may perhaps be fortunate enough to find a few worn-out old horses and some rusty ploughs on the premises. I am bound to say, however, that, so far as I know, no such extravagant suggestions, as those to which I have referred, have been made by men who have any practical acquaintance with farming. When they speak of freedom of cultivation, I think they may be taken to mean liberty to cross crop, as it is called, that is, to depart from the rotation prescribed by the lease, and to sell off straw and other produce, replacing it by purchased manure. I think there are few landlords who would object to cross cropping within reasonable limits. As to the sale of straw and roots, it is very common now where it is most profitable; that is, in the immediate neighbourhood of large towns. But when bulky articles, like straw and roots, have to be carried a considerable distance and replaced by manure, the cost of transport is so heavy that it eats away great part of the profit. And if the sale of this kind of produce were unrestricted, the profit would not be by any means so large as it is now. That profit is considerable, mainly because it is the result of a quasi monopoly in the hands of a small number of persons. But if every one were to sell, the price would fall, and the price of the manure, by which the produce sold has to be replaced, would rise. I believe those who would derive the greatest benefit from an unrestricted sale of farm produce would be, not the farmers, but the dairymen and stable keepers in towns, who would gain both by the reduction in cost of the articles which they consume, and by the rise in prices of the manure which they have to sell. It is clear, I think, that the mode in which land is to be cultivated is not a proper subject for legislative interferences, but that the conditions should be matter of bargain and arrangement between landlord and tenant in each individual case. Not long ago I asked two of my tenants whether they would like the conditions in their leases to be modified so as to admit of all the produce being sold off. Their farms are close to a railway station, and within ten miles by rail of the town of Dundee, where there is a good market for roots and straw. I thought it might be an advantage to them to be relieved of the necessity of keeping a heavy stock of sheep and cattle at a time like the present, when there is a considerable risk of loss by the feeding of stock. But they both replied not only that they did not think it worth their while to give any more rent in consideration of their being allowed to sell off their produce, but that they would not do so even if there were no conditions in their leases to prevent it, because they did not think it would pay them.

Another favourite suggestion is that more grass should be grown and less corn. And singularly enough many of those who offer this advice appear to think that if it were acted upon, a larger number

of sheep and cattle could be kept and fattened than at present. It is very true that nothing pays better than good grass. But the reason is, not because more stock can be kept on it than on land under the plough, but because the outlay on labour is much less. A given acreage under rotation will keep more stock than the same area under grass. And there is a great deal of land which will grow very fair crops, but which will not carry good grass for more than two years. To lay such land down in grass is almost equivalent to letting it go out of cultivation. I am very much inclined to agree with Mr. Bear that it is not unlikely that in future we shall be better able to hold our own against our foreign rivals in the growth of cereals than in the production of meat. But, in any case, it appears to me that to sink money in attempting to convert indifferent land into permanent pasture, would be a most unprofitable speculation.

But if the present state of things is unsatisfactory, can nothing be done to improve it? Are we to sit with our hands folded and wait for better times? I believe that something can be done, both to place the relations between landlord and tenant on a better footing, and to enable the landowner to cope with the difficulties which beset him. I have already stated that the Law of Hypothec in Scotland has tended to raise rents, and to enable the landlord to exercise less caution in the selection of tenants than would be necessary if such a law did not exist. And the same observation applies to the Right of Distraint in England, which is identical in principle. By the Right of Distraint, as by the Law of Hypothec, the landlord's claim for rent takes precedence of the claims of other creditors, so that he can safely give long credit to men who could neither pay their rent in advance nor find adequate security for it. Even though the rent may not be raised, the number of possible competitors for farms is increased by the operation of the law, and the landlord is thus placed in a position which enables him to impose his own terms more easily than he could if he ranked only with other creditors, and were, therefore, obliged to take precautions which are not now necessary. If Distraint and Hypothec were abolished, the offerers for farms would be better able to make their bargains with the landlord for two reasons: the number of offerers from whom a selection could safely be made would be diminished, and those competitors who were eligible, being possessed of a certain amount of capital, would be more independent. And if those presumptions of law which operate in favour of the landlord were done away with, as has already been done in England to a great extent by the Agricultural Holdings Act, the equality between the two parties would be complete, so far as the law is concerned. I think such an alteration of the law would be a better mode of solving the difficulty as to tenants'

improvements than legislative interference with contracts. To do away with Distraint and Hypothec, and all presumptions in favour of either party, and to leave owner and occupier free to enter into such contracts as they might think fit, would seem to be in harmony with the principles of our recent legislation. But to leave those laws and presumptions still in force, and to seek to remedy their ill effects by imposing further restrictions, appears to be a retrograde step. The view which I have taken has been advocated by the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture. On more than one occasion that body, when passing resolutions in favour of the abolition of Hypothec, has stated its opinion that if this law, and other "laws of privilege," as it calls them, were abrogated, it would not be necessary to impose legislative restrictions on contracts between landlord and tenant. It is urged by some persons that there are a considerable number of tenants who would be unable either to pay rent in advance or to give sufficient security, and that the abolition of the right to distraint would press hardly upon them, as they would be unable to continue in the occupation of the farms which they now hold. I am afraid that might be so in some cases. But no considerable reform can be carried into effect without bearing hardly on some one. And if a tenant is in such straits that he cannot find security for his rent, it is generally better, even for himself, that he should quit his farm than that he should continue to cling to it in the too probably vain hope that he will be able to retrieve his fortune. I was myself at one time of opinion that the Law of Hypothec was advantageous to the occupiers of small holdings, and that it tended to assist men in rising from the position of labourers into that of farmers. But we have had abundant evidence that the occupiers themselves are not in favour of the law being maintained. If any proof of this were needed, I might cite the case of Aberdeenshire. There is probably no county in Scotland which contains a larger proportion of small holdings. But Aberdeenshire has uniformly returned members pledged to the abolition of Hypothec. As regards the landlord, if he is satisfied with a reasonable rent, he has ample means of protecting himself.

It is quite possible that the consolidation of small holdings may have been carried too far, and that now it may be found expedient in some cases to reverse the process. No doubt there is comparatively less outlay in the way of buildings on large farms than on small ones. But there are some drawbacks. In such times as the present it is much easier to let a small farm than a large one. The occupier of a small farm is less dependent on hired labour, and this is a considerable advantage to him. Wages have fallen somewhat, but they have not fallen in the same proportion as the price of agricultural produce; and the outlook of the small farmer is in some respects a more hopeful one, than that of the man who occupies a large

holding. In so far as the occupier and his family do the work of the farm themselves, the return of commercial prosperity is a clear gain to him, because it brings with it a rise in the price of that which he has to sell, and the cost of production is not enhanced, so far as he is concerned. But when trade revives the large farmer is again brought face to face with the labour difficulty. His best men are often induced to leave him and betake themselves to other employments, by the prospect of higher wages than he thinks he can afford to give. And the difficulty in which he finds himself is further aggravated by the revival of prosperity abroad. During the last few years of depression there has been but little emigration from this country to the United States. Indeed, at one time large numbers of workmen returned from the United States to Great Britain. But now that business has begun to revive in America, emigration has again set in on a large scale, and the result will probably soon make itself felt here in the shape of a considerable rise in wages. For the reasons I have stated, I think that some owners may find it advantageous to divide their larger farms.

But the subdivision of farms means a heavy outlay on building. How is a limited owner to find the necessary capital for this or any other improvement, more especially if, from the pressure of the times, he is obliged to reduce his rents? He may perhaps be able to borrow from some of the Land Improvement Companies. But this is an expensive process; not only does the limited owner pay a higher rate of interest than that at which the owner in fee simple can borrow in the open market, but the companies charge heavy commissions. And, besides, it is doubtful whether, in the face of the great fall in rents which has taken place in many quarters, the companies would be willing to make advances. In any case, the obligation to repay the principal by instalments within twenty-two or twenty-five years is a heavy burden on the borrower. The only effectual means of relief appears to be to place the limited owner to some extent in the position of an owner in fee, and to enable him to sell a portion of his estate, due care being, of course, taken to protect the pecuniary interests of his successors. Suppose A, the life-tenant of a settled estate of £3,000 a year, with encumbrances on it to the extent of £15,000, finds himself obliged to reduce his rents by 20 per cent. Even before the reduction he cannot be said, if he has a family to provide for, to be in very affluent circumstances. Say that his average outlay on repairs, what we may call the working expenses of the estate, amount to £400 a year—a very moderate estimate, being less than 14 per cent. on the rental. After providing for these, and paying 4 per cent. interest on his encumbrances, A has £2,000 a year with which to maintain himself and his family, and to keep up his place. If a further £600 a year is taken off his

income, and it is thus cut down to £1,400 a year, he will probably find it extremely difficult to keep the buildings on his estate in tolerable order, and his making any improvement, properly so called, will be out of the question. But if it were in his power to sell a portion of, say half the estate, to pay off his encumbrances, and to invest the balance of the purchase money, even at so low a rate as 4 per cent., his position is at once much improved. By the sale, at thirty years' purchase of the reduced rental (£1,200), he obtains £36,000, and after paying off his encumbrances he has £21,000 to invest, which at 4 per cent. brings in £840. The residue of the estate, which he now has clear of encumbrances, brings him in £1,000 after defraying the cost of repairs. So that altogether he has a clear income of £1,840 a year, instead of £1,400, which is all that would have been left to him if he had not had the power of disposing of any part of the estate. That is to say, the reduction in the income available for his own use is only 8 per cent., instead of 30 per cent. Of course the expenses of the sale have to be deducted. These vary so much in England that perhaps it is not very easy to strike an average. In Scotland, where there is a registration of mortgages, the seller's share does not usually amount to more than about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the purchase money, half the cost of conveyance and other charges being borne by the purchaser. In taking thirty years' purchase as the selling price, I have made a very moderate estimate. Both in England and Scotland I believe that the prices usually obtained for land are considerably higher. As for the interest of the successors, there would be no more difficulty in settling the money received for the land on them by means of a trust, than in settling the land itself. And if the trustees should be satisfied that a better return could be obtained by improving the residue of the estate than by purchasing securities, it would be open to them to invest the trust-money in that manner.

But it is not only the owners of settled estates who have reason to complain of the difficulties which beset the sale of land. Even owners in fee are hampered by them to some extent. It is well known that small lots of land will often fetch very high prices. But the expense of selling small lots is very great. There must be an investigation of titles, and in England a search for encumbrances, the cost of which is so high as to make it practically impossible to dispose of land in small quantities. A double injury is thus inflicted; the seller is prevented from getting the best price for his land, and a numerous class of persons are shut out from what, judging by the prices realised when it is found practicable to expose small lots for sale, is a favourite form of investment. The evil of this state of things has long been recognised, and many attempts have been made to remedy it, but as yet without success, as no

government has succeeded in carrying a bill for making the registration of titles and mortgages compulsory, and nothing short of this would meet the case.

I do not think, even if the utmost possible facilities were given for the transfer of land, that it is likely that it would either be purchased in large quantities by the present occupiers, or that a peasant proprietary and "la petite culture" would be introduced into this country on any considerable scale. At the same time, I cannot concur in what I must call the pessimist views put forward by Mr. Barham F. Zincke in a paper of great ability, entitled "Pauperism and Territorialism," which appeared in the last number of this Review. Mr. Zincke says (p. 822) that even if the present owners of land were both willing to dispose of it and had the power to do so without let or hindrance, "there is at present no class in this country that could buy land and cultivate it themselves." He goes on to say, "The farmer, except occasionally on small dairy farms with but little arable land, is as unfit for manual labour as the landlord or the tradesman; and the mental condition into which the poor laws have brought the labourer has most signally disqualified him, intellectually and morally, for independent cultivation. If the land were given him he could make nothing of it. This is something too serious to be called a *reductio ad absurdum*: it is the Nemesis of a false and inhuman system." I will not undertake to say how the case stands on this side of the Tweed, though I am inclined to think that the inability both of the farmer and the agricultural labourer to profit by any advantages which may fall in their way is grossly exaggerated. But as regards that part of Great Britain with which I am practically acquainted, I am bound to say that I believe there is no foundation whatever for the statements which I have just quoted. One of my tenants, who pays a rent of over £500 a year, began life as a shepherd. A man who started as a ploughman now occupies a farm in my neighbourhood, at a rent of more than £200 a year. I have had repeated applications for farms from men who have been in my employment as labourers, and when they obtain farms they make very good tenants. In Aberdeenshire, where small holdings are numerous, a considerable number of farms are occupied by men who were once ploughmen or cattlemen. As regards the alleged incapacity of the farmers for manual labour, the smaller occupiers in Forfarshire, where there are very few dairy farms, do a great part of the work themselves. Of course, on large farms, the occupier is better employed in overlooking and directing the operations of others than he would be if he were to try to do part of the work with his own hands. But many even of the larger occupiers are quite as competent to do a good day's work as any of their ploughmen.

My reason for thinking that land is not likely to be bought largely either by occupiers or agricultural labourers is simply that the man who rents a farm gets a much larger return for his capital than the man who buys one. Suppose B possesses £3,000 of his own and enters on the occupation of a farm. Probably he borrows some £2,000 at 5 per cent. to help him to stock it. According to Mr. C. S. Read, a farmer should make about 8 per cent. on his capital. If, then, B's venture is successful, he receives, after paying interest on the money he has borrowed, £300 a year, or 10 per cent. on his capital of £3,000. But suppose B buys at thirty years' purchase a farm, the rent of which is £125 a year, and farms it himself. He makes 8 per cent. on £1,250, the balance of his capital and the money he has borrowed after the farm has been paid for, or £100 a year. But from his gross income of £225 a year he must deduct £80, the interest of the money he has borrowed, so that the net return is only £145, or less than 5 per cent. on his £3,000. I do not think that a small capitalist is likely to be satisfied with so meagre a return. And the agricultural labourer will probably be still more unwilling to invest anything he may have saved at a very low rate of interest.

I think it is more likely, if the transfer of land is facilitated, that men of moderate means may dispose of portions of their estate, and turn their attention to farming the residue of it themselves, more especially if the present depression continues. By selling at thirty years' purchase and investing the money, even at 7 per cent. only instead of 8, which Mr. Read considers the fair average return to an occupier, he, *pro tanto*, more than doubles his income. And if the owner is either unable or unwilling to look after the details of management himself, there is here so wide a margin that a very large profit is left after paying handsomely for the services of the best manager who can be engaged. And if the owner should look with apprehension at the prospect of legislative interference with contracts, he avoids any risk of that kind by becoming his own tenant.

But whatever may be the ultimate results, it appears to me that measures to facilitate and cheapen the transfer of land would be advantageous to all classes in this country. It is not for the interest of any one that the land should be in the hands of an impoverished body of men. At the same time I would do what could be done by abolishing those laws and presumptions of law which may be supposed to weight the scale in favour of the landlord and against the tenant, to place the two parties in such a position that, so far as the law is concerned, they should meet on equal terms. I think that such measures as I have indicated are the proper complement of Free Trade, and that they would be beneficial, not only to owners and occupiers of land, but to the rest of the community.

AIRLIE.

ENGLISH COUNTY ASYLUMS.

THE announcement by the Government of an intention to bring the question of Lunacy Law Reform under the consideration of Parliament, has naturally called the attention of those interested in the subject to matters connected with the condition and administration of the insane in our public asylums. It is not possible, within the compass of a few pages, to do more than touch upon the principal points; and if I do not refer to the progress made within fifty years—a progress due to the courage of Conolly and the benevolent persistence of the Earl of Shaftesbury—it is not because I overlook it. Nevertheless, we must not now rest and be thankful, or content ourselves with what others have done, but, seeing what is left undone, endeavour to keep pace with those around us. We have spent untold sums of money in building enormous asylums without success in recovery of lunatics; but we have neglected to attach to these buildings the extent of land necessary to occupy the patients in useful field employment requisite for health of mind and body. I shall show that the relaxed restraint by unlocked doors and open courts tends to the recovery of patients, and to the relief from anxiety of those who have charge of them; that it does not add to the attempts at escape, and that the number of suicides and suicidal tendencies is thereby diminished; that the discontinuance of stimulants and fermented drinks to patients is accompanied by the disuse of drugs and narcotics; and that the substitution of milk in larger quantities for beer, ale, and spirits is attended with the best results.

Any inquiry to be of service must institute comparison between the English asylum system and that pursued in other countries; and in the remarks I venture to offer I shall generally give facts which have come under my own observation.

In England and Wales there are between 60,000 and 70,000 lunatics, of whom about 40,000 are in county and borough asylums, and 16,000 in workhouses. Two distinct departments of the State, the Commissioners in Lunacy and the Local Government Board, have charge of their welfare. In fact, five if not six separate authorities deal with the cases of pauper lunatics: the Asylum Visitors, the Court of Quarter Sessions, the Board of Guardians, the Local Government Board, the Lunacy Commissioners, and the Home Office. The confusion which has thus arisen, and the expenditure which has been incurred in the provision for the lunatics under their charge, have been so great as to justify the remark made last year by the Presi-

dent of the Local Government Board, that "there is great discontent throughout the whole of the country in connection with the lunatic asylums, which has necessitated a change in the constitution of the management;" while Sir Edward Kerrison very correctly observes that "numerous chronic cases completely deluge our asylums; that efforts are made to separate them from recent cases by buildings for chronics at nearly £150 per bed; poor idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, and others of this class, for whom superior kinds of cottages, more like their own homes which they may never see again, would be far more fitting and congenial."

The Lunacy Commissioners issue an annual Report. This Report is naturally looked forward to by the Visiting Justices of asylums, and by the public who take an interest in such matters, as a work of valuable information by those most competent to afford instruction for the guidance of persons intrusted with the charge of the insane. The thirty-second Report (for 1878) consists of eighty-eight pages, whereof thirty-eight comprise twenty-two tables of figures and statistics. Table II. shows that from 1859 to 1878 the general population has increased five millions, or nearly one-fourth, while the insane have almost doubled, increasing from 31,782 to 60,846; from 1 lunatic in 500 to 1 in 368 of the population; or from 2 in 1,000 to 3 in 1,000. The lunatics who were inmates of asylums in the year 1859 were 22,072; while in 1877 they were 48,339.

The following data are also not devoid of interest. During the twenty years the percentage of incurables increased from 87·5 per cent. to 93·5 per cent., while the percentage of recoveries decreased from 12½ per cent. to 7½ per cent. The proportion of recoveries on admissions to county and borough asylums in England and Wales was 30 per cent. in 1859, and 30 per cent. in 1877. That on admissions in all institutions in 1859 was 35 per cent.; in 1877, 30 per cent. The recoveries of the total number of insane in asylums in 1859 were in the proportion of 9·5 per cent.; and in 1877 in the proportion of 7·9 per cent. The recoveries of the total number of insane under treatment in *all institutions* in England and Wales, in the year 1859, were 10 per cent.; in 1877 they were 8 per cent. In Scotland (*vide* Report, page 22) the percentage of recoveries on admissions in asylums was 40·5 per cent. in 1877; the percentage of recoveries of numbers under treatment was 14·6 per cent. In Ireland the recoveries on admissions were 46·5 per cent.; those on numbers resident were 13·3 per cent.

Whatever be the ratio of increase in lunacy generally, it is unquestionable that the greatest increase occurs among the lower orders. Table II. shows that taking a ratio per 10,000 the proportion of private lunatics in twenty years has risen 17 per cent.; while that of pauper lunatics has risen 33 per cent.

The percentage of pauperism to the population (Table III.) during twenty years has decreased from 4·37 to 3 per cent.; but the proportion of pauper lunatics to paupers has risen from 3·68 to 8·13 per cent. In some, and especially in metropolitan counties, the increase has attained 10 per cent. of the whole pauperism, one in every ten paupers being a lunatic. Nor does this represent the whole case; since, if the father receive relief, the whole family are enumerated as paupers, which sometimes nearly doubles the pauperism in comparison with the lunacy. Thus if adults only were classed as paupers, it would give a proportion of one lunatic to six or seven paupers. On the other hand, many lunatics who ought to be paid for by their families are charged upon the rates. The London parish officers who charge upon a metropolitan common fund take no trouble; but in some unions, when due inquiry is made, about one-third of the lunatics in asylums are in part paid for. Of 47,037 pauper lunatics chargeable on the rates in asylums and elsewhere, 2,589 (or 5 per cent.) paid all and 3,801 (or 8 per cent.) paid part of their maintenance.

It would lead to a very wide field of inquiry if we were to speculate on the causes of this increase in insanity, but undoubtedly inebriety is a considerable factor, and it can hardly be denied that it has a somewhat close connection with the rise of wages. It was observed that during the year 1878, when wages fell in the manufacturing counties, admissions to the lunatic asylums fell also.

It is remarkable that the increase of insanity in England has occurred during the operation of a new and improved system of treatment. No one would return to the manacles and fetters of a former age; but it was expected that early admission to asylum treatment would produce more rapid recovery, and thereby diminish instead of increase the number of incurables. In expectation of speedier cure from this cause, vast sums have been expended on construction of English asylums. A return recently published shows that during twenty years more than six millions sterling have been thus employed. The repairs and extras may bring the sum to not much under £8,000,000; and, taking into account the annual interest on capital, the maintenance of lunatics must cost the country at least £2,000,000 per annum. It is true that the worth of the expenditure is not to be reckoned by the money value alone. If, when the cost is highest, the cure and the care of lunatics is greatest, that system is the best. But when the cost is highest, and the cure and the care lowest, we have a right to complain.

For the last thirty years the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Lunacy Commissioners have had entire control; their recommendations have been carried out—their appeals to the humanity and liberality of the public have been complied with. All that money could yield,

all that architecture could bestow, in obedience to the orders of the Government or the suggestions of the medical profession, has been freely, even lavishly, executed. Although (Table V., page 20) the proportion of recoveries in all institutions, calculated on the admissions, has fallen between 1859 and 1877 from 35·12 per cent. to 30·33 per cent., and although (Table V., 20-1) the recoveries calculated on admissions to county and borough asylums show no improvement, remaining at 30 per cent., while those (Table IV., page 16-7) calculated in each year upon the total number under treatment have fallen from 9·6 per cent. in 1859, to 7·9 per cent. in 1877—yet the Commissioners in Lunacy appear perfectly satisfied with the results obtained. Thus, while expenditure increases and lunacy advances, they are content to see cure not merely stationary but retrograde.

Before adverting to questions of treatment or other matters affecting this deplorable malady, I would point out certain facts to be learned from the Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland, for the year 1878. While the pauper lunatics in England nearly doubled (rising 85 per cent.), the increase in Scotland in the same time was only 44 per cent. During the twelve years since 1866, in England the increase of lunacy per 100,000 of the population has been 46, while in Scotland it has been 31; thus giving England the disadvantage of 15 per 100,000. In 1877 the percentage of recoveries calculated on patients admitted to pauper asylums in Scotland was 40·7 (page 9); in England it was 30 per cent. In the same year “the percentage of recoveries of patients under treatment” (page 22), in Scotch asylums was 14·6, while in England it was 7·5 per cent. The difference is striking and instructive. The figures we have quoted indicate that the growth of insanity in England is not only more rapid than in Scotland, but also more rapid than that of the population generally.

This fact is combated by none more strongly than by the Commissioners. They declare it to be more apparent than real, and point to the four shillings granted to asylum patients, and denied to those in workhouses, as swelling the asylum population and diminishing the proportion of recoveries.¹ Undoubtedly it has brought to asylums many aged and infirm people who ought never to have come there, and whose reception may affect the rate both of recovery and of deaths to a certain amount. The effect is said to be measured by a diminution of cures to the extent of 1 per cent.; but before the objectionable grant came into operation (in 1874), the percentage of cures in English asylums had receded from 12½ per cent. in 1859 to 7½ per cent. in 1874.

(1) That it was an ill-advised measure few can doubt. Why then did the Commissioners not oppose it as others did then, and as they do now?

The Commissioners urge—what none deny—that proper early treatment of patients is essential to cure. The cases now conveyed at once to asylums, instead of being neglected and allowed to become chronic as formerly, ought to be credited as causing, not an increase, but a decrease, of insanity. It appears, therefore, that either the aggregation of lunatics, or their treatment, or both, are at fault in England. If early reception tend to recovery, and the recoveries in England, which in 1869 were 12·5 per cent., fell to 7·5 in 1877, the fault must be somewhere else. In Scotland, where the treatment is very different, the proportion of recoveries on numbers resident is, and has long been, 14·5 per cent. In Ireland it is 10·3 per cent. These circumstances lead to the conclusion that it is faulty treatment which causes the proportion of cures in English asylums to fall below that of Scotland and of Ireland.

It is a matter of regret that the Report of the English Commissioners affords no information, by comparison or otherwise, on matters of treatment or scale of recoveries, between England and other countries. It does not even make allusion, friendly or adverse, to the difference between the practice in different county asylums in England. Hence there is no standard of relative merit, and no chance of comparative information. Superintendents naturally and properly are unwilling to compare their treatment with that in other asylums: while Lord Shaftesbury and the English Commissioners, examined before the committee in 1877, deprecated allusion to any system but their own, and ignored some telling facts which, without adverting to them, they now permit to appear in their tables. Some physicians, however, and those not the least experienced, give more independent and outspoken evidence. The late Dr. Wynter¹ freely states, "Our whole scheme for the cure of lunatics has utterly broken down." Dr. Hack Tuke writes:² "I feel there is much danger of our judging the excellence of treatment abroad by one narrow test instead of taking a broad survey of the whole system pursued, and danger of criticizing foreign modes of treatment as if ours was necessarily the wisest and the best." The elder Tuke and Conolly, who brought the system of non-restraint into notice in this country, were not ashamed to acknowledge what they owed to Pinol and other renowned foreign alienists at the close of the last century. Indeed, Conolly, in his later years, foresaw and feared the dangers besetting the system adopted in England.³

It was reserved for the Commissioners in Lunacy⁴ to express satisfaction with the present system (if it can be called a system), and to denounce as a dangerous error any deviation from the deep-worn ruts

(1) *Borderlands of Insanity*, pp. 9, 130.

(2) *Journal of Medical Science*, October, 1877, p. 448.

(3) *Vide Letter to Sir J. Clark.*

(4) *Vide Evidence before Committee, 1877.*

that lead to hopeless lunacy. No one can pretend to point out any specific for the cure of a malady which assumes such a variety of forms; but if, as Dr. Wynter says, the treatment be to blame, it is a duty to inquire how and where better results are to be obtained. With this object I shall venture to make some comparison between the systems in England and in Scotland. Such a comparison is not easy, because the two commissions appear to have objects and methods entirely distinct, and sometimes diametrically opposite. The policy in England, as shown by the Commissioners' Reports, overlooking curative appliances, is directed to continual restraint, and dwells on greater security and increased supervision by night and by day; the Scotch seek to attain greater curability and increased security by the moral effect of relaxation of the mind and greater employment of the body, thereby obtaining a higher figure of recoveries among the curable, and a higher standard of comfort and contentment among the chronic and incurable patients.

The English Commissioners have the charge of nearly 70,000 insane persons throughout England and Wales. They are six in number, some of whom annually visit asylums, and all the receptacles for lunatics, examining their dwellings, their attendance, their supervision, their food, their clothing, and their treatment. They report whatever they perceive throughout the kingdom, not omitting the most minute particular, and Lord Shaftesbury's statement to the committee of the House of Commons alleges that they do it in a most satisfactory manner. Fully twenty pages of the Report, or nearly half of what remains after the Statistical Tables, are a detailed record of the suicides and other fatal occurrences in the asylums in 1877; and beyond urging more careful supervision by attendants, it gives not one word of recommendation as to any treatment of patients whereby the liability to such sad casualties may be rendered less frequent. All the other principal matters recorded as worthy of note in the forty asylums, many licensed houses and homes for the insane, are such details as that "Surrey bought eight, and Cumberland four acres;" Devon has "enlarged its cemetery;" or that "Sussex House," a licensed home, "has bought a new billiard-table." What, it may be asked, is the reason of this character of the Commissioners' Report? The answer is too remarkable to be omitted. "The statistical information given in our annual Reports," says the document,¹ "has gradually increased in bulk and importance, and we have reason to believe this portion of the Report is considered to possess much value. At no time have we considered it our duty to draw any but the most plain and obvious deductions from the figures which the means at our disposal enable us to present, nor can we deem it advisable or justifiable to offer any *speculations* or *theories* based on these statistics. At present we do not think that the recorded expe-

(1) Commissioners' Report, 1876, p. 22.

rience is sufficiently extensive to warrant many very certain conclusions to be drawn from it, and the official publication of conjectures founded on confessedly imperfect data, and therefore liable to be falsified by the event, would not, we submit, be attended by any public advantage." Thirty years is too brief "experience," and sixty thousand lunatics not sufficiently "extensive" for "anything but confessedly imperfect data," or to warrant any deductions save "conjectures, speculations, or theories." Such is the conclusion of the Lunacy Commissioners, and their Report is in conformity with the statement.

The character of the Scotch (27th) and of the Irish (17th) Commissioners' Report is very different, and they are full of interesting and instructive matter. The Irish Report (p. 12) says, "The Commissioners were requested by the Government secretary, when compiling each annual parliamentary report, to advert not only to general deductions drawn from statistics, but to faults or deficiencies which, as heads of an important public department, they might deem it advisable to bring under the notice of Government." It may well be asked, Why do not the English Commissioners follow the example of the Irish and Scotch? It is true that in 1877 the chairman and his colleagues could tell the House of Commons of no "faults or deficiencies." He did not call his system perfection, he only implied as much.

The Commissioners excuse themselves for silence on facts and events by allusions to "conjectures, theories, and speculations," as though the public asked for anything but useful information. It is no theory or conjecture, but a distressing fact, "that the numbers of the insane, the death rate of the insane, increase faster, the recoveries progress slower, than they did twenty years ago."

Amidst this mass of eighty pages of statistics in Report and Appendix, there is one most essential point which the Commissioners have omitted to note. The omission conceals any fair comparison between the rate of recovery and the rate of death in asylums. The recoveries are calculated on a smaller, the deaths on a larger number of patients. Each result, therefore, appears more favourable to asylum treatment than it really is; the deaths appear fewer, the recoveries appear more frequent. They ought both to be calculated on the same basis—the total number under treatment. I do not lose sight of the fact that the age and condition of patients on their reception are alleged as affecting both the recoveries and the deaths in our public asylums; but a comparison with similar institutions elsewhere does not warrant the statement that this sufficiently accounts for the recent inferiority in England.

The statistics (B') contain a table in which the column purporting to be "proportion per cent. of recoveries on admissions during

the year," may appear verbally accurate; but as a test of any value it is virtually fallacious and actually deceptive. The fair way to judge of the recoveries in any asylum as a test of treatment, is to take the recoveries on the numbers treated. That is the rule as regards the death rate, and the same rule should apply to each. It is said "it comes right in the long run," but that again is not the fact.

In availing ourselves of the figures at our disposal, there is one plain and obvious deduction of great importance, that the county asylums which receive patients from the metropolis, styled Metropolitan Asylums, ought to show a far higher percentage of recoveries than any other asylums. They draft one-third of their population, amounting to 4,000 in number, chronics and incurables, to Caterham, Leavesden, &c. Hence the rates of recovery, and to a certain extent those of death, of the remaining two-thirds should, in proportion, be more favourable than that of provincial asylums, which have no such beneficial outlet. Is there that improvement?

There is another circumstance also apparently in favour of the metropolitan asylums as regards recovery, compared with provincial institutions. The curse of drunkenness, increasing among males and even females every year, prevails more in the neighbourhood of large towns. It supplies, some say twenty per cent. (Lord Shaftesbury thinks nearer forty per cent.) of the male population of asylums around great cities. Recoveries are counted, not on patients, but on cases. Thus the same drunkard coming in two or three times in one year with temporary insanity, consequent on delirium tremens, and going out, as is often the case, in three months or even in one month, counts as two or three or more recoveries within the year, telling in favour of the metropolitan asylums. Let us see how the metropolitan asylums have profited by these advantages.

The Report for 1878, p. 1, gives the total number of patients registered in county and borough asylums, exclusive of Leavesden, Caterham, &c., on the 1st January, 1877, as 37,763. Page 16 gives the total number under treatment during the year 1877 as 48,339. The average number resident in 1877 in the metropolitan asylums was 7,600. The recoveries on the 37,763 (the average resident) were 3,855 in England and Wales. Therefore the average recoveries generally were 10 per cent. Those in the metropolitan asylums, in spite of their advantage in drafting bad cases, were 9 per cent.

In order to make the comparison fair on both sides it is right to include the inmates (4,000) of the district asylums in each. These included, the percentage of recoveries generally is 9.3 per cent. throughout England. The recoveries on metropolitan asylums is 5.9 per cent. Nothing more is requisite to show how inferior are the metropolitan asylums to those of English generally.

It is desirable, as far as statistics are concerned, to show that on the whole asylum population (48,339) under treatment in 1877 the percentage of recoveries amounted only to 7·9 per cent., and including the London district asylums (4,000) the recoveries on the 52,000 under treatment in the same year were 7·3 per cent. These figures, as we shall see, are valuable in any comparison of treatment in England with other countries.

Before leaving, however, the consideration of the metropolitan asylums the following figures will show, in one and the same county, how deceptive and unreliable as a test of the value of the respective treatments may be the record of the recoveries on admissions as compared with recoveries on numbers resident.

Surrey Asylums. 1877.	Recoveries on Admissions.	Recoveries on Numbers Resident.
Wandsworth	58·1 per cent.	11·4 per cent.
Brookwood	30·6 „	14·6 „
1878.		
Wandsworth	38·5 „	11·2 „
Brookwood	35·9 „	13·9 „

Thus the asylum whose recoveries show worst on the admissions, in each case shows best on the treatment of numbers resident.

The “brief experience” of thirty years accordingly proves that the maximum of numbers and the minimum of land gives the minimum of recoveries and the maximum of deaths. We shall see further that the maximum of deaths and the minimum of recoveries coincide also with the minimum of employment.

It is very remarkable that the one solitary suggestion on page 40 of Report of 1878, asserts that “for chronic cases the proportionate quantity of land need not be so large.” As this is a question of opinion, it may be stated that, in the belief of the Irish and Scotch Commissioners, the value of a large extent of land is quite as great for chronic as for curable patients, and these authorities desire more land. Some years ago a parliamentary return showed the extent of land attached to county asylums to average an acre to nine patients. At this time the number of patients to an acre is considerably more, and the Commissioners consider a less quantity enough for chronic lunatics. The Irish Report wishing for more, urges one acre to five or six patients; the Scotch seek a much larger extent of land; the French recommend “Colonies” for husbandry to be attached to each asylum. Whereas Caterham and Leavesden, which are admired by the Commissioners, have only a few acres of garden apiece for their 4,520 prisoners.

For the sake of comparison we may refer to the Scotch Commissioners’ Report, which shows a larger amount of recovery both on admissions and patients under treatment, and presents in almost

every respect a striking contrast to the English Report. The latter is a perfect blank as to all suggestions except the diminution of land for chronics. The Scotch is full of recommendations, the result of experience. The English offers no comparison respecting improvements save night-watching. The Scotch shows the benefits arising from various changes. In England the object is limited to the safe custody of the insane. In Scotland the aim is recovery, or such restoration as will permit return to the occupations of domestic life. The English Reports are directed almost exclusively to structural arrangements for supervision. The Scotch address themselves to the training, to the health, to the exercise and the contentment of the inmates. The English is a barren catalogue of casualties; the Scotch a record of the results of improved treatment. The English Reports are passive and negative. The Scotch are active and positive. The results are what might be expected. In England the progressive increase of insanity is faster, the percentage of recovery is slower. Greater contentment of mind, improved condition of body among the Scotch patients is shown by the absence of stimulants and disuse of narcotics as compared with England, by a larger amount of work done, by a larger proportion of patients employed; by greater activity by day, and by increased tranquillity at night.

Though this comparison of the policy of the governing bodies in the two countries is fair and just, it would not be right to infer that the practice and treatment of lunatics in Scotland is everywhere, and in every respect, superior to that in very many asylums in England. On the contrary, the treatment in many asylums in England is better than in many in Scotland. The comparison is not so much between particular asylums, as between the general system, in which respect Scotland perhaps is now as much ahead of England as a few years since it was behind.

It may be asked, In what respect does the treatment in Scotland differ from that in England? Essentially in the matters of labour and liberty accorded to the patients. Through greater liberty there is more labour, and through more labour more recovery, more contentment, more economy, more repose to the insane, together with less anxiety to superintendents and attendants.

The collection of insane in large numbers in one establishment is full of evils, and prevents recoveries. Hence the recoveries in private exceed those in public asylums. The Scotch have no large asylums.

The doctors in large asylums cannot even know the patients by sight, much less by name. The thread of their history is to them a tangled skein, which they scarcely attempt to unravel. The admixture of a curable patient with the vast common herd has a most detrimental effect. One cannot tell why the governing body ever permitted 800, 1,000, 1,200, 1,500, 1,800, or 2,300 lunatics to be agglomerated,

but having done so, the Commissioners make the numbers an excuse for denying greater liberty to the asylum patients.

For some time a large and increasing amount of liberty has been accorded in Scotland, both in regard to open doors and the abolition of walled airing courts. You may pass unwarned from one end to another in several of the county asylums, by simply turning the door-handle; no door being locked, and the outer door in summer remaining as often open as shut. This, to some English doctors, and especially English Commissioners, who seem never to have visited any asylum out of England, appears simply impossible. Probably no asylum in Scotland will in future be built with either walled airing courts or locked doors. This is a matter of still greater surprise to English authorities. It is satisfactory to notice that the Commons Committee (p. vii.) report in favour of "the system of unlocked doors" in England.

It is not to be expected that the amount of liberty thus given to asylum inmates in Scotland could at once be given to English patients. It must come—as it did in Scotland—gradually. Indeed, it is interesting to know that the disuse of airing courts was the result of circumstance or of accident rather than of design. In 1870 Dr. Fraser, then Superintendent (now Commissioner in Lunacy), found that the wall of the Fife and Kinross Asylum court required repair. He pulled it down, and finding he did as well without it did not rebuild it. The like occurred in 1869 at the Argyll Asylum under Dr. Sibbald (now Lunacy Commissioner), and under his successor, Dr. Rutherford. The amount of land attached to the asylum was also greatly increased, to afford useful employment for all the patients. Many other asylums have followed these examples.

Another matter in which greater liberty is given in Scotland is the practice (adopted in some English asylums) of male and female patients dining in the same hall at the same time. The superintendents think this nearer approach to domestic life has a beneficial effect. In England they meet at concerts, dances, and such entertainments. In Scotland it is the daily habit, and at the small county asylum at Haddington men and women have for years, and without inconvenience, dined at the same table.

These practices have a decidedly soothing and beneficial effect. Hence the greater willingness of patients to engage in useful occupation, and especially in that most beneficial form, outdoor work. In England the troublesome patients to whom employment would be most serviceable are least employed; while those who require it least, as they prefer work, are most employed. They constitute perhaps 40 per cent. of the inmates, and little credit should be gained by getting them to work. Of these a large proportion even of the men act principally as male housemaids—an employment neither manly, healthy, nor useful. In some asylums in Scotland

women alone do all the women's work, such as ward-cleaning and bed-making, leaving the males to the extent of 75 per cent. free to engage in work more suited to their sex and habits.

He would indeed be a bold man who in dietary or treatment in any one asylum should venture to criticize the action of the Medical Superintendent, and very injudicious who sought to assume the responsibility of the charge of patients. What is applicable to the population of one asylum may not only be inapplicable but even misleading as regards another.

There are, however, certain general principles, among which is an inference from the table A**p* E, page 302-4 of the last Commissioners' Report, viz., that in English county and borough asylums the amount for "surgery and dispensary" expenditure is invariably lowest where the consumption of "wines, spirits, and porter" is smallest, and the converse is generally true. In all asylums thus reported, the health is good, and the mortality (whenever mentioned) almost without exception (32nd Report, page 302) below the average.

In Carmarthen, which is most favourable as regards health and death rate, the bill for wine and spirits amounted to £162 in 1875, and to £11 in 1877, about $\frac{1}{15}$ of the former amount, and $\frac{1}{5}$ d. per head per week—the sleeping draught (henbane) being given to only one in eighty of the patients. "The physician in charge says the question of stimulants can only be decided in each case by the medical officer, but he sees no reason to revert to the exhibition of stimulants, and in spite of crowded wards the mortality has been at the rate of 6 per cent. In lieu of stimulants he gives an unlimited supply of milk and eggs." Stimulants are used most sparingly in the asylums of Bucks, Carmarthen, Dorset, Hereford, Monmouth, Notts, Warwick, Whittingham, and Wilts. Here are populations of every description, pastoral, arable, mining, manufacturing, urban, and rural.

In Cumberland Asylum "neither beer nor spirits have ever been allowed in the diet of patients or attendants; of 433 inmates, six male and thirteen female patients had a glass daily of wine or spirits as medicine, and the superintendent finds it much easier to manage an asylum where no beer is given either to patients or attendants." Why are the City of London and the Hull asylums—highest in maintenance, highest for provisions and beer,—also among the highest for wine, spirits, and porter? The metropolitan physicians in charge say it is due to the urban population. But the inmates of Birmingham Borough Asylum are all urban, and their health is reported good, while the charge per week for dispensary and for liquor ($\frac{1}{4}$ d.) is less than one-sixth ($3\frac{1}{4}$ d.) of the charge in London and Hull for spirits.

We naturally find that in those asylums where they give most ardent spirits and most drugs, they employ the patients least. The

treatment incapacitates them for work. The City of London is a signal example of this habit of idleness. Where not one-third of the patients are recorded as doing anything—no wonder that the charge is high and the recovery low. The percentage of recovery in the City of London Asylum in 1877 was 6·6 per cent.

If change of habits, if severance from vices of former life, prove both mentally and physically beneficial, how necessary it is for metropolitan asylums who give such large quantities of fermented liquors to inebriate patients, to imitate those asylums in Scotland and in England which give no fermented liquors at all, and where the recoveries are infinitely higher.

Drugs and stimulants act and react. The lowering effect of the opiate requires the elevating effect of the stimulant, and thus the exhausted frame becomes the arena for conflicting poisons; hence, Sir James Coxe justly observed, "the patient passes pleasantly into a state of dreamy dementia;" that prevailing condition which those who visit English asylums so frequently and so painfully recognise; the condition which the Commissioners, in their annual passage through English asylums, complacently record, when they say they find them tranquil and contented, except those few who want to get out. The Commissioners enter every instance of seclusion which has occurred in the year and every case of restraint. These happily are rare, but not one word is said about the drugging—a deleterious mode of quieting, well named by Dr. Sheppard of Colney Hatch "Chemical Restraint." Its tendency is silently and furtively to supersede mechanical restraint, and it even goes far to suppress the padded room.

I shall not trespass into the province of the learned profession, nor seek to relieve them of the responsibility of administering whenever they think fit the chloral, the laudanum, the bromide of potassium, the digitalis, or the other mixtures which at one time, perhaps more largely than at present, entered into use in some asylums in lieu of relaxed restraint, healthy exercise, and useful work. I will rather turn to one or two asylums in Scotland, as showing the contrast to this habitual use of drugs, of ardent spirits, of locked doors, of prison wards and corridors, of walled airing courts and enforced idleness. I need remind none who have witnessed it of the depressing sight presented by herds listlessly lying and lounging on the floors and benches of decorated corridors within, and the weary pacing up and down on gravel paths amid unnoticed ornamental shrubs without our asylums. I will take an asylum in Scotland, which for an unhopeful lot of patients, might equal any in England. Woodilee, eight miles from Glasgow, is peopled by four hundred and sixty patients, the scum and refuse, the most dissolute, degraded, drunken and debased, of the densest population of that city. If the metropolitan patients, enfeebled by irregular lives, required

stimulants, so assuredly would these. If their disorderly habits necessitated narcotics, so certainly would these. If they were unable to work or employ themselves, no more could these.

In the best-managed English asylums it is proved on paper most satisfactorily that both for the sake of the patients and attendants it would not be possible, and if possible not proper, to employ more than two-thirds of the patients; nor to employ them for longer hours. The best way to meet this admirable argument is to test it by experience of two asylums not dissimilar in the character of patients, to see what is done in each, and afterwards to compare the results. In one, be it observed, less than 5 per cent., in the other over 55 per cent., are "reported suicidal," possibly in great part due to treatment.

The recoveries on admissions (1877) amounted in one to 30·6 per cent., in the other to 51. The recoveries on numbers resident in one were 14·6 per cent., in the other they were 17·7 per cent. Deaths in one were 11 per cent., in the other 6 per cent.

COMPARATIVE PERCENTAGE OF PATIENTS' CONDITION AND EMPLOYMENT IN TWO WELL-MANAGED URBAN ASYLUMS, ONE IN ENGLAND WITH MORE THAN 1,000, THE OTHER IN SCOTLAND WITH LESS THAN 500, PATIENTS.

PATIENTS.		English Asylum.	Both Sexes.	Scotch Asylum.	Both Sexes.				
CONDITION.	Over 65 years	Per cent. 6·8	Per ct.	Per cent. 9	Per ct.				
	Epileptics	17·35		9·5					
	Gen. paralytics	7·35		3·33					
	Reported suicidal	55·2		4·76					
	Confined to airing courts ..	19·9		None.					
Walk outside	51	All.							
EMPLOYMENT.	MALES.								
	At Work.	On land				36·5	} 62 per cent. at work.	60	} 81·44 per cent. at work.
		At trades				9·5		10	
		About house				16·25		11·44	
	At little or nothing	Undefined				9·5	} 37·2 per cent.	—	} 18·4
		Infirm, idle, cannot or will not work ..				27·7		18·4	
	At Work.	Knitting, mending, sewing, &c. &c. ..				28·8	} 36·35 per cent. at work.	55	} 78·5 per cent. at work.
		House and kitchen ..				1·45		6·9	
		Laundry				6·1		16·6	
	At little or nothing	Undefined				22	} 62·8 per cent.	—	} 20·19
Infirm, idle, cannot or will not work ..		40·8	20·19	per cent.					
BOTH SEXES		Employed, including undefined	65		80				
		At useful work only	49	4	80				

TOTAL BOTH SEXES.

	Percentage Employed.	Percentage not Employed or Indefinite.
Scotch Asylum	80	20
English Asylum	49·18	50

Woodilee Asylum has attached to it a farm with 200 acres and about twenty-eight cows. An extent of land equal to one acre to two patients should be possessed by every asylum having under 600 patients. At Woodilee stimulants and narcotics are practically unknown. Ale and porter, a large item in the English dietary, are given only to the Superior Officers, viz. Medical Assistant, Steward, and Chief Female Officer. Attendants have no stimulants given them, no beer used; a minimum of stimulants and opiates always "in practice follows a maximum of healthy labour with a maximum of freedom and contentment;" thus they obtain a maximum never dreamt of under the English system of restraint and discontent; that 75 or 80 per cent. should really work usefully and profitably is a proportion never thought of in England.

In England, nominal employment, the merest fancy play, is reckoned as work: at Woodilee, of the men 60 per cent. are employed in digging or other field-work on the land, 10 per cent. at trades; 4 per cent. at stores or indoor work, and 7 per cent. as ward cleaners; while only 18 per cent. of either sex are classed as idle, sick, or infirm. Let any person conversant with English asylum practice compare this statement with his own statistics. He certainly would find three or four times as many patients classed as working in the wards, and probably one-fourth or fifth of the whole population disabled from depression or excitement, even in our best asylums. At Woodilee there is not one incapacitated from such cause. Moreover, in England a large amount of employment is of doubtful advantage to the patients, and yields no profit to the institution—I mean that bestowed on beautiful *parterres*, ornamental shrubberies, and scrupulous neatness of flower-gardens. The patients see little to admire in these attractions, and their minds dwell, when not usefully engaged, on their homes and miseries. My belief is that this excessive ornamentation, if tested by results, produces little salutary effect.

Forty years ago, when the treatment generally was of a different character, Dr. Browne said, in his work on *Insanity and Asylums* (1837, p. 229), "Let me describe the aspect of an asylum as it ought to be. Conceive a spacious building resembling the palace of a peer, airy and elevated and elegant, surrounded by extensive and swelling grounds and gardens." This ideal has been carried out to the letter. But the remarks of another medical gentleman, after forty years' trial of these palaces, are more to the point. Professor Duncan observes (*Journal of Medical Science*, 1870), "When Hodge's wife leaves him in a snug ward with palatial surroundings and delightful grounds, and returns to her dirty hole of a cottage to satisfy the hunger of half-a-dozen children upon bread and dripping and tea, she wants to know whether all this splendour will cure her husband

one day the sooner, and will he like our poor place the better when he comes home."

Not only is the nature of the outdoor work at Woodilee and in other Scotch asylums more earnest, but the hours of labour even in that northern climate are one and a half or two hours longer daily than in the south of England; and this greater amount of outdoor recreative labour is one secret of tranquil nights tending to increased recovery. But the other, the grand secret, the main cause of tranquillity and contentment among the patients, is that which the English Commissioners most strongly deprecate—increased liberty. The Commissioners object to this as something to which they have never been accustomed, and which they cannot understand. It is true that in matters of treatment they rarely interfere even to the extent of a remark, much less a suggestion. The Superintendents feel that they know best and do not desire assistance, while the profession probably would resent and resist interposition; and the Board, knowing that the profession is too strong for them, does not attempt it. That is the case with all weak administration. Thus the Commissioners confine their criticisms, as we have said, to structural defects.

It is instructive to observe what has been said, written, and practised in Scotland, of which the English Commissioners must long have been aware, though no one ever heard of an English Commissioner visiting any external asylum. In England it is impossible to pass through a single door in an asylum without the key of the doctor or the attendant, whom the patients regard as a gaoler. In fact, there is no door-handle, no means of passage, save by unlocking the door. This by habit is supposed to be necessary. Dr. Fraser, now one of the Commissioners in Scotland, remarked in 1872, "It is quite practicable to treat 8 out of every 10 cases of insanity on this (the open-door) principle, and in fact only 12 to 15 males and about 30 females were restricted" in the Fife Asylum, of which he then had charge, "such restriction being no greater degree of restraint than in an asylum where the doors are generally locked;" and he adds, "There is good reason for the belief that many of the violent maniacs and chronic lunatics who crowd our asylums have been developed by a system of indiscriminate restraint, which in one man excites refractory opposition, and in another fosters inactivity of the brain." I have already said that in many of the asylums in Scotland you may pass from ward to ward by simply opening the door; and the result of the confidence thus placed in patients is that escapes do not exceed those in locked-up institutions, while the Superintendent finds "the anxiety they have caused is more than counterbalanced by increased tranquillity." To all which an experienced English Commissioner remarks that "there are no corresponding advantages."

This subject, and this opinion expressed upon it, appear of sufficient importance to warrant an extract from the statement of the Superintendent of Woodilee Asylum (Glasgow) in October, 1878.

Dr. Rutherford says, "The diminution of restraint is beneficial, inasmuch as it renders the patients more contented, makes them practise self-restraint more than they feel disposed to do when others seem to be doing it for them. Besides, there is nothing more irritating than forced restraint.

"Of 214 male patients in the asylum, 72 (one-third) can go about unattended. About 40 (over one-fifth) work about the farm buildings and garden unattended.

"All doors have ordinary handles, except those which lead out to the grounds, but even these doors are as frequently open as shut in fine weather.

"Freedom does not increase the number of suicides. As for accidents, nearly all of them are in connection with the work. The most serious here were caused by falls of earth in excavating. Conflicts with attendants we have little of. They generally take place indoors. More noise and irritability are displayed indoors than out, therefore we keep our patients (male) very little in the house. I do not think that, on the whole, more attendants are necessary. If so, the excess is of that class of attendant who by his work earns his wages, and his attendance is as it were extra—as artisans or gardeners. Here we have 19 male and 19 female ordinary attendants for 460 beds" (one to twelve). Many English asylums have a larger staff. "The attendants work with the patients, and are generally the best workers in the party. They imitate and follow the attendant, only the attendant must be able to handle a pick and shovel better than they, else the patients work very little—they play at work. With us it is easy to get such attendants."

Dr. Rutherford goes on to say: "Diminished restraint, by rendering the patients more *sane*, as it were, does not increase the responsibility of the Medical Superintendent. It may require greater vigilance on the part of attendants to prevent escapes." However, he does not consider more patients escape than in other old lock-up institutions.

Dr. Mitchell, Commissioner in Lunacy in Edinburgh, remarks: "The manifestations of insanity are diminished by the diminution of restraint; common sense would predict what experience shows to be true in this matter." From this cause result more frequent recoveries, with increased tranquillity and content. No padded room is necessary. Drugs are discontinued, beer and spirits disused, and milk supplied in unlimited quantities.¹

(1) In the Argyll Asylum the weekly allowance of milk was from six to eight pints per head. The total stimulants in six months among 280 patients were—whisky,

In speaking of outdoor work and occupation, I have necessarily confined myself to male patients. Nothing is more important than to find some industrial occupation for the female. Sewing and knitting are useful, but are far too sedentary for a large number who require active exercise. Tramping round the walled court, and occasional long walks, are considered in England by some Superintendents and by all the Commissioners as sufficient exercise. Washing, in other countries, is looked upon for women as the equivalent for field-work for men. And while Commissioners advise Superintendents, and visitors in England are at considerable expense in substituting machinery for hand-washing, which is held to be detrimental to female patients, it is interesting to see what they say and do elsewhere. The Scotch Commissioners think washing "uses up in a useful way the superfluous nervous energy." The Superintendent at Woodilee writes: "As for female employment, the one thing all women can do is washing, and it is the work for women corresponding to outdoor work for men. With this view, I am fitting up twelve additional washing-tubs as a substitute for the washing machinery, which I hope to be able to cease using." The evidence of Dr. A. Mitchell, Lunacy Commissioner, and the Commissioners' Report on Dumbarton (p. 58) Lunatic Wards, where they take in public washing, with much profit and advantage, is to the like effect:—"The general appearance is reported to be one of good health and contentment, and the useful and profitable manner in which both men and women are employed, contributes to the pleasing results which are obtained in the management."

The same evidence is repeated from other parts of Scotland; but lest it be supposed that we turn only in that direction for example, it is well to note at some considerable length what is done in France. At Clermont, in the Department of the Oise, exists a licensed house, not to be commended for the central establishment, but for the extensive farm attached to it, and for the treatment there given to patients. The asylum, in the opinion of the French Government Commissioners, is too large. Its chief feature is the wide extent of land attached to it, about 1,260 acres, an area far exceeding any in this country, but not too great either for the benefit of patients or of the institution. The asylum receives all the insane from the several departments at a charge of about 6s. a week.

Bècrel is a place on the Clermont Estate, at some little distance from the main building of the institution. Speaking of the employment of female patients, M. Labitte, the proprietor, reports as follows:—"At Bècrel, where all the asylum washing is done, a work requiring a certain amount of attention—constant physical

13 bottles; sherry, 13 bottles; gin, not 3 bottles. The sleeping draughts in eight months were 30, besides five doses of chloral and bromide of potassium.

activity—the women employed are chiefly taken from the excited patients of the Clermont Asylum. Those at the wash-tub and rinsing are almost generally affected with noisy delirium, and would not submit to the tranquillity of a life of business. For this we select the patients who are most robust and capable of giving themselves to this sort of work.

“Those occupied in ironing are the melancholic, to whom this sort of work may bring back that vital activity which they so frequently lack. The imbeciles and idiots are employed in carrying the linen from the wash-house to the drying yard. Those employed in plaiting and folding the linen are quiet monomaniac patients, whose fixed ideas or delusions permit sustained attention. The number of women employed at laundry work is a source of great economy, and allows an increased supply of linen to be issued for the use of the patients.”

This evidence of the useful employment of a large number of female patients in Scotland and in France, in a kind of work condemned in England and superseded by machinery, is enough to make us pause before we continue to spend the ratepayers' money in erecting machinery to deprive the women of the best, if not the only kind of work to allay excitement or overcome depression.

The next remark of Dr. Labitte concerning Clermont is equally worthy of note. He says, “During twelve years from the opening of the asylum, there has not been a single case of suicide; escapes are very rare; and the statistics, extending over ten years, state an average of 25 per cent. of curables.”

Patients reported with suicidal tendencies in English county asylums are said to amount to nearly one-seventh. Little reliance can be placed on such a proportion. Some superintendents, rating every melancholic patient as such, raise the proportion to more than half the inmates, just as another says his patients, being so much more violent than the like in a neighbouring asylum, require three times as many single rooms (one in three throughout). It is stated by medical authorities to be a fact that suicides among the sane are more numerous than among the insane. The *Journal of Medical Science* (January, 1879, page 633) thinks the excessively repressive measures imply too little liberty, too little trust, and a too “prison-like management in asylums.”

Other countries take security against suicide by improving the patient. In England we take security only by improving the attendant. Each adopt diametrically opposite courses to attain the same object. In the twenty or more pages on suicides which fill a large part of the last Report, 1878, the Commissioners do not drop a single hint with regard to employment as a means to prevent suicide; on the contrary, instead of greater relaxation they imply

greater restraint. Thus it is not only possible, but highly probable, that suicides and suicidal tendencies may in great measure be due to the galling confinement, to the lack of employment, and the consequent despair and indifference to life which they engender. The narrow locked corridor, the walled airing-yard, the padded room, all species of mechanical restraint, are poor alternatives for increased liberty and profitable labour, and wretched safeguards where a monotonous life is rendered a burden to a weakened body and an enfeebled mind. And since useful occupation, in proportion to the condition of the patient, is considered so conducive to the recovery of the curable, and to the comfort and restraint of the chronic, no matters should be forgotten which may tend to that object. Musical concerts, conjuring tricks, dances, and theatrical entertainments, are highly to be commended, in order to break the monotony of asylum life. We see billiard tables in most pauper asylums, but games requiring active muscular exertion are not, even in the best asylums, sufficiently practised. Dr. Sheppard, at Colney Hatch, has a cricket club of patients, and so have some others. Not merely do the active games divert the patients for the time, but they become an incentive to employment and to actual work. The melancholic patient whom you could not move, may some day forget himself and unconsciously join in an active game; and when he has thus begun, it is highly probable that ere long he may become a regular worker and recover his health. For this reason active exercise and competitive games, such as cricket, fives, racket, quoits, skittles, football, and foot-races, should be encouraged and practised more than they often are.

There is another most valuable inducement to work, which has never been tried (so far as I know) in English county asylums, which well deserves attention—money payment in reward for work by patients.

One objection raised by those who have not tried it is, that it would not answer and would cause jealousy; another, that it would be very expensive; a third, that patients already have inducements offered in the shape of snuff, tobacco, extra diet, attendance at meetings or picnics, and such-like privileges, as if those were equivalent to money payments. This last objection proceeds on the mistaken notion of treating lunatics like children. They are truly sensitive as children, but it is an error to treat them with a sense of inferiority; indeed, their very malady is generally one, not of frivolity, but of undue earnestness; and there are few who do not understand that work merits reward.

The Commissioners never advert to money payment. They do not seem aware that such a scheme has ever been attempted anywhere. The Government Convict Asylum is the only place in

England where it has been tried, and the sole credit of the scheme is due to Dr. Orange, the Superintendent, who has carried it on for four years. He speaks of it in most favourable terms, as causing improvement in mental condition and bodily health, and, against the opinion of those who condemn it untried, as a source of great economy and of profit. Dr. Orange writes: "The scheme, which consists in giving to the working patients a percentage of the value of the work they do, has proved very successful." "There is a steady increase in the value of the work done. The scheme involves a good deal of book-keeping, but the result much more than pays for that. The patients are allowed to expend their earnings in any harmless little luxuries; or they may, if they like, send their earnings to their families."

In France a similar system has been universally practised for more than thirty years. The official Report to the French Minister of the Interior on the Management of the Insane for 1874 states that by a Government order of 1844, and again of 1857, the principle of a slight money reward was recognised in all the forty-two asylums of France for those patients who work. It says, "Inasmuch as work is considered a therapeutic agency, it is necessary to encourage patients to devote themselves to it with a certain amount of assiduity. All work deserves pay. The greater part of the insane are aware of that, and insist that their work should be rewarded."

"From the first month a certain proportion is allotted by the physician in charge to a fund for the patient on his discharge. When the discharge fund has been attained, the surplus goes to the profit of the patient, to be devoted to Sunday dress, to articles of fancy he may desire to purchase, or to remit in whole or in part to his relations."

"All these favours become in the hands of the doctor a therapeutic agency of a certain importance, and they are a satisfaction to the patients, which it is right to afford them."

The owner of a licensed house would not pay patients if they did not contribute to his own profit. The proprietors of Clermont find that by means of money payment they induce the patients readily to follow various occupations, and through the large farm, with teams, herds, and flocks, piggeries, flour mills, and all the implements and appliances of husbandry, they entice those to employ themselves who were considered intractable and incapable of doing the smallest service.

"On Sundays all patients at the colony attend the village church, the clergyman being chaplain. No coercion is permitted at the colony or farm. Any refractory patient is at once sent back to the asylum establishment at Clermont, a punishment which they feel, as well they may (for it cannot be commended), very acutely. Thus they gradually resume the habits of private life."

"The day's work is about seven and a half hours in summer—six or seven in winter. Each worker is paid, according to the importance of his work, with extra diet. Connected with the farms is a section for imbecile and idiot children separate from other patients; they are occupied four hours in school, at other times some are occupied on the farms, others walk out. Among these children are two tailors, one shoemaker, a carpenter, and locksmith, who are usefully employed.

"As to some of the results obtained, idiots; imbeciles, dangerous, excited, and incapable patients have become docile labourers, and even somewhat intelligent. Reputed incurables, who had been a danger and scandal, and a charge to their family, have been restored to private life, and by the discipline and labour in the colony have become quiet and capable of holding lucrative situations. And in ten years not one suicide." To obtain that result alone the experiment is worth trying.

When forty years ago Dr. Conolly took the fetters and manacles off his suicidal patients; when in the next year nine raving suicidal maniacs, brought in bound hand and foot, and thus taken to the wards at Hanwell, were by him set free, the condemnation was as general, and the terror was as great, at his proceeding, as it is now against extending the system of non-restraint. The abolition of personal restraint, writes Dr. Wynter, was soon found to have more than temporary influence upon the patients. Conolly announced that his principle was to "remove all causes of irritation and excitement from the irritable; to soothe, encourage, and comfort the depressed; to repress the violent by methods which leave no painful recollection on their temper; and in all cases to seize any opportunity of promoting a restoration of the healthy exercise of the understanding and of the affections. Insanity thus treated undergoes great if not unexpected modifications." He feared, however, lest "chemical restraint" and the knees of the attendant would take the place of mechanical restraint. "In the monstrous asylums of Hanwell and Colney Hatch sanitary principles have been forgotten, and efficient superintendence rendered impossible. The magistrates go on adding wing to wing, and story to story, contrary to the opinion of the profession and common sense, rendering the institution most unfavourable to the treatment of patients, and their management most harassing and unsatisfactory to the medical superintendent."

Dr. Conolly complains of the magistrates; but the Government, who have the power to forbid, and who permit these foolish errors, are really in fault. Conolly, with all his foresight, did not anticipate that these very mistakes would be assigned by a Commissioner as a reason for denying increased liberty.

I must revert to Scotland, and compare the percentages of recovery among the insane from two nearly equal populations. Circumstances prevent a very close parallel, but the result provokes comparison, and the percentage of recovery awakens reflections as to the propriety of incarcerating a crude congestion of insanity in a narrow compass, or as to its dispersion in a larger area with greater liberty.

The population of the Metropolitan Counties (Middlesex and Surrey) is about	3,630,000
That of Scotland (estimated, Poor Law Ret., 1878) is	3,568,000
The two English counties have expended on asylums ¹	£2,146,747
Scotland has spent on asylums	1,313,121
(Parl. Ret., 370.)	

The asylum inmates of the first are 12,140. The number in the Scotch asylums is 8,000.² The recovery rate on the numbers under treatment of the metropolitan insane is one-sixteenth. The recovery rate in Scotland exceeds one-seventh.

This lower rate of recovery annually adds to the lunacy of the metropolitan counties 960 permanent insane, and a burden of £26,600 per annum in money, beyond the rate in Scotland. The insane of the metropolitan counties are one-fourth of those in England and Wales. Apply the principle and proportion of these counties to the whole country, and we are justified in saying that this system every year would add nearly 4,000 permanent lunatics, and an annual charge of £100,000 to the burden of their maintenance, beyond the system in Scotland. This is the result of enforced idleness and restraint on one side as compared with increased liberty and labour on the other. If we add the difference in rate of insanity—a little over 2 in 1,000 in one case, against more than 3 in 1,000 in the other—the result is still more overwhelming.

When we turn to Ireland, where twenty-two asylums contain on an average 367 patients, and consider the evidence of Dr. Nugent, Irish Commissioner in Lunacy, the case against the English, and especially the monster metropolitan, system is still more conclusive. The general result is as follows:—

The curables in the metropolitan asylums are one-sixteenth of the

(1) This is considerably below the real amount. The asylums are Hanwell, Colney Hatch, Banstead, Wandsworth, Brookwood, &c.

(2) The proportion of these English insane to the total population is 1 to 299; that of the Scotch is 1 to 450. The yearly cost of maintenance of the Metropolitan pauper insane is £300,000 (£297,331—Parl. Paper, 370); that of the 8,000 pauper lunatics in Scotland is £150,000. The metropolis has seven asylums, averaging 1,734 patients; the Scotch have twenty-four, averaging 372 patients apiece. The land attached to the metropolitan asylums available for cultivation by the patients is 1 acre to 27 patients. The Scotch asylums have nearly ten times as much; including all, they average 1 acre to 2·7 patients.

patients : in England generally they are one-twelfth : in Scotland, one-seventh : in the United States, one-sixth : in Ireland, one-fifth. Thus the English are lower than any other, and the metropolitan are lowest of all.¹

The Irish lunacy authorities are not satisfied with the management. The English, under whose approving supervision these metropolitan examples occur, are quite contented with the results of treatment.

It may be conceded that where asylums exist we should make the best of them. Wherever the Government authorises new or enlarges old asylums which do not admit of an improved system, it does wrong. Recent examples, however, show no improvement in the action of the Government, either as regards cure, care, or cost.

Banstead Asylum for Middlesex, to accommodate twelve or fourteen hundred patients, has lately been opened, at the cost of £320,000. It stands on the bleak northern summit of the Surrey Downs, where eight miles of hot-water pipe do not suffice to exclude the cold. The cures are zero, and the deaths are daily so numerous as to call for the special attention of the county coroner. It has only one hundred acres of land, and it is proposed to enlarge the building for five hundred more patients.

In Surrey the Commissioners have just sanctioned the expenditure of £225,000 to make provision for the reception of one thousand patients ; £25,000, or two hundred years' purchase, for one hundred and forty-eight acres of poor land on an exposed northern hillside, and £200,000 for the building. Heavy as is this first outlay, the first will be the least on that narrow extent at that height. With such an exposure it will not be possible to give the patients the farm work and healthy outdoor employment which are essential for their comfort or recovery. Seeing that nearly half a million has been spent in Surrey to lodge about 2,000 lunatics, of whom 1,900 remain incurable, and that within a few months² the Commissioners have sanctioned, or the county voted, £277,000 more, Government seems to be encouraging a somewhat rapid and costly advance in the same wrong direction.

These facts show how great an error the justices of a county fall into, and what a still more fatal mistake the Commissioners make, in sanctioning or encouraging the erection of a new asylum on the lines of an old one. Upon grounds of economy for the ratepayers,

(1) *Vide* Com. Paper, 370, of 1878.

(2) 1878. £25,000 for land for third asylum at Coulsden.

1878. 200,000 for building at Coulsden.

1878. 10,000 for well at Brookwood.

1879. 42,000 for additions at Wandsworth.

Total, £277,000

and especially in the interests of the insane, it would be better even now to halt, and profiting by the experience of other places and other countries, to construct establishments where greater liberty and a greater amount of diversified and useful employment might tend to the larger proportion of recovery for the curable, a fuller share of comfort, quietude, and contentment for the chronic, and a speedier restoration to their families of the large number to whom detention is an unnecessary and cruel imprisonment.

Thirty years since, Conolly foresaw the reasons why the metropolitan county asylums have the smallest success. Experience has proved the truth of his forecast, that from their unwieldy size they would become museums for the collection of insanity. "Crowding the insane," observes Dr. Wynter, "aggravates the malady, just as in a fever ward the type of the disease becomes more aggravated." Individuality is lost, and curative treatment goes with it. Asylum management lapses into treatment by attendants, which, as the Commissioners (p. 5) say, requires constant watching, and year by year, by reason of the annually increasing difficulty of obtaining and retaining the services of good attendants, becomes more uncertain.

We need not advert to the question, what is to be done with these large buildings for one or two thousand patients now that we have got them at a rate of £180 to £200 per bed? The main question is "How to deal with inmates."

We must be careful how we blame unduly the medical profession of the present day for this diminished cure. They are not worse than their predecessors. Fifty years ago they were just as positive as they are now about the perfection of their system. Indeed, twenty years since they had more reason to be pretentious, for then the proportion of their cures was greater. Now, as formerly, in the words of Dr. Wynter, superintendents "are so saturated with their own system, which they term 'experience,' that they are unwilling to admit of any departure from their own circle of unvarying routine."

The Commissioners urge, as almost the only advice they have to offer, "a large recreation hall," as an appendage to every asylum. I know one on which they have sanctioned the expenditure of nearly £6,000 on the hall and fittings, and another on which £7,000 is to be laid out. In like manner they say they "are convinced that the pictures have a very good effect on the worst cases, and must conduce to the cure of others." Still, as the patients rarely take notice of them, we may be permitted to doubt this mode of certain cure. In the midst of entertainments few things are more depressing than the constant remark addressed by patients who are supposed to be entertained, "When will you let me go out?" It is the same while they pace the decorated, but to them dreary, "corridor." "You said you would consider my case." In short, the

embellishments, decorations, and entertainments supplied by the English system are alien to pauper taste, and hence fail entirely to effect their object.

I would now refer to two other matters—one connected with the admission, the other referring to the discharge, of the masses from the overgrown establishments. Early asylum treatment is ever alleged as the reason for hurrying every pauper whose mind is affected to an asylum; but insanity has many forms, not all requiring the restrictions of an asylum. The medical man with us certifies unsoundness, the magistrate signs an order, and the relieving officer deposits the patient in a county asylum. There is an institution in Paris of which the idea is good, and by which we might profit without imitating all the details. The Asylum of St. Anne was designed for, and to a great extent is still used as, an intermediate stage, or passage-house, where patients are first received, being drafted thence according to the phase of the malady. Here we have no such place for discrimination, and the want is one which ought to be supplied.

The second matter has reference to the future of the patients discharged from asylums, who are not fit to be at large. Dr. Crichton Browne, Dr. Bridges, Mr. Henley, Dr. Duckworth Williams, and many valuable witnesses give admirable evidence as to the requirements of patients who might be removed from the overgrown and overcrowded asylums. There is cause for wonder and regret, therefore, that the experience of more than thirty years should not have furnished the Commissioners with data whereon to offer any practical contribution. They have repeatedly noticed in their Reports (*e.g.* in 1857 and 1873) the growing evil of lunatic asylums being converted into receptacles for chronic patients, and have recommended the construction of cheap and inexpensive buildings, and the use of workhouses, saying "that certain provisions were first required." The hesitation of the Commissioners and the ambiguity and conflict of the statutes have prevented this relief from being afforded.

It is marvellous that with asylums overflowing, prisons abandoned, barracks disused, and union-houses half empty, the Commissioners have never attempted to secure the provisions necessary to give effect to their own recommendations, or to suggest intermediate or auxiliary asylums, seaside resorts, and workhouse wards, like the lunatic wards of poorhouses in Scotland. On the contrary, enormous buildings, as Sir E. Kerrison remarks, "are rising up everywhere to meet the great increase of lunacy, and the central authority speak of less expensive buildings, but sanction more expensive ones." The responsibility rests on them, and as in Ireland¹ so in England, "The lunacy department is profuse in recommending auxiliary asylums

(1) *Vide* Report of P. L. Union and Lunacy Inquiry Commission, Ireland, 1879, p. 94.

that might be economically managed ; but whenever a proposal is made for its being practically adopted, a very fair objection is sure to be presented, and it is summarily thrown aside in favour of a more expensive, though not more efficient arrangement." Hence the dead-lock which we have reached. A private member of Parliament, however, has taken up the matter, with which Government should have dealt, and we may hope for some good from the Bill for the Insane Poor introduced by Mr. Rodwell.

Many very interesting State papers and reports on this question have been published in America, from which the Commissioners might derive no small advantage. The asylum at Willard, State of New York, is the largest, and reported to be one of the best conducted, in that country. It has 1,400 patients and 776 acres of farm-land, or 1 acre to 2 patients, for the occupation and recreation of the several classes. The Commissioners here, who advise a small extent of land for chronic patients, are disposed to recommend as a model for imitation, Caterham, which possesses 72 acres, and, deducting the courts, &c., has 50 acres to give employment to 2,000 patients, or 40 patients to an acre.¹

In regard to the present system of managing the pauper lunatics, there are three parties concerned : the executive, the deliberative, and the passive—the Government, the magistrates, and the rate-payers. As to the ratepayers, their only concern is to suffer and to pay ; the justices deliberate and propose ; the Government decide, sanction, or forbid. The Commissioners ought to be held responsible, and yet they are virtually irresponsible for what is done. Their consent is essential, their veto is final. Any appeal to the Home Secretary is nominal and valueless. The justices who raise and spend the ratepayers' money, though themselves ratepayers, have no communication whatever with the body at large, whose money as well as their own they spend, and they have little intercourse or communication with the governing body, the Commissioners.

This body controlling the expenditure is guided by no rule, except its own will. It preaches economy, and practises extravagance ; it contradicts itself at the same place at different times, and at different places at the same time.

To sum up, there are several matters so clear that they may be admitted as axioms.

1. That in the opinion of the most competent witnesses before the committee, curable patients should not be associated with incurable.

2. That chronic patients who can work and are harmless should be placed where they can most profitably earn their livelihood, and be kindly attended to.

3. That very large asylums are highly objectionable ; the super-

(1) Fifty-nine detached acres have lately been rented.

vision of the physician in charge being impossible, the delegation of the care to attendants improper, and the accumulation of the insane injurious.

4. That abundance and variety of outdoor employment are essential, both to curable and incurable.

Before proceeding towards the conclusion, humanity and civilization owe to the Earl of Shaftesbury an acknowledgment of the incalculable services which he has rendered to the cause of the insane. Nearly fifty years ago his efforts directed attention to the sufferings then endured by unhappy lunatics. But one great cause of regret remains, that during the last twenty years science has done little or nothing towards promoting the recovery of the insane in our public county and borough asylums. During that period, magistrates possessing no special knowledge, but acting under the guidance of the Commissioners, have incurred most lavish expenditure. If made in expectation of increased recovery, the expenditure and the system have failed. If incurred for the sake of increased comfort, they have equally failed. The abiding thought among those who retain the power of thinking is to get away. Among those who remain, the effect is lost. The ultimate consequence of excessive expenditure with no results may be to induce the public, dissatisfied with the application, to withhold the supplies for needful outlay.

The public will not rest contented when it becomes aware that the treatment does not cure, that 93 or 94 in every hundred remain helpless incurables, that insanity outstrips population, that one pauper in ten, or even one in six or seven (computing adults) is a lunatic. When, further, the public learns that to produce these results it has paid six to eight millions in construction, and is paying two millions annually in maintenance and interest, beside the expenditure on lunatics in workhouses, it will be still less satisfied. When, lastly, it becomes acquainted with the results of a different system in Scotland, in Ireland, and elsewhere, it will undoubtedly insist, less for the ratepayer than for the unhappy lunatic, that the system in England be altered.

I have no wish to see the system of centralization extended still further—that system which, by contributing to the payment of individual officers, enables the Government to meddle in every trifling detail. Already in the Lunacy Commission we have centralization in its worst form: obstruction without suggestion; expenditure without cure. The Commissioners, attending to the smallest rather than the greatest matters, having innumerable duties among 66,000 lunatics, cannot visit patients closely enough or often enough, and cannot acquire sufficient knowledge of the subject on which they have to report. The number of Commissioners need not be increased, but many deputy-commissioners, acting like the Local Government inspectors,

are required to keep a vigilant supervision. It is not easy to discover why the Commissioners appointed under 8 and 9 Vic. c. 100, which directs them to report every six months, should, eight years afterwards (16, 17 Vic. c. 96), when lunatics had increased, be required to visit only every twelvemonth. Unluckily, their present duties interfere with and overlap on one side those of the Chancery visitors, and on the other they fail to reach those of the Local Government Board, each of which authorities deals with the insane. Twenty-five thousand pounds a year¹ are expended between the visitors of Chancery lunatics and the Lunacy Commissioners, who travel, as Dr. Bucknill says, in parallel lines over the same ground.

The anomaly of the charge of only 100 lunatics being exclusively allotted to three Chancery visitors, who share with the Lunacy Commissioners in the care of 1,000 more, and of 66,000 lunatics distributed among six Lunacy Commissioners, is too glaring to require comment. The pauper lunatic comes under the Lunacy Commissioners for his insanity, and under the Poor Law authorities for his poverty, but the Local Government Board has no interest in asylum paupers,² while the Lunacy Commissioners have no jurisdiction over workhouse lunatics. Thus there is hiatus on one side and friction on the other, but no co-operation.

The County Board Bill, introduced by the President of the Local Government Board on the 18th of March, is designed to afford a partial remedy. Such are also the objects of Mr. Rodwell's and Mr. Dillwyn's measures, and perhaps, of the Habitual Drunkards Bill; but these are feeble, timid attempts to deal with a most important question. They touch the fringe and nibble the edge; whereas it requires a clear head and a bolder hand to effect any real improvement. Deep-seated prejudice must be eradicated; vested interest in errors must be uprooted; routine, miscalled experience, must be disenchanted. We must extend the horizon of our view, and not be ashamed to take hints from those who succeed better than ourselves.

If six Commissioners thirty years ago were not too many for twelve thousand lunatics, they are far too few for sixty thousand or seventy thousand now. Being so few, they cannot overtake the most important work for which they are especially designed, namely, the frequent visiting of asylums. They do not visit the insane half, or perhaps a quarter, so often as the Irish and Scotch Commissioners. They never consult the visitors; and in their rounds they rarely see them. They question the doctors, hear their wishes, and adopt their views as their own. Hence much of the useless outlay and retrograde management of the insane.

Since the disclaimer of the Commissioners in 1876 to comment on the treatment of the medical profession, their reports have been

(1) *Vote Evidence before Committee*, 1872.

(2) *Irish Report*, p. 1, XXVII.

simple tables of statistics and dry records of casualties. Such abstention is disadvantageous to patients, to visitors, and to the public. The Commissioners neither disavow responsibility nor abandon authority; their neglect to discharge their own functions appears to cast onus on magistrates and odium on a body nowise qualified for the performance of the duties thrust upon them. Thus the Lunacy Commission, as at present constituted, is totally inadequate either in numbers or other requirements for the duties of the department.

If the English system be judged by results, the Commissioners to whom it is due can scarcely be permitted to exist as at present. The question has attained such large proportions as to require one principal, responsible, governing department of the State to guide and regulate its management.

Such are the conclusions forced upon the mind by a review of the existing treatment of the insane in asylums in England, and a comparison with the system pursued in other countries. The statement shows various defects in this country which the Commissioners do not attempt to remedy. It exhibits also the better results attending a different system followed elsewhere. It shows that improvement is to be sought in the direction of enlarged liberty and increased outdoor employment. A higher rate of recovery and lower rate of casualties are to be looked for, not in increased restraint, or in greater securities, so much as in improved bodily health, tending to invigorate the mind. It is neither our province nor our object to prescribe what enactments may be required, but rather to direct public attention to existing shortcomings, and to awaken the official mind to a sense of the insufficiency of the system pursued under irresponsible authority.

The Report of the Lunacy Commission for Ireland (February 8, 1879) observes:—"The confusion of statistics requires solidarity, the friction of the department needs union, and the real obstacle to giving effect to changes consists in the present constitution of the lunacy department." It concludes thus:—"The administration of the whole pauper lunacy should be placed under a department of the Local Government Board." If for Ireland we substitute England, we may say, in the old words, "*Mutato nomine, de te Fabula narratur.*"

FRANCIS SCOTT.

SOME NEW BOOKS.

WORDSWORTH finely observed that Shakespere could not have written an epic poem,—he would have been choked by a plethora of thought. Very much the corresponding idea will occur to most readers as they turn over the pages of George Eliot's new essays.¹ Her thoughts are too intense to bear crowding. We have been accustomed of old to her subtle psychological analysis; but we have never before had it given to us in the undiluted form. Narrative and dialogue have elsewhere allowed the characters to develop themselves gradually and dramatically under our eyes. In her present work, however, George Eliot allows herself to speak under a thin disguise in her own person; and the result is a series of character sketches, admirable in truthfulness, insight, and power, but almost painful in their elaborateness and weight of matter.

Theophrastus Such, the eponymus of the volume, has probably for his *raison d'être* the desire of the author to avoid that possible imputation of self-consciousness which might have been raised by the critical reader, had the essays been published without the intervention of such a supposititious godfather. A bachelor of unprepossessing and awkward exterior, Theophrastus has not turned out a success in social life, and he gives us his impressions of others and of himself with a genuine frankness which is partially attributed to his expectation that nobody will read his fugitive sketches. In his first essay, *Looking Inward*, he deals with that most difficult of problems, his own individuality as it seems to others. What all of us have felt a thousand times on the absolutely insoluble riddle of our objective selves, he restates in a clear, a modest, and an exquisitely worded form. "Though not averse to finding fault with myself," he says, "and conscious of deserving lashes, I like to keep the scourge in my own discriminating hand." Might he not have added that he really knew better than any other where it should be most deservedly applied? Does not every man feel, not merely his own faults, but his own littlenesses and weaknesses, far more thoroughly than any one else can tell him? Does he not constantly hear himself applauded for his sincerity just where he knows himself most double-dealing, and is not a large part of his external life a conscious attempt to hide from the outer world all the small meannesses which he knows and loathes, but cannot expel? Theophrastus "would rather not hear either your well-founded ridicule or your judicious strictures;" but if he heard them, he would probably find

(1) *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*. By George Eliot. Blackwood: 1879.

them galling just because he knew them to be true. These are painful reflections; but character-study is always painful, and most supremely so when it is introspective.

On the other hand, we fathom a depth of inspiriting truth in the passing comment upon the current psychological theory of the ludicrous:—"That a gratified sense of superiority is at the root of barbarous laughter, may be at least half the truth. But there is a loving laughter in which the only recognised superiority is that of the ideal self, the god within, holding the mirror and the scourge for our own pettiness as well as our neighbours'." The pessimism which is part of our character as citizens of the nineteenth century, passes for a moment into what George Eliot has herself christened *meliorism*, while we are engaged in realising the genuineness of that profound analysis. After all, there is some good in us at bottom, some chance of improvement and perfectibility in the long run, when once the god within us has begun to make himself felt in such a fashion.

In the second essay the writer tells us somewhat of his parentage and antecedents. The son of a rector in the Midlands, he looks back with filial regard not only upon his father, but upon the time in which he was born. He has no sympathy with that unnatural longing which many moderns express, to be "the son of another age and another nation;" and he notes acutely that "the period thus looked back on with a purely admiring regret, as perfect enough to suit a superior mind, is always a long way off." "No impassioned personage wishes he had been born in the age of Pitt, that his ardent youth might have eaten the dearest bread, dressed itself with the longest coat-tails and the shortest waist, or heard the loudest grumbling at the heaviest war-taxes; and it would be really something original in polished verse if one of our young writers declared he would gladly be turned eighty-five, that he might have known the joy and pride of being an Englishman when there were fewer reforms and plenty of highwaymen, fewer discoveries and more faces pitted with the small-pox, when laws were made to keep up the price of corn, and the troublesome Irish were more miserable. Three-quarters of a century ago is not a distance that lends much enchantment to the view. To me, however," he continues, "that paternal time, the time of my father's youth, never seemed prosaic, for it came to my imagination first through his memories. . . . And for my part, I can call no age absolutely unpoetic; how should it be so, since there are always children to whom the acorns and the swallow's eggs are a wonder, always those human passions and fatalities through which Garrick as Hamlet, in bob-wig and knee-breeches, moved his audience more than some have since done in velvet tunic and plume? But every age since the golden may be made more or less prosaic by

minds that attend only to its vulgar and sordid elements, of which there was always an abundance even in Greece and Italy, the favourite realms of the retrospective optimists." But Theophrastus Such is hardly more favourable to prospective optimism, as appears from his discussion in the seventeenth essay with his friend Trost, whom most of us will recognise as the good-humoured presentment of a great living thinker in one of his by-phases. In opposition to Trost's confident belief that "at some future period within the duration of the solar system, ours will be the best of all possible worlds," the writer ventures upon an amusing sketch of the coming race, a generation of machine-begetting machines, who are to drive consciousness finally out of the realm of existence. "Thus this planet may be filled with beings who will be blind and deaf as the inmost rock, yet will execute changes as delicate and complicated as those of human language."

Unquestionably the best among the sketches, both in subtle discrimination of human character and in living interest of human life, is that which the author has placed first in the series. *How we Encourage Research* tells the story of Merman, a young man of promise, an expectant conveyancer and actual journalist, who is unhappy enough to hit upon an idea. "What chiefly attracted him in all subjects were the vexed questions which have the advantage of not admitting the decisive proof or disproof that renders many ingenious arguments superannuated." (That sentence is too cruelly true in its explanation of half the interests generated by our generalised education.) The description of Merman's first glimpse of his idea must have been studied from life—indeed, the whole story is only too obviously after nature. Merman's idea is duly developed, and is one. But Grampus, the great authority whom Merman has attacked, comes down upon him with all the weight of his name, obliterates the *aperçu* under a dust-cloud of minute learning, and crushes poor Merman as risen greatness can always crush struggling effort. In the end, after Merman is forgotten, Grampus quietly adopts his notion "as a sort of divining rod, pointing out hidden sources of historical interpretation," while the discoverer himself drifts away into hopeless poverty. According to Mr. Such, he still lives in some inferior post; but it would seem more probable to those who have followed his course in real life that he has long since cut his throat for sheer want of bread, or died of mere despair and cold in a garret. The writer speaks in one passage of "the old Grub Street coercion of hunger and thirst." Does he really imagine that Grub Street is better off in these overcrowded days of fiercer competition and conscious struggle for existence than in the easy, roomy times, when George the First was king?

The other papers all contain characters as typical and as rapidly

hit off as Merman and Grampus. Lentulus, the hero in the sketch of *A Man Surprised at his own Originality*, is an excellent portrait of the complacently commonplace thinker who mistakes his own vague notions for valuable thought. The allusion to the speculations in which Lentulus indulges—"his rather helter-skelter choice of remarks bearing on the number of unaddressed letters sent to the post-office," and "on the haphazard way in which marriages are determined, showing the baselessness of social and moral schemes"—seems to fix the author's original, at least in a floating fashion. Hinze, again, the too deferential man, is a species to be found abundantly in every literary salon; a creature who listens reverently to the great man's remarks about the weather, and responds with low-breathed admiration to his most passing criticism upon current topics. "Tulpian, with reverence be it said, has some rather absurd notions, such as a mind of large discourse often finds room for: they slip about among his higher conceptions and multitudinous acquirements like disreputable characters at a national celebration in some vast cathedral, where to the ardent soul all is glorified by rainbow light and grand associations: any vulgar detective knows them for what they are. But Hinze is especially fervid in his desire to hear Tulpian dilate on his crotchets, and is rather troublesome to bystanders in asking them whether they have read the various fugitive writings in which these crotchets have been published." Who does not recognise Tulpian, and who has not met Hinze wherever a great man is to be found in society?

Other equally striking types must be passed over. Spike, the Political Molecule, whose cotton-spinning selfishness is just lifted into a restrictedly cotton-spinning altruism by the sense of common interests, raising "his active egotism into a demand for a public benefit:"—Mixtus, the moral Half-Breed, who has fallen away from his first love for spiritual things, to suit a fashionable world to which he nevertheless fails to assimilate himself:—Euphorion, the author who gracefully appropriates other men's brains without acknowledgment:—Aquila, the brilliant and ingenious talker, who can speak about all things in heaven or earth on the strength of scrappy knowledge picked up at dinner-tables:—Pepin, "the Too Ready Writer," who is of the stuff whereof journalists are made, the poor flimsy inflated emptiness that suffices for the ignorance of that mysterious public for whose instruction it would seem that daily papers are written:—all these are living portraits, whose originals we have met a hundred times in London drawing-rooms. But Vorticella alone, the lady in whose person are pilloried the vices of small authorship, really passes into the region of caricature. It is not to be believed that such a deliciously overt exhibition of petty conceit ever actually displayed itself even in the provincial circles of Pumpiter.

The last essay in the volume contains a vigorous and eloquent appeal on behalf of that great historic people, the Jews, whom George Eliot has taken under her especial protection. Here at least we may suppose that it is the real author, and not Mr. Theophrastus Such, who delivers the opinions expressed under the odd title of *the Modern Hep! Hep! Hep!*—the mediæval rallying-cry against the Jews. In her enthusiasm for a noble and marvellous race it is impossible for any thinking man not to sympathise; but I am almost inclined to think that the grounds upon which she rests her argument are the exact opposite of those upon which most men would rest it. Because that feeling of nationality, which the Jews earliest attained and most deeply represented, has broken down; because a son of Israel has taught us to substitute for it a wider cosmopolitanism; because we have transcended the limits of that very sentiment which George Eliot eulogises;—for those selfsame reasons we are able now to turn with shame and loathing from the cruelties and injustice of our fathers, and to feel that all our tardy reparation can but slowly wipe out the memory left by centuries of wrong, on the doers and the sufferers alike. And surely George Eliot says far too little for the Jews when she says that they have come out of their long oppression “rivalling the nations of all European countries in healthiness and beauty of physique, in practical ability, in scientific and artistic aptitude, and in some forms of ethical value.” Is it not the fact that wherever they have a fair field the Jews have not merely rivalled, but beaten, us on almost every ground here enumerated?

I have already quoted a great deal, but I cannot resist quoting a few more of the numerous apophthegms which are thickly strewn on every hand.

“It is a narrow prejudice of mathematicians to suppose that ways of thinking are to be driven out of the field by being reduced to an absurdity.”

“To look always from overhead at the crowd of one's fellow-men must be in many ways incapacitating, even with the best will and intelligence. The serious blunders it must lead to in the effort to manage them for their good, one may see clearly by the mistaken ways people take of flattering and enticing those whose associations are unlike their own.”

“Some of us might do well to use this hint in our treatment of acquaintances and friends from whom we are expecting gratitude because we are so very kind in thinking of them, inviting them, and even listening to what they say—considering how insignificant they must feel themselves to be. We are often fallaciously confident in supposing that our friend's state of mind is appropriate to our moderate estimate of his importance, almost as if we imagined the humble mollusc (so useful as an illustration) to have a sense of his own exceeding soft-

ness and low place in the scale of being. Your mollusc, on the contrary, is inwardly objecting to every other grade of solid rather than to himself."

"It is essential to what is worthy to be called high character, that it may be safely calculated on, and that its qualities shall have taken the form of principles or laws habitually, if not perfectly, obeyed."

"We have convinced ourselves by this time that a man may be a sage in celestial physics and a poor creature in the purchase of seed-corn, or even in theorising about the affections; that he may be a mere fumbler in physiology, and yet show a keen insight into human motives. . . . It is not true that a man's intellectual power is like the strength of a timber beam, to be measured by its weakest point."

"Because wit is an exquisite product of high powers, we are not therefore forced to admit the sadly confused inference of the monotonous jester that he is establishing his superiority over every less facetious person, and over every topic on which he is ignorant or insensible, by being uneasy until he has distorted it in the small cracked mirror which he carries about with him as a joking apparatus."

In spite of all its admirable writing, however, it is not probable that *Theophrastus Such* will be popular—popular, that is to say, in the same sense as *Adam Bede* or even as *Middlemarch*. Really to enjoy and appreciate such delicate psychological studies, the reader must himself possess at least a sympathy with their analytic mode of treatment. In George Eliot's novels the character-study was combined with plot-interest and concrete description. In *Theophrastus Such* it forms by itself the whole banquet; and it will therefore very likely prove to be caviare to the general. Thousands of people could read and enjoy *Romola* or *Silas Marner*, who had not an inkling of the vast intellectual gulf which separated their author from the average superficial novelist of animated clothes-bundles; while they will be bewildered and annoyed by the fine subtlety of her typical dissections in the new volume. They will consider themselves aggrieved to find that *Theophrastus Such* is not a story; and will regard the change of treatment as a breach of contract with the public.

To turn to another performance by an author of the first repute. On Mr. Browning's new volume,¹ criticism can find little to remark. Since *The Ring and the Book*, the poet's style and spirit have crystallized themselves, and every fresh instalment can only give us a little more of the well-known matter and manner. We have all made up our minds upon the subject beforehand, and are hardly likely to form any new opinion at this time of day. Those who admire Mr. Browning will admire the present idyls: those who find him incom-

(1) *Dramatic Idyls*. By Robert Browning. Smith, Elder and Co.: 1879.

prehensible will find the latest addition to his incomprehensibles more incomprehensible than ever. Probably no poem which he has ever written will prove a sorer stumbling-block to bewildered spellers-out of his meaning than the all but inarticulate story of *Ned Bratts*.

The *Dramatic Idyls* comprise one truly noble Hellenic poem, *Pheidippides*; one transcendently horrible English nightmare, *Ned Bratts*; and three or four less striking pieces of similar character to the latter.

Martin Relph, with which the little volume opens, is a powerful dramatic monologue of the kind in which Mr. Browning delights, rendered in a formless stanza with even less of music than Mr. Browning usually condescends to bestow upon us. But neither the stumbling and halting versification, the inveterate objection to the definite article where other Englishmen find it indispensable, nor the jerky and dislocated run of the narrative, can prevent us from seeing that *Martin Relph* is genuine poetry. The incident is sensational, as are almost all the others in the present collection; indeed, Mr. Browning seems to have been indulging in a prolonged course of horrible stories; but it is powerfully told, and the horror is well kept back for a few stanzas at the end of the piece. The two opening verses will give an idea of its general ring and tone:—

“ If I last as long as Methuselah, I shall never forgive myself:
But—God forgive me, that I pray, unhappy Martin Relph,
As coward, coward I call him—him, yes, him! away from me!
Get you behind the man I am now, you man that I used to be!

“ What can have sewed my mouth up, set me a-stare, all eyes, no tongue?
People have urged, ‘ You visit a scare too hard on a lad so young!’
You were taken aback, poor boy,’ they urge, ‘ no time to regain your wits:
Besides it had maybe cost you your life.’ Ay, there is the cup which fits!”

If, when English has become a dead language, the ingenuous youth of coming races should ever be given the *Dramatic Idyls* as a classic, I must express my sincere commiseration for the unhappy lads who are requested to *scan* the third and fifth lines of this passage.

Pheidippides, the gem of the collection, tells once more the story of the runner who ran from Athens to Sparta for aid before Marathon, and was met by Pan on the homeward journey from his bootless errand. Everyone remembers Herodotus’ simple tale, how, after the great battle had been fought and won, without the Spartan help, Pheidippides ran yet once more, bearing word of the victory to Athens; and how he was just able to utter the words, “ Rejoice! we conquer,” before his full heart burst within him, and he died. The subject is worthy of the writer who told us how the good news was brought from Ghent, and it naturally provokes comparison with the glorious lilt of that earlier poem. But we miss the music of the

horse's hoofs, or the bold roll of verse in Kentish Sir Byng. The measure is comparatively frigid and limp; it reads more like a senarius than like a lyric outburst. What, for example, could be more long-winded and circuitous than the Spartan orator's advice?—

“Ponder that precept of old, ‘No warfare, whatever the odds
In your favour, so long as the moon, half-orbed, is unable to take
Full-circle her state in the sky’!”

Is that the way the breathless Phœidippides retells the story?

Nevertheless, the poem is truly Hellenic, as might be expected, and strikingly so in the concluding stanza:—

“So to this day, when friend meets friend, the word of salute
Is still ‘Rejoice!’—his word which brought rejoicing indeed.
So is Phœidippides happy for ever,—the noble, strong man
Who could race like a god, bear the face of a god, whom a god loved so well,
He saw the land saved he had helped to save, and was suffered to tell
Such tidings, yet never decline, but, gloriously as he began
So to end gloriously—once to shout, thereafter be mute:
‘Athens is saved!’—Phœidippides dies in the shout for his need.”

No one can deny that this noble verse is “*ipsis Atheniensibus Atheniensior*.” Equally fine in its way is the description of Pan, as Phœidippides first sees him among the ravines of Parnes:—

“There, in the cool of a cleft sat he—majestical Pan!
Ivy drooped wanton kissed his head, moss cushioned his hoof:
All the great God was good in the eyes grave-kindly—the curl
Carved on the bearded cheek, amused at a mortal's awe,
As, under the human trunk, the goat-thighs grand I saw.”

It was the Hellenic habit to think of nature, and above all of human nature, as *statuesque*. They read it, as it were, through the medium of art. In “the curl carved on the bearded cheek” Mr. Browning has caught this Hellenic spirit in its fulness, and repeated it to the echo. It reads like a line of Aeschylus, or of Mr. Browning's favourite *Bacchæ*.

One or two minor matters, however, ask for criticism. Even the most determined purist might truly shrink from the spelling “Olympos.” It is well that we should dress up the grand old Hellenic words as near as possible in their native guise: but this rendering does not come half so close to the true pronunciation as “Olympos,” while it is sure to be read by the English reader as though it were a compound of the English word “lump.” And why does Mr. Browning, who is so anxious for correctness in these small points, throw the accent upon the short vowel in *Miltiadês*?

The two other principal poems, *Idn Idnovitch* and *Ned Bratts*, though of course powerful—one is tired of forever repeating that word about Mr. Browning's work, yet one has no choice—are very

painful. The first is a piece of wild Russian folk-lore, wildly rendered in verse of quite appropriate rudeness; the second is a terrible story of English justice in the worst hanging days. A Bedford publican and his wife, *temp.* Charles II.—a pair of murderers, thieves, perjurers, and common informers—in a fit of spasmodic conversion, induced hysterically by reading the “Pilgrim’s Progress,” burst into the court-house during full assize, and, confessing their crimes with a horrid glibness, ask leave to be hanged before the effects of grace have time to pass away.

“So, happily hanged were they,—why lengthen out my tale?
Where Bunyan’s statue stands facing where stood his jail.”

It is on the whole, in spite of intense dramatic skill, perhaps the most disjointed piece of workmanship which even Mr. Browning has ever produced. Take as a specimen, but a comparatively gentle one, these lines:—

“Well, things at jolly high-tide, amusement steeped in fire,
While noon smote fierce the roof’s red tiles to heart’s desire,
The Court a-simmer with smoke, one ferment of oozy flesh,
One spirituous humming musk mount-mounting until its mesh
Entoiled all heads in a fluster, and Serjeant Postlethwayte—
Dashing his wig oblique as he mopped his oily pate—
Cried, ‘Silence, or I grow grease! No loophole lots in air!
Jurymen,—Guilty, Death! Gainsay me if you dare!’
—Things at this pitch, I say—what hubbub without the doors?
What laughs, shrieks, hoots, and yells, what rudest of uproars?”

On the other hand, as a piece of character thoroughly realised in the concrete, look at the peroration of the newly-converted publican’s speech, with its wonderful glimpses of the coarse, frank, brutal nature, frankly and brutally accepting its selfish salvation, prepared to believe that a Moody-and-Sankey penitence will make amends for its unpardonable gross self:—

“So hang us out of hand!
Make hasto, for pity’s sake! A single moment’s loss
Means—Satan’s lord once more: his whisper shoots across
All singing in my heart, all praying in my brain.
‘It comes of heat and beer!’ bark how he guffaws plain!
‘To-morrow you’ll wake bright, and, in a safe skin, hug
Your sound selves, Tab and you, over a foaming jug!
You’ve had such qualms before, time out of mind.’ He’s right. . . .
* * * * *

Oh, waves increase around—I feel them mount and mount!
Hang us! To-morrow brings Tom Bearward with his bears:
One new black-muzzled brute beats Sackerson, he swears;
(Sackerson for my money!) and, baiting o’er, the Brawl
They lead on Turner’s Patch,—lads, lasses, up tails all,—
I’m i’ the thick o’ the throng! That means the Iron Cage,
—Means the Lost Man inside! Where’s the hope for such as wage
War against light? Light’s left, light’s here, I hold light still,
So does Tab—make but haste to hang us both! You will?”

This is forcible enough to make itself into poetry in spite of all the hideousness of its subject-matter. But, after all, one cannot help regretting that the poet who can write Pheidippides should waste his power on such a task as getting inside the bloated personality of Ned Bratts, and forcing himself to see things for awhile through the miserable being's bleared moral vision. Is it worth while puzzling the world with thirty-four pages of involved syntax merely to show what effect Bunyan's rough-hewn eloquence might have upon the personal fears of two brutalised human animals?

As to the little interlude of *Tray* it is certainly Mr. Browning at his queerest. What can one say of a poem which begins mediævally—the fifth line rhyming with the second?—

“Sing me a hero! Quench my thirst
Of soul, ye bards!
 Quoth Bard the first:
‘Sir Olaf the good knight did don
His helm and eke his habergeon . . .’
Sir Olaf and his bard ——!”

And ends thus:—

“John, go and catch, or if needs be,
Purchase that animal for me!
By vivisection, at expense
Of half an hour and eighteen pence,
How brain secretes dog's soul we'll see.”

Of late years, literature pure and simple has perhaps been somewhat at a discount in England. Every writer, whatever his form of writing, has been too laudably anxious to instruct and improve us. Our novelists have indited novels with a purpose, and our young men have made their poetry ancillary to their political, social, or religious opinions. But Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson¹ is a brilliant exception. He is not pursued by a restless consciousness of the moral burden laid upon him as a preacher and teacher: he is amply content to please and amuse us, as though he had been born in the easy eighteenth century, before the rise of earnestness and intense thinkers. His *Inland Voyage* struck the key-note of his literary gamut; and the new volume of travel with which he now favours us, has the self-same happy ring, the self-same light and graceful touch, as if Mr. Stevenson were rather a Frenchman born out of due place, than a Scotsman of the Scots. I shall not attempt to quote any specimen passage from his delightful travels, because, as in all such work, the setting is everything, and the intrinsic worth a minor consideration. Mr. Stevenson is a stylist who lays himself out for the mastery of style. He has succeeded in placing himself high

(1) *Travels with a Donkey in the Cévennes*. By Robert Louis Stevenson. C. Kegan Paul and Co.: 1879.

among those whose object it is rather to say well than merely to say. Mr. Walter Crane contributes a frontispiece which aptly prepares one for the work it introduces. Indeed, Mr. Stevenson's manner may be regarded as one among the many products of the Queen Anne revival. His writing is a phase of that reaction which is everywhere making itself felt against the formless solidity of the age wherein we live. The quaint use of italics for proper names, the little tricks of Georgian locution, the mere mechanical repetition of *'tis* and *it's*, all bring back in a thousand ways the pleasant memories of that idealised classical England which Mr. Crane and Mr. Caldecott delight in reproducing. We hear echoes of Sterne and even of Addison in every page. But, as is always the case in genuine literary revivals, we find touches of the modern spirit everywhere interwoven with the older style. This it is which gives the picture its truest grace. Without a passing allusion to Mr. Herbert Spencer, or the Plymouth Brethren, the restoration would sink to the level of mere wooden imitation: it is the union of the earlier manner with the latter-day ideas which gives us such a keen sense of literary enjoyment. Mr. Stevenson wanders with his mouse-coloured donkey Modestine through the midst of our burning political and religious questions, like one who has no part or interest in these small mundane concerns. He belongs to the great world of literature, and he smiles a kindly smile at our petty discussions and differences, apparently reflecting that they would have mattered but little to Aristophanes, or Rabelais, or Jean Paul. He and his donkey move in philosophic indifferentism up and down the Cevennes, and the remainder of the moral or material universe, with no other determination than to enjoy life themselves, each after his kind, and help others by telling the story of their enjoyment. Nevertheless, since one cannot wholly divorce oneself from the ethical feeling of one's age, I must confess that I should have liked Mr. Stevenson better if he had beaten his donkey less unmercifully, and, above all, if he had not used that wooden goad, with its eighth of an inch of pin. This is not the place to discuss the broad question of "no morality in art:" but most Englishmen will perhaps feel pained rather than amused by the description of poor Modestine's many stripes, or of her forelegs "no better than raw beef on the inside."

GRANT ALLEN.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

WHILE it is unavoidable that at an early day the new relations into which, by the joint recommendation addressed to the Khedive to retire, we have apparently entered both with Egypt and with France, should be discussed at Westminster, the time is also probably growing ripe for another debate on the progress, or rather want of progress, in the Zulu war. The latest advices from South Africa prove clearly that so far as the invasion of Zululand and the reduction of Cetewayo are concerned, we have not advanced beyond the point at which we were when the campaign began. We have now considerably over twenty thousand soldiers in South Africa, and we have not even thus succeeded in overcoming the most rudimentary difficulties in military operations. Our communications are not secure; our transport system is imperfectly organized; our troops move hither and thither in obedience to the sudden caprice or the random vacillation of their leaders; there is no sign visible of the influence of the directing mind which creates confidence and commands triumph. Throughout it is the fate of a war wantonly begun and ignorantly conducted. Of course the aspect of affairs may suddenly undergo a complete change. By this time Sir Garnet Wolseley and his staff, which comprises the pick of our professional soldiers, have arrived, and some active operations have probably been commenced. How far the new general will be able to act upon the letter of the instruction which he may have received from the Home Government, and contrive to finish the struggle within a limited period, is exceedingly doubtful. In South Africa Sir Garnet Wolseley and his staff will be the masters of the position. It will be for them to judge what are the conditions of an advantageous and a lasting peace. Those whose trade is fighting, who take a pleasure in their trade, and who are steeped in the essential spirit of militarism, are not likely to let any opportunity of achieving personal distinction go by, or to under-estimate the gravity of the terms on which, in their opinion, such a treaty as Her Majesty's ministers desire can alone be arranged with Cetewayo.

That after all which has occurred, Lord Chelmsford should consent to submit to his supersession by Sir Garnet Wolseley, and to remain where he is manifestly superfluous, seems unlikely. That Sir Bartle Frere, even if he was willing to remain, should be

permitted by the Cabinet to do so, may well be thought incredible. Although the Government retained Sir Bartle Frere as a High Commissioner after he had given undoubted proof that he was bent upon the execution of a policy in diametrical antagonism to that approved of by the Colonial Office; although when matters went from bad to worse, instead of recalling him, it confined the area of his authority within greatly reduced limits, it can scarcely have heard of the latest illustrations of Sir Bartle Frere's discretion, without coming to the conclusion that so far as South Africa is concerned, this authority must cease to exist. Sir Bartle Frere had known long ago that his provocation of hostilities was deemed a blunder by the Government and by the great body of his countrymen. For a man of right moral sensibilities it can scarcely be an enviable position. The late High Commissioner in South Africa should begin to know that he has plunged England into a needless and a wicked war; that this war has thus far been one of unmitigated disaster and shame for English arms; that he himself is at the present moment under the strongest censure both of the English people and of the English Government; that he, more than any other individual, is held responsible for the surprises, the massacres, the actions that have been attended by rivers of blood. It might have been thought that to a finely strung nature such a consciousness would have been intolerable, or that the only way of supporting it would have been submission with humble resignation to the just penalty. Sir Bartle Frere has done none of these things. He has made his blunders, intensified as these are by the hideous consequences which have followed on them, the opportunity of a starring tour throughout the provinces of South Africa. Reproached by the English Government, and strongly condemned by the English people, he has appealed to a Colonial tribunal, and that a tribunal of the most worthless and mischievous kind. Denounced by the jingoism of England, he has thrown himself upon the jingoism of South Africa. This lofty-minded Christian-spirited English Governor has seen fit to make a show of converting a penitential mission into a triumphal progress. Having paraded before the Boers in the Transvaal, he has been courting the cheers of the colonists at the Cape. Every one of his calculations has been upset; every step that he has taken has been proved a blunder. Practically he has been superseded, yet he is not ashamed. Even the journey to the Transvaal did not accomplish its full object, and yet he was to enter Cape Town to the tune of the Conquering Hero. There could scarcely be conceived a more striking dramatic contrast than if at the moment that Sir Bartle Frere was making ready for the grand reception which he was to have in Cape Town, he should suddenly hear that Sir Garnet

Wolseley had arrived, and that he had been overtaken by the just retribution of a summary disgrace.

The death of Prince Louis Napoleon naturally deepens the gloom which for months past has hung over our relations with South Africa, and the distressing intelligence has been the signal for a renewed outburst of irrational wrath against Lord Chelmsford. Lord Chelmsford has committed enough mistakes already, but there is no evidence whatever to show that either he or any other English officer can be held responsible for the death of the young pretender to the Imperial Crown of France. It is not creditable to English common sense or English right feeling that because a fatal calamity happened to a youth who is a titular prince, the charge of manslaughter should be shrieked forth against an English general, or that of treachery against his comrades in arms. Prince Napoleon went, we are told, to South Africa not to fight, but to see the fighting. One wonders whether that was the view of his expedition entertained by the ill-starred young man himself. Even if it were, a certain amount of risk was unavoidable, and it is madness to suppose that an English general or officer should consent to have attached to him a young foreigner of distinction, on the understanding that he should guarantee him against the inseparable risks of his enterprise. Grief at this mishap, sympathy with the bereaved mother, are the sentiments proper to such an event, and surely they might have been expressed without the effort to fasten a stigma on the character of Englishmen.

The death of the son of the late Emperor of the French is a political as well as, from one point of view, a personal incident, and concerns France more intimately than England. On the whole, the tone in which the Parisian press has commented on the event is creditable to French moderation and good feeling. The influence which it may exercise upon French politics, above all on the future of the Bonapartists, has been variously estimated. But a calm review of the facts scarcely suggests any point in which it can fail to be on the whole rather an advantage to the Bonapartist cause. With the death of the son of Napoleon III. there has disappeared the imperial pretender round whom there clustered the corrupt memories of the second empire, its scandals, iniquities, and the terrible associations of Sodan. It was the fatal destiny of the youth to have inherited all that was disastrous in the national recollection of his father, and all that was unwelcome in the political past of his mother. It was not, and never could have been forgotten, that he had been the child for whose sake the ex-Empress Eugenie had stimulated the war which lost France two provinces. Not strong in health and constitution, he was not regarded as having that robust tenure

of life which is desirable in one who represents a cause that may be separated by an interval of many years from the full fruition of power, while the strong ecclesiastical opinions with which he had been indoctrinated by his mother were not looked upon as further qualifications for the post. Above all, perhaps, there was the fact that he was not so much a candidate for the imperial throne as already by a sort of divine right its potential occupant. In this last matter, as in other respects, the comparison between Prince Louis Napoleon on the one hand, and Prince Napoleon or either of his two sons on the other, is eminently favourable to the latter group. If Prince Napoleon were to come forward, he would do so not as one who had inherited an inalienable crown, but as one who was willing to wear a crown, provided that it was awarded to him by the overwhelming voice of the people. Disavowing the doctrine of a *de jure* monarchy, he would be only prepared to assert his claims to monarchy *de facto*. He would accept the republic, and would live under it until his countrymen should say that republican institutions were suspended in favour of imperial, and that the empire was concentrated in himself.

This is only one of many special recommendations common to Prince Napoleon or to any one of his sons. The father is indeed anti-clerical to the point of fanaticism; and this, added to his known addiction to republican principles, insincere though that devotion may be esteemed by the professed republicans themselves, might partly tend to check the enthusiasm which the prospect of an imperial restoration might in some quarters arouse. In the case of Prince Victor, his son, possibly no such difficulty would present itself. It would be easy for him, when the fitting hour arrived, to disown the anti-clericalism of his sire; and indeed it is perfectly conceivable that he might have a specific and sufficient motive for doing it. The nephew of the King of Italy, the boy might be taught that some of the influences which would be most favourable to an imperial restoration, might come from Italy. There is now at least a prospect of a treaty being concluded between Church and State, and an understanding of amity and good will being come to between the Church and the King. Clericalism is a power in France, and the influences that sway clericalism are the same all the world over. The support of the Vatican, if the French Republicans persevere in their present policy towards the Church, would be a powerful weight thrown into the imperial scale. The purely personal qualifications of that branch of the Bonapartist family whose chances we are now considering, are as satisfactory as those of the son of Napoleon III. were the reverse. Prince Napoleon and his two boys are at least each of them undoubted descendants from the pure Napoleonic stock.

They have the look of the great Emperor in their face. In the father there is no insignificant measure of the same intellectual power; as for the sons in this respect, *spea, nondum res est*.

The condition of Cyprus under British rule has again been the subject of parliamentary discussion, and the result arrived at may be briefly stated to be that the existence of grievous mismanagement in the administration of the island is a proved fact. It is clear that her Majesty's Ministers know comparatively little, or know much inadequately, of what is actually going on in the various districts of our newest dependency. It may be inferred from the simple circumstance of their having appended to the last blue book on Cyprus published a letter from a certain M. Mavrocordato, to the effect that Cyprus is prospering greatly under British rule, that they are not without misgiving as to its welfare. The facts of the case were well brought out by Sir Charles Dilke, and were well driven home in the powerful speech which followed from Mr. Gladstone. The chief facts established by the debate are these:—If slavery does not exist in the island, something indistinguishable from slavery does; and if men and women are not sold to their employers and treated by them as they choose, cases are well known in which men and women are kept at Cyprus at their work, are not allowed to leave the island, and are paid no wages. Generally there seem to exist two kinds of labour in the place—free and forced—the humane official distinction between the two being, that the former is not, and the latter is slightly remunerated. It was now shown that Lord Salisbury's edict specifically prohibiting the infliction of a fine upon an individual instead of upon the village to which he belongs, when he refuses to comply with the labour regulations, is perpetually violated. Again, it was shown that gross misconduct has been in some cases committed by the Turkish police, the Zaptiehs, the only police employed. The proportion which Turkish constables bear to European is nine out of ten. These cannot speak a word of Greek, while, on the other hand, nine out of ten of the population of Cyprus do not know a word of the Ottoman language. Sir Charles Dilke made an effective point in his speech, which the newspapers do not report, when he commented on Mr. Inglis's denial of one of Sir Charles Dilke's statements as to the health of Famagousta. The statement was to the effect that last year every inhabitant of the place had fever—that one-sixth of the population had ophthalmia, and that another one-sixth were absolutely blind. Such an assertion Mr. Inglis stigmatized as monstrous. Yet it really was an extract from the pages of the Admiralty report, published by the Government. Such is the laxity and confusion

with which the affairs of a place that was to be the model of the Sultan and his officers, and was to pave the way for the regeneration of Turkey in Asia, are conducted. An answer of a certain kind the Government had to Sir Charles Dilke's criticism. The Foreign Under-Secretary complained that "the great fault of his critic's statement was that he had dwelt upon a number of small and isolated cases of grievance, and represented them as illustrating the ordinary state of affairs on the island." But it was too much to expect that Sir Charles Dilke should be able to establish what it may be hoped, for the credit of the English name, is the perfectly preposterous proposition that the scandals and abuses against which he protested represented the normal state of things in Cyprus. The *onus probandi* in the matter really lay with the Government, and what it was for Mr. Bourke to have done when Sir Charles Dilke had adduced his cases—all of them taken from official papers—of misrule and oppression, was to have met these with a number of instances at least as significant in the other direction. We have, at the present moment, so far as Cyprus is concerned, nothing more than a vague ministerial assurance that mistakes and hardships in the administration are the exception and not the rule, and that any blunders which may have been made already, will not be committed again. The worst point in the whole of the ministerial apology was Mr. Bourke's naïve confession that private slavery, as he called it, might exist in the place, but not public slavery. No one supposed that he had hinted that Sir Garnet Wolseley, by open proclamation had sanctioned in Cyprus the detestable institution which, more than half a century ago, we spent sixty millions of money to abolish in our West Indian possessions; and it would only have been by some such means as this that there could be said to exist public slavery. The true *gravamen* of the charge was that in our administration of Cyprus we are frequently winking at and sometimes reproducing the worst defects of the Turkish *régime*. It was the impression which Mr. Bourke should have endeavoured to dispel, and it was exactly this which he failed in any sort to do. The dismal results of Sir Charles Dilke's elaborate study of the official papers seem, unhappily, more worth trusting than the cheery views of Mr. Goldney's few days' trip; and the conclusion from the general tone of the debate is, that the most important part of the Anglo-Turkish Convention is only not, as Mr. Gladstone pronounced it, insane, because it is absolutely unreal.

If a defence of obstruction is wanted, it is to be found in the history of the ministerial relations towards the bill which is now making its way through Committee in the House of Commons. Just two years

ago the preachers of Parliamentary propriety were daily reading grave lessons to the Irish members on the enormity of their offence in systematically opposing the Mutiny Bill. The tactics employed by them were as a matter of fact identical with those resorted to in 1872 by a section of Conservatives when the Ballot Bill was under consideration. In the earlier instance they failed, in the latter they were completely successful. The House of Commons sat once or twice throughout the twenty-four hours. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Raikes, and the deputies of each, protested against the unaccustomed ordeal. Parliamentary government, it was said, was rapidly being rendered impossible. The Irish members adhered to their original course. They held that the bill was a bad bill, and they were determined to resist it to the uttermost. In the end they had their will. The Ministers substantially confessed the reasonableness of the criticism, and themselves advanced a practical justification of the much denounced conduct. They withdrew the measure and referred it to a commission. The commission reported, and it is upon the report of this body that the new draft of the Discipline Bill is based.

The new measure had no sooner been carefully examined than it was found to bristle with objectionable points. It did not recommend itself to the good opinion of the House of Commons; it met with slight approval at the hands of the professional military class. The provisions relative to the appointment of courts of inquiry concerned officers, those on the subject of flogging concerned the private soldier. The discussions on the former were mainly devoted to technical issues; those on the latter raised more general questions. The case of the military flagellants briefly was that there were certain idiosyncrasies in the British army, and indeed the British character—such as voluntary enlistment, the absence of the death penalty save for the most extreme offence, the rude traditions and the rough hardihood of the Anglo-Saxon race—which caused the most brutal species of physical chastisement to be a necessary and not, on the whole, an unpopular penalty. The occasion of its infliction was to be left to the discretion of the officer, but the House was generally assured that it would be reserved for the most atrocious crimes which the imagination could conceive, committed in time of war or in process of transport to the field on board ship. There were certain members of Parliament who declined to be satisfied with this general declaration. They insisted upon inquiry into the present practice in the army, and then of judging from the language employed what effect the new clauses would have upon this practice. The examination showed that the measure, if passed in the shape in which it was introduced, would have the effect generally of investing the permission to flog with a new

and most comprehensive stringency. Upon this it was resolved by a section of the more active Liberals, including Englishmen as well as Irishmen, that the Bill should be opposed by every weapon in their power till it was recast in a manner conformable to enlightenment and justice.

The result has conclusively demonstrated the necessity and the wisdom of these tactics. The Government have consented to the remodelling of the measure in such a manner that, at the most essential points, it could not be recognised by its authors. The original principle of the Bill was the right of free flogging, and when it was suggested that this was a rather despotic authority to repose in the hands of a commanding officer, Colonel Stanley answered that it was indispensable to the maintenance of military discipline, and that he declined to place any limitation on the right whatever. Here the Opposition took emphatic exception to the views of the Secretary of State for War, and the Government began to perceive that the vigorous protest of a resolute section of Liberalism, forming a nucleus for a more general resistance, would compel some drastic alterations in the ministerial proposals. The vital question was, to what class of offences was flogging to be confined? The answer to this question involved an entire transformation of the measure. Mr. Chamberlain produced a great effect on the House by showing that flogging was inflicted upon soldiers on active service for very slight offences, and that the plan of the Secretary of State for War would virtually sanction flogging in all cases during war, in which during peace even a day's imprisonment was the maximum penalty. He therefore appealed to the Government to fence the flogging license round with some guarantee against its indiscriminate abuse, some curtailment, in other words, of that large authority vested in the commanding officer, without which Colonel Stanley had declared that military discipline would be impossible. The obvious plan was to specify in a schedule the "serious offences" for which the lash was to be reserved, and the Secretary of State for War point blank refused to do anything of the sort. But the volume of remonstrance swelled. Conservative protest was added to Liberal protest; the essential barbarity as well as impolicy of the ministerial project became irresistibly plain; and Colonel Stanley announced that, yielding to the impetuosity of friends as well as foes, he should accept Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion.

This was the turning-point in the whole series of debates, and the bill as it comes out of committee will differ fundamentally and vitally from the bill as it entered it. One or two other not unimportant amendments in the measure have been effected. Having executed an entire change of front by the surrender on the schedule

question, Colonel Stanley could scarcely be expected to hold out on a point of such comparatively minor importance as the maximum legal severity of the punishment. The reduction of this from fifty lashes to twenty-five was a corollary of the acceptance of Mr. Chamberlain's amendment. It had, however, the not unimportant effect of raising an animated discussion on the general policy of corporal punishment, and it is tolerably clear that, if the opinion of the House faithfully reflects the opinion of the country, corporal punishment will before long be entirely abolished.

Among other subjects of some importance to which the attention of Parliament has been devoted, the chief is the O'Connor Don's University Bill, on which Liberal opinion is much divided, and for which it would be rash to predict ultimate success. As we have shown in these pages more than once it would not be difficult to make out a case in favour of this measure of almost irresistible strength so far as mere argument is concerned. The logical corollary of denominational education in England is denominational education in Ireland. But those who are disposed resolutely to resist the O'Connor Don's measure, while admitting the logical validity of this plea, take a different stand-point, and, asserting that they have the same desire in the long run as the friends of the measure—the welfare and pacification of Ireland—ask by what specific means these ends will best be attained? They ask too for proof that the Irish nation as a whole are really interested in the question. Let us endeavour to judge how the matter really stands from what has taken place in Ireland itself during the last few weeks. There have, it is true, been demonstrations of popular approval of the University measure. But the meetings at which resolutions to this effect have been passed have been of a questionably representative character, and can scarcely in any instance be described as very influentially composed. There has been, however, a second class of assemblages convened in different parts of Ireland, and notably in the west, larger as to numbers and more authoritative as to the expression of opinion. The anti-resent meetings have in fact attracted hundreds where the University Bill demonstrations have failed to draw tens. The only inference possible from this is that it is the land question, and not the education question, which appeals to the deepest interest of the largest number. Thus we are once more brought round to the conclusion that it is the solution of the land question to which Liberal statesmen should address themselves. It is at once pressing and practicable; it is the only measure in reference to Ireland which offers Liberalism a prospect of united action: it is the only one also which proposes to strike at the root of Irish discontent.

To speak of the new movement, which has been witnessed in Ireland

during the last few weeks, as merely an anti-rent agitation is to be guilty of somewhat of a misnomer. Coupled with this demand there is the irrepressible cry for the creation of new peasant proprietorships. Of the reality of this wish there can be no kind of doubt; against the policy of granting it there is, as we have on several occasions shown, no solid argument that can be urged. And what is wanted is after all so simple—an amendment of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act on the lines and in conformity with the principles advocated by Mr. Shaw Lefevre. There are in Ireland nearly six hundred thousand acres of waste lands. Half of them might be purchased from the landlords who are too poor to spend money on them, might be reclaimed for cultivation, and might be divided amongst the peasantry for a very small rent per acre, to be held by them for ever.

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CONVERSATIONS WITH PRINCE NAPOLEON.

[Mr. Senior was introduced to Prince Napoleon by Prosper Mérimée, one of our few Imperialist friends, in 1859, and from that period saw the Prince several times, both in London and in Paris. Prince Napoleon was aware that Mr. Senior kept a journal, and evidently spoke for the purpose of being reported. Now that the recent sad event has set the Prince at the head of the Imperial Party, these conversations have attained additional interest.—M. C. M. S.]

Paris, Monday, May 2nd, 1859.—Prince Napoleon sent to ask me to call on him, so I went this morning to the Palais Royal.

He began with our elections, and, assuming a change of ministry to be inevitable, asked whom I thought likely to be the next Premier.

"Lord John," I said, "or Lord Palmerston."

"And who would be Foreign Secretary?"

"Lord Clarendon or Lord Granville."

"What we should prefer," he replied, "would be Palmerston and Clarendon. Clarendon is thoroughly liberal. No one joined more heartily with Cavour in the Congress. He said to him early in the proceedings, 'The Congress shall not separate until it has spoken Italian.'

"Why," he continued, "cannot England and France understand one another about Italy? England is liberal, more liberal than we are; she cannot wish the misgovernment of Italy to continue."

"England," I answered, "is quite as anxious that the oppression of Italy should cease as France is. Look at Lord Palmerston's speech at Tiverton. Look at the speeches of the other candidates. Nothing shows better the opinion of a country than the hustings' speeches."

"Then," he said, "why do not you join with us?"

"You cannot expect," I said, "from us more than neutrality. We have no interests in Italy which would justify a war. We are not connected, as you are, with Piedmont."

"Neutrality," he answered, "is all that we have strictly a right to ask; but let it not be a *neutralité malveillante*."

"I do not believe," I said, "that it is, or will be, as long as the war is confined to Italy."

"I am confident," he answered, "that, unless Prussia acts with far less prudence than I expect, it will not, and cannot, extend beyond Italy. I know that some of your public men, with the old traditional jealousy of our family, suspect us of further designs. *Pour parler de ma petite personne*, all that I can say is, that I firmly believe that no such designs exist. If we wished to make a war of ambition, should we make it in Italy? What have we to gain in Italy? What Frenchman would desire any frontier beyond the Alps? There are extensions of territory that would suit us—there is the Bavarian Palatinate, there is Mayence; but we are not mad enough to think them worth the risks of a war.

"You accuse us of wishing to tear up the treaties of 1815. On the contrary, though those treaties were made against us, we are making war in support of them. Those treaties gave Lombardy and Venetia to Austria. We do not wish to take them from her. We think that she dreadfully misgoverns them, *mais cela ne nous regarde pas*. If misgovernment were a just cause of war, there never could be peace, for there is always misgovernment. We misgovern Algeria, as I well know from my experience as its minister, but you do not consider that a cause of war. We think that you misgovern Ireland, but yet we prize above all things your alliance. What we complain of is that Austria is not satisfied with Lombardy and Venetia, that in defiance of the treaties of 1855 she chooses to be mistress beyond the Po, that she has made vassals of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, that she occupies the Legations, that she prevents good government in Naples, in short, that she is everything in Italy and that we are nothing. It is against all the traditions of our foreign policy that we should tolerate this. Louis Philippe would not have borne it if he had not been forced by his position to refuse to allow France to perform her duty. I do not defend all the conduct of Piedmont. I have often entreated my father-in-law to refrain from meddling with the internal affairs of Austria, and warned him that if he rushed into a war with her, he might be crushed before we could come to his assistance. So it may be now, for the war has found us quite unprepared.

"Would that have been the case if it had been a war of aggression on our part?"

"Some of your papers are absurd enough to talk of invasion. If you look into our ports and arsenals, you will find that we have sent all our available ships into the Mediterranean. I do justice to the wishes of your ministers to preserve peace, but they managed the affair very ill.

"One fine day Lord Cowley told us suddenly that he was going

to Vienna, '*pour causer des affaires de l'Italie.*' We said, 'Go, by all means;' but it would have been better if he had made himself better acquainted with our views, and had been authorised to speak in our name."

"I thought," I said, "that he went at your request."

"By no means," answered the Prince, "he went spontaneously, or by the order of your Government. While he was there, Russia proposed a Congress. It was not our suggestion, nor did we like it, but to show our desire of peace we assented. It was to have consisted of the five great Powers. Sardinia, naturally enough, asked to join in it. We thought that she was entitled to be admitted. To be considered as a quasi-great Power is all that she has got for the fifty millions which the Crimean war cost her, a war in which she had no real interest. We thought, too, that the Pope and Naples and Tuscany had a right to be admitted. Austria objected, and we yielded. But while the bases of the Congress were being debated, Austria suddenly sent a brutal summons to Piedmont to disarm, and on her refusal invaded her. It is amusing to see the thunder which Derby and Malmesbury directed against France fall on the head of Austria. Now, what is there in all this conduct of ours to excite your suspicion?"

"I wish that you would send a squadron, or merely a ship, into the Adriatic to see what we do. You would find our moderation in the war as great as it was before it.

"Then why cannot England and France come to an understanding about the Pope? We are forced to treat him with certain *égards* on account of our clergy, but you are under no such influences."

"I was not aware," I said, "that any arrangement respecting the Pope was under discussion."

"What we should like," he answered, "is to give the Pope Rome, and a little territory round it, a sort of garden to his house, extending, perhaps, to Albano and Tivoli, and to secularize the rest of his dominions."

"I do not believe," I answered, "that we should object to that. And several zealous Catholics in France have made to me the same suggestion."

"Then," he said, "you accuse us of a Russian alliance, purchased by abandoning Turkey to her.

"There is none; there is an understanding that she shall place an army of observation on the frontiers of Galicia, to act only in the event of the German Confederation attacking us, an event which I believe to be highly improbable. As for Turkey, its name has not been mentioned. The Emperor has not the least intention to undo all that was done by the Crimean war. He is as decided as he ever was to maintain, at any sacrifice, the independence and the integrity

of Turkey. Our understanding with Russia has not been bought by any concession whatever. We do not like Russia, though we hate Austria more. The alliance that we prize is yours; we should be mad if we wantonly exchanged it for that of Russia."

He asked me how long I intended to remain in Paris. Three weeks, I answered.

"Great events," he said, "may happen in that period. I hope that you will let me see you from time to time."

He talks well and fluently. Much of what he said appeared to me to have been thought over before.

Paris, May 17th, 1860.—Prince Napoleon gave me an audience to-day.

He asked me what I was doing. I told him that my principal occupation was the Education Commission.

"I have been a member," he said, "of many commissions, but I will not serve on another unless I can select my associates. The only way to make a commission work well is to put one man at its head and let him choose the rest rather as counsellors and instruments than as colleagues. Have you inquired into our system?"

"We have," I answered.

"All," he replied, "except the primary education is bad. We have thrown it too much into the hands of the Government. We have left little choice to the parents, either as to the masters or the studies. It is still worse in Germany. Your fault is the opposite one, but it is the less of the two. In education anarchy is better than despotism.

"What," he continued, "is the public feeling in England respecting Italy?"

"The bulk of the people," I answered, "sympathize thoroughly with the Italians. They wish to see the Austrians driven out of Italy at any expense, and by any means; our statesmen generally desire the same result, but are anxious and alarmed when they see the means that are employed."

"I was sorry," he said, "to hear of Garibaldi's sailing. I admire and respect him, and I expected his own destruction and that of his followers. But he seems likely to succeed. I cannot regret a Sicilian revolution, or even, what must follow it, a Neapolitan one; but the further consequences alarm me. Of course Naples and Sicily will annex themselves to Sardinia. That kingdom is now so large that it attracts every floating body. What will be the state of the remaining Papal territories *enclavés* in it on all sides? They must be swallowed up in it. And then what is to be done with the Pope?"

"When I had the honour," I said, "of conversing with your Imperial Highness on this subject last year, you proposed that he should keep Rome and a *petit jardin autour*."

"That might have done last year," he answered; "now we must

have Rome for the capital of the United Italian Kingdom. It is the only capital that my father-in-law can select without offending Piedmont and exciting the jealousy of the other great historical towns. You would not, I suppose, have the Pope a subject of the King of Italy? And unless he be a subject, indeed whether a subject or not, he will be a bitter, unrelenting enemy. Rome never acquiesces in any loss, never treats anything as a *fait accompli*. She has recovered so wonderfully from situations which seemed to be desperate, that she never despairs. When my father-in-law accepted the Romagna, he broke for ever with the Pope and his successors. The Papal influence, too, which was once a refuge from despotism, is now its instrument. Every misgovernment is defended by the authority, and indeed by the example, of the Pope. Every improvement is opposed by them. As soon as Sardinia was constitutional, all the clergy became the enemies of the Government. There will not be peace, or safe, well-established liberty in Italy as long as the Pope remains there. And whither is he to go? Not to Vienna, as he would like to do, since Gaeta will no longer be open to him. In the present state of Italian feeling as respects Germany, his residence in any part of it would expose him to indignation and contempt, which might produce a schism. An Italian prince who flies from his country to Germany can never return. If he is not to be a subject, Elba perhaps; or, if he wishes for a larger population to tease, the island of Sardinia may be given to him in sovereignty—Italy would make a good bargain by parting with it to get rid of the Pope—or one of the Balearic islands. But if he is not to be a sovereign, I think that he will inhabit one of the fine towns of Spain—Seville for instance. The cathedral there might console him for St. Peter's. The Holy Week in Seville is almost as splendid as the Holy Week in Rome."

"We should be happy," I said, "to receive him in Malta, not in La Valetta, but in Città Vecchia, which is a beautiful little town in a fine air. He would find himself among a population of priests."

"Well," he said, "*c'est une grosse affaire*; I do not pretend to guess what will turn out, or how it will turn out.

"If my father-in-law would have listened to advice, the danger would have been less. The Emperor wrote to him to urge him to refuse Tuscany. We told him that if he would be satisfied with Lombardy, Parma, Modena, and the Legations—no slight accessions to his fortune in one year—France would protect him in their possession, but that we could not guarantee him anything if he accepted Tuscany. Now, if he had refused Tuscany, or if the vote for its autonomy had prevailed, this new revolution would probably have stopped at Naples. The Pope would not have been surrounded on all sides by Sardinian annexation. Lamoricière might have kept him on his throne until the fever had subsided.

"The disposal of the Pope is, as I said, *une grosse affaire*, but it is not the last, or perhaps the worst. When Venetia is the only province wanting to Italian unity, will Victor Emmanuel be able to keep his hands off it? Or even if his people were to allow him to remain quiet, will Austria keep her hands off *him*? The original Piedmontese army was small and good; it fought well by our side; but the present army is large and bad. It has been spoilt by adding to it a rabble from Central Italy. It is like a bottle of brandy poured into a bucket of water. Sixty thousand Austrians could disperse it. They could march from Mantua to Naples.

"Are we to stop them again?"

"I told my father-in-law that we should not—that if he chose to play double or quits he must take the consequences. I do not say that it will be so, for, in fact, I foresee nothing except that, if Garibaldi succeeds in Sicily, as I expect him to do, and, I must confess, wish him to do, Southern Italy will be revolutionised.

"What do you say," he continued, "about Turkey?"

"The state of Russia is such," I answered, "that I do not think that even Turkey has much to fear from her."

"I quite agree with you," he replied. "Such is the state of the Russian army and of the Russian finances that she could not march fifty thousand men beyond her own frontier. But Turkey has nearer, and, in her present weak, disorganized state, more dangerous enemies among those who are called her subjects. The Serbs are discontented, and threaten to march to Constantinople."

"What is their population?" I asked.

"About a million," he answered, "but as they are semi-barbarians, every man is a soldier. They say that they can raise two hundred thousand men. Sixty thousand would be enough. The Bulgarians would join them, and the Turks have no real army to oppose them."

"Could they cross the Balkan," I asked, "with only sixty thousand men?"

"Much more easily," he answered, "than the Russians did. And, on the whole, if Constantinople is no longer to be Turkish, perhaps it would be as well to have it Servian. I had rather see them there than Russians, or Greeks, or Austrians.

"The United States," I said, "want a port on the Mediterranean. Perhaps Constantinople would suit *them*."

"When such matters have to be settled," he said, "this coolness between England and France is most unfortunate. The Savoy business has been ill-managed on both sides. The Emperor ought to have made up his mind sooner. He ought not to have given additional importance to what he was doing by denying it, by showing a consciousness that it was likely to excite alarm, which seemed to

imply that it ought to excite alarm. You, as you could not prevent it, ought to have accepted it frankly. It was a slight price to give us for having done your work for you in the Crimea and in Italy. It did not materially increase our power, it merely relieved us from a humiliation. You would have earned our gratitude by cordially acquiescing in it, instead of disgusting us by your unfriendly opposition. A partnership cannot be lasting if one of the parties grudges to the other any one part of the profits.

"Among the things," he continued, "which, if mutual confidence could be restored, might be arranged, is a general disarmament. Peace is becoming more expensive than war used to be. There are more than two millions of men under arms in Europe. You are spending for military purposes twenty-six millions sterling every year. And this in perishable things: in ships that rot, in machinery that gets obsolete, and in soldiers and sailors whose services are useless as long as they have not to fight. Then there is loss occasioned by commercial uncasiness and distrust. I fear that some day people will say—

"'It is better to have a war, and fight it out, than that this preparation and anxiety should be prolonged indefinitely.'"

Thursday, May 24th.—I dined with Prince Napoleon, and met the Duke of Magenta (MacMahon), the Duc de Grammont, French Ambassador in Rome, now on leave, Admiral Bouet, Michel Chevalier, Merimée, and several others.

Before dinner I had a good deal of conversation with MacMahon. He is a man of pleasing, simple manners.

We talked of the Cabyles, whom he described as a far superior race to the Arabs.

"Race, indeed," he said, "they are not. They are a mixture of all the races who have been driven from the plains by successive invasions, and forced to establish themselves on the mountain plateaux and gorges, which, until we came, were impregnable. They are Numidians, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, all mixed by common misfortune. Many have light or red hair and blue or grey eyes. They live in large villages, which may be called towns, cultivate their lands, and preserve traces of Roman law. They are bad Mussulmans, and capable, perhaps, of being converted, which a real Mussulman is not. You have little to tell *him*. He believes, as you do, in the unity of God; indeed, he thinks that he believes in it much better than you do. He venerates Jesus and the blessed Virgin. He accepts the Gospels, but he says that there has been a further revelation. Jesus was a great prophet and was sent from God, but Mahomet was a still greater. The Arab is unconvertible and unimprovable, but I hope that we shall do much with the Cabyles."

The dinner was not long, and directly we had had our coffee the men all moved into the smoking-room. Here the Prince filled (I use the word literally) a huge armchair. Next to him sat MacMahon and Grammont, then Bouet, Merimée, and I. The others stood about or sat on the sofas.

The cigars were lighted, and we began talking of Garibaldi.

"I have no doubt," said the Prince, "that by this time he is master of Sicily."

"With the exception," said Grammont, "of Messina. The citadel of Messina cannot be taken by such troops as his."

"That depends," said Bouet, "on the fidelity of the garrison. Those among them that are Sicilians cannot be relied on. When I was off Messina with a squadron a year ago, the inhabitants crowded to my ships to beg me to take possession of the town. The fiercest anti-Neapolitans were the clergy, regular as well as secular. In the late *émucules* they fired on the royal troops from the convent windows."

"The people," said the Prince, "gave the utmost assistance to the disembarkation of Garibaldi's men, and I suspect that the cruisers let him pass."

"I do not believe," said Bouet, "that they could stop him. How are you to guard a coast as long as from Boulogne to Bayonne? Garibaldi is a good sailor, probably a better sailor than general. His father was a Nice fisherman, and he passed the first twenty years of his life on the sea. I believe that he steered first for Tunis, and then ran up northward to Marsala."

"Cavour," said the Prince, "took what he is not accustomed to do, a middle course. He should either have stopped Garibaldi or have given him five thousand men. He has thrown on himself and on my father-in-law all the discredit, such as it is, of having favoured the expedition. He would not have been more blamed and hated by the *Codini*¹ if he had given it real aid."

"Garibaldi's popularity in Paris," said Bouet, "is enormous. All the portraits of him disappear as fast as they are published. Some of my servants were at a bourgeois wedding the other day—there were fifty or sixty guests. Nothing but Garibaldi was talked about; even the bride and bridegroom seemed to think of nothing else."

"I do not believe," said MacMahon, "that he will ever be a general. He wants comprehensiveness. He cannot foresee or provide for results distant in time and space. But he is an admirable partisan. When he was in Italy with his four thousand men, one of his spies told him that he had discovered, a couple of leagues off, an Austrian force of about three thousand men, who were not aware of his proximity, and could be surprised and cut off. The spy was a traitor. There were twelve thousand Austrians, and the spy had

(1) The reactionary party in Italy.—M. C. M. S.

been sent to decoy Garibaldi into attacking them. With his usual impetuosity he fell into the trap, marched against the Austrians, and found, when he approached them, that they far outnumbered him, and were prepared. Most men would have retreated, been followed, overtaken, and destroyed. He attacked the Austrians with such vigour that they thought that their spy must have deceived them, and that Garibaldi was in force. He drove them from their position and pursued them for a couple of miles, when they discovered the smallness of his numbers and turned back on him; his troops, active and unencumbered, saved themselves in the mountains."

"He will beat the Neapolitans," said the Prince, "more easily than he did the Austrians; and I do not believe that the Romans, even with Lamoricière, will stop him. The instant that Tuscany annexed itself to Piedmont, I saw that the kingdom of Italy was formed. Nothing but some blunder on our part can prevent it."

"The fault of our policy," said the Duc de Grammont, "is that we have, in fact, no policy whatever. Instead of controlling events we are governed by them."

"Our policy and our duty," said the Prince, "are perfectly simple and plain. They are to leave Rome instantly, and let the Italians settle the matter themselves. I do not say what is the settlement that I desire—perhaps you may guess."

"And the Austrians," said the Duc de Grammont; "will they permit that settlement? Twenty thousand Austrians would dispose of Garibaldi."

"The Austrians," said Bouet, "had an easy game as long as they held Tuscany. They could march through their own country on Rome and Naples. Now they cannot cross Tuscany without a war with Piedmont, which implies a war with France. They must go by sea. But they may be met at sea and beaten. The Piedmontese navy is larger and better than the Austrian one. Their army, with no retreat except by its ships, will be alarmed and demoralised."

"It is our business," said the Prince, "to prevent their going by sea or by land. We must march out of Rome, that is the first thing. We ought to do so to-morrow. Italy must be Italian. If it be not Italian it will be again Austrian, which France ought not to suffer, and will not suffer."

"And what is to become of the Pope?" said the Duc de Grammont.

"*Cela nous est égal*," said the Prince. "He will be Bishop of Rome; we shall give him a good civil list, and he will pray for the King of Italy."

"Not Pio Nono," said the Duke.

"If not Pio Nono," replied the Prince, "somebody else. We shall change him for a Pio Decimo—for some pope *qui sait titre*.

For the last five hundred years Italy has been sacrificed to the papacy; it shall be so no longer. You, M. le Duc, know the state of the Papal Government better than any one else; tell these gentlemen whether its badness is exaggerated."

"Certainly not exaggerated," he answered; "it is underrated. No one who has not lived in Rome can imagine its atrocity or its corruption. It is not a government, it is a conspiracy of rogues and sbirri."

"Give us," said the Prince, "some facts."

"I will tell you," said the Duke, "one which occurred a short time ago. Some of the pontifical estates were to be let. A person whom I know, an excellent country gentleman, who never meddles in politics, wished to take them. So did a relation of Antonelli's. My acquaintance was therefore accused by the sbirri of having hissed them. He was thrust into one of the horrible papal dungeons and kept *au secret*, lest he should give any instructions to his *homme d'affaires* to bid for the lands. Antonelli's friend got the lease at half its value. I heard of it, went to the Pope, and got my acquaintance out, or he would probably be in prison now, and would remain there until his cell was wanted for somebody else.

"Last year some French soldiers accused a ferryman of demanding more than his fare. He was thrown into prison. Six months after his wife came to ask for my intercession. I went to the police. 'You have made me,' I said, 'a sort of accomplice in a horrible oppression. I hear that on a trumped-up accusation by one of our soldiers, a poor man has been six months in prison?' 'Of course he has,' answered the Director of Police; 'it is your own fault; you should have come or sent to me sooner. When a man is accused of having behaved ill to any of your soldiers, we keep him in prison until you ask for his release. It is a small proof of our gratitude to you.' But, bad as the Governments of Rome and Naples are, the people are still worse. After *le bon Dieu* had finished creating the bulk of the human species, he made Romans and Neapolitans out of the refuse and rubbish that were left."

"The people," said the Prince, "are what their Governments have made them. Centuries of ecclesiastical tyranny would have made us just as bad. And this is the Government which we brought back, which we have supported for ten years, and which we still support. It is our duty to God and man to withdraw that support instantly, whatever be the consequences. You say, M. le Duc, that we have no policy. What policy ought we to have?"

"*Une politique*," answered the Duke, "*bien nette, bien arrêtée, bien ferme et regardant seulement nos propres intérêts. Pas une politique d'idées.*"

"And what are our interests," said the Prince, "except that Italy be united and well governed?"

"*Jamais peut-être,*" said the Duke, "*un ministre Français n'a été ainsi mis sur la sellette.* Permit me to ask a question in my turn. Is it our interest to create a new great Power at our gates?"

"France," said the Prince, "ought not to be deterred from following her instincts as the promoter of civilisation by such fears, even if there were any foundation for them. But there is none. She is too great to fear any neighbour. I am not sure that it would not be well to have six great Powers instead of five. They would better keep one another in order. One of these five, too, seems to be falling to pieces, and may want a successor."

"The two dangers to Austria," said the Duke, "are Hungary and Venetia. They are two weights, one on the north, the other on the south, which are pulling her asunder. I think that she will conciliate Hungary."

"The young Emperor," said the Prince, "will conciliate nobody. As to Venetia, that cannot be conciliated."

"No," said the Duke, "but it can be exchanged. I have reason to think that Austria is ready to resign it, if we will give her the Herzegovina and Moldavia and Wallachia."

"If she is not ready," replied the Prince, "we must stimulate her; we must subject her to a gentle compulsion. It is all for her good, as she will find when she gets wiser. The kingdom of Italy must extend from the Alps to Cape Passaro."

"I doubt," I said, "whether it will extend to Cape Passaro. The Sicilians will set up for themselves."

"Well then," said the Prince, "let them take a sovereign, provided he be an Italian, or let them be a republic, or let them take the Pope. We can do without them."

"Perhaps," said the Duke, "England will relieve you of Sicily."

"Bah!" said the Prince, "that is one of your old traditions. Because England took Sicily when my uncle took Naples, you think that she wants it again. She refused it at the Congress of Vienna. But you diplomatists study nothing but history. As to what is actually passing, you know no more than the rest of us. When the Emperor wants to know what is going on, he does not send for Thouvenel, he sends for the *Nord*, or the *Indépendance Belge*, or the *Times*. So does Queen Victoria. I never learned anything from Walewski, except, perhaps, some little official secret of no real importance, but which he had better not have told."

The Prince now rose from the armchair which he had so worthily filled. "*Ainsi finit,*" said Merimée to me as we went out, "*la séance Italienne. Le Prince parle bien, et dit admirablement tout ce qu'il ne doit pas dire.*"

He treated his guests, and was treated by them, with perfect

familiarity. The only mark of his rank was the occasional use of Monseigneur. Much may have depended on the levelling influence of the cigar.

It was now about eleven. We had been in the smoking-room ever since a quarter to nine. I expected to find the ladies retired, but they still sat in a little circle round the Princess. No one joined that circle, and at length it broke up too. The Princess came to the tea-table where I was, and talked to me for ten minutes about Cavour, Azeglio, and Marochetti very agreeably. She is very like her father, but graceful and self-possessed, simple, and grande dame. She is said to have been educated by Jesuits, to be a devout Papist, and to be made miserable by the Pope's degradation, and by the favour shown by her husband to the Anti-Papal party.

Paris, April 14th, 1861.—Prince Napoleon sent a few days ago to ask me to visit him to-day.

I found several people in the ante-chamber. We were called in one by one, but no one's audience lasted more than three minutes, except mine, which was prolonged to five. He seemed anxious and absent, to use a French phrase, *préoccupé*.

He told me that he had heard from an authority that could scarcely be mistaken that Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston had coalesced, that Derby was to be Premier and Palmerston Foreign Secretary, and that Gladstone had joined the Radicals.

"It is a most dangerous combination," he added, "and disturbs me, who, as you know, am a steady friend to the English alliance. With such a ministry and this painful Syrian question, *tout est possible*."

"*Tout est possible*," I answered, "except the story itself."

But I did not convince him. So he told me that *sa femme* hoped I would dine with them that day, and bowed me out.

At dinner I found Lord Henry Lennox and several other persons, none of whom, except Michel Chevalier, I knew.

The dinner was stiff and silent. Between me and the Prince sat Madame de ——. He talked to her much in a half whisper. I found afterwards that it was about the letter.¹ "I am very sorry," he said, "that the Emperor has suppressed it, as now I cannot answer it. At present *ça regarde mon cousin*. It is very well written, and not more unfair than was to have been expected. I think myself, however, hardly treated, for in my speech I carefully spared the Duc d'Aumale. I said nothing of the Duc de Bourbon."

Immediately after dinner we went into the smoking-room, where the Prince took his usual armchair by the fire.

(1) The allusion is to a pamphlet published by the Duc d'Aumale, in answer to a speech delivered by Prince Napoleon.—M. O. M. S.

He was bitter and cynical.

We talked of the Pope.

"What I wish," said the Prince, "is to get rid of him altogether, and if all the bishops and priests follow him, so much the better."

"Yet," said somebody, "your Imperial Highness has lately been recommending a bishop, Monseigneur ——."

"I told the Emperor," he answered, "that —— was not quite so bad as the rest, so he was made bishop. But there is little to choose among them. I have seen priests of every kind. They are bad in Germany, they are bad in Italy, but they are nowhere so thoroughly bad as in France. Perhaps, however, I ought to except Ireland. When I was in Ireland last year the priests crowded round me, but they had no knowledge or common sense. I found them highly disaffected, but when I asked for their grievances they could not explain to me that they had any. On their own showing, Ireland is as free as any country in Europe."

"They had one grievance," I answered, "though they did not choose to complain of it—that they have no public provision."

"I scarcely call that a grievance," replied the Prince. "No priests ought to be paid by the Government."

"The real grievance is that the large majority and the poor majority of the Irish have to pay the priests of the rich minority. It is bad enough to have to pay a priest whom you believe."

He talked much of English politics; said that Palmerston was a Tory, Gladstone a Radical, and —— a fool, and would not allow that any one had any political honesty except Lord Grey and Sir George Lewis.

The smoking party broke up very soon, and the Prince merely walked through the drawing-rooms and disappeared.

The Princess looked smiling and happy. Probably she was the only person present who had not heard of the Duc d'Aumale's letter.

Paris, March 13th, 1862.—I dined with Prince Napoleon. The ladies were Madame de ——, the Princess, and her two ladies-in-waiting. Among the men the only ones that I knew were General Kalergi, the man who, after having in 1843 headed the great revolution and pointed his cannon against King Otho's palace, now represents him in Paris; Pietri; M. Petinet, formerly Prefect of Upper Savoy, now Director of the Imperial Printing Office; Colonel Claremont, the English military attaché; and several others whose names I could not ascertain, and whom, therefore, I must designate by letters.

When we retired into the *fumoir* the Prince became the centre of an animated political discussion. As is generally the case in Paris,

it turned more on general propositions than on particular facts. The Prince gave us a sort of essay on the French nation.

"The great fault," he said, "of the French is *qu'ils n'ont pas de caractère*. This shows itself in their dread of being in the minority. On every question the instinct of a Frenchman is to ascertain on which side is the majority, and to join it. It shows itself also in their want of elasticity. They have no backbone; a blow from the Government strikes them down, and they lie flat and torpid. It was the same three hundred years ago. There was at that time a strong Protestant feeling in France, but it could not stand persecution.

"Next to this their great fault is their hatred of superiors. The peasant, lying at the bottom of society, hates every one who wears a coat, and still more every one who wears a cassock."

"And yet," said Pietri, "he would rise if you were to pull down his *clocher*."

"In some departments," said the Prince, "perhaps in twenty out of the eighty-six, he likes his *clocher*, but in every department he hates his *curé*."

"The bas clergé, however," said Pietri, "are the best."

"The least bad," said the Prince. "The other day a storm was raised in the Senate because I was supposed to have said that Napoleon re-entered France in 1815 with the cry, '*À bas les prêtres!*' If I had said so it would have been the truth. The only country in Europe in which the priest is popular is England, and he is popular there because he is a gentleman, a man of the world, a *père de famille*, and above all because he is rich and is charitable. Our priests are poor; they eke out their incomes by exactions from the people; they are turned out of their seminaries ignorant of everything except a scholastic divinity which, even if it be comprehensible, no one understands; they spring from the same class as the peasants over whom they claim absolute authority; they interfere in the *ménage*; they set the wife and the daughter against the husband and the father. Every Government and every party that relies on their support is doomed."

"Does the peasant," I asked, "hate the prefect?"

"No," said the Prince. "In the first place he never sees him. To him the prefect is an abstract idea, or at most an impersonation of the Government. And the peasant clings to the Government as the enemy of his enemy, the bourgeois.

"What the *ouvrier* hates most is his *patron*. When I had to select a couple of hundred *ouvriers* to send them to London for the Exposition, I offered them forty thousand francs towards the expense. They accepted it from me, but they all said that they would not take a sou from their masters.

"Next to his *patron* the *ouvrier* hates the bourgeois.

"Louis Philippe and his bourgeois Chamber of Deputies were abominations to him. So were the Provisional Government and the Constituents' Assembly. All the *ouvriers* were behind the barricades against Louis Philippe in February, 1848, and against Cavaignac in the following June. He hates constitutional government, with its checks and counter-checks and hierarchy of power. His political affection is given only to what he supposes to be the revolutionary principle, the absence of an aristocracy, that is to say, of any intermediate between the Government and the mass of the people.

"As for the bourgeois, he hates everybody, because he fears everybody. He hates and fears the people, he hates and fears what aristocracy we have left to us, he hates and fears the Government."

"Why," I asked, "the Government?"

"Because it taxes him," answered the Prince; "because it imposes free trade on him; because it makes war, subjects him to the conscription, and interferes with trade."

"Because," said X., "it emasculates his newspapers, interns him, or sends him to Cayenne if he talks too loud, and because it interferes with the course of justice if he is defrauded by one of its favourites."

"And the aristocracy?" I asked.

"There is no aristocracy," answered the Prince, "except the aristocracy of office, which gives influence but no respect, and the small aristocracy of military and civil talent. Our officials, orators, and *littérateurs* are something while their office or their talent continues, but their influence is transient."

"A great speaker," said Y., "is always a considerable man in France."

"He was nothing," said the Prince, "from 1852 to 1861, and who knows how soon he may be reduced again to nothing?"

"Still," said W., "a great proprietor, such, for instance, as Falloux, has influence in the provinces."

"Certainly," said the Prince, "but how many of them are there? And how many of those have qualities which make them capable or even desirous of exercising an influence? As for titles, they are worth nothing; and birth, which has some little value in a few circles, is seldom authentic. Not one family in a hundred in the Faubourg has any right to the name which it bears.

"The consequence," he continued, "of all this is that there is no desire for liberty, or, indeed, possibility of it. For liberty cannot exist without intermediate bodies, centres of resistance between the throne and the people, breakwaters for the throne and bulwarks for the people.

"I bitterly deplore it; France is not liberal in government, in

commerce, in anything, in short, except in religion, and its religious tolerance arises from its disbelief. Even the schoolmaster does not affect to have any faith in the doctrines which he is obliged to pretend to teach."

"We must trust," said Pietri, "to the gradual operation of the press."

"I, too," said the Prince, "trust to the press; though it has done positively but little, it has done comparatively much during the last ten years. It has enabled the Emperor to give us an instalment of free trade and of free discussion.

"Illiberal as France still is, she is much less so than she was in 1852, much less so than she would have been if Louis Philippe had continued.

"But we shall not see fully the useful influence of the press till it is free. I say the *useful* influence, for the positive influence, the influence for evil, is probably greatest under a system of compression. In America, where there is perfect freedom, no one newspaper has much influence. In England, where the enormous expense of founding and keeping up a newspaper gives a monopoly to a few great capitalists, a few newspapers have considerable power, but not half the power which they have in France. The fiscal burdens, the *cautionnement*, the liability to suppression, and the stamp, keep the number of papers lower even than it is in England, and the notoriety of the fact that they all publish, and indeed exist, only by the sufferance of the Government gives importance to their censures. Everything that they say in opposition to the Government is taken as an admission. What I wish for is not so much the liberty of the press as its anarchy."

"By its anarchy," I said, "do you mean that there shall be no such thing as a *délit de la presse*?"

"I mean," he answered, "that there shall be no stamp, no *cautionnement*, no forced signature, no *avertissement*. At present the press is under the *régime* not of *l'arbitraire*, which is bad enough, but of *le caprice*, which is intolerable. I wish a journal with only two hundred *abonnés* to be able to live. I wish to have a hundred, or five hundred, such journals; their errors and their falsehoods would neutralise one another.

"But while every opposition journal calls in question the principle of the Government and of the dynasty, we must have some *délits de la presse*.

"In England you have practically abandoned prosecution because these questions are never raised. No newspaper in England writes against Christianity, or royalty, or property.

"Still the system of *avertissement*, if it were not managed by a fool or a madman, has many advantages."

"I detest it," said Petinet. "To be tried, warned, and suppressed without being heard is intolerable."

"Still," said the Prince, "it is better to be suppressed than to be imprisoned. You would not find the tribunals much more liberal than M. de Persigny."

"But a jury," I said, "might be so."

"The jury," said the Prince, "would consist of bourgeois. A jury, when it is frightened, is worse than even a judge, for it is not responsible even to public opinion, *et les bourgeois sont en permanence de peur*."

"I have had some experience," said Petinet, "for I have appeared before the tribunal seventeen times."

The conversation passed to the dissolution or expiration of the Corps Législatif.

"In the next Chamber," said R——, "there will be at least thirty opposition members. We see the influence of only six."

"Among them," said the Prince, "I hope to see Thiers. He could certainly be returned for Rouen, and with little difficulty for Lille."

"He will give trouble," said Pietri.

"Unless he is bought," said the Prince. "Not with money, Thiers is above that, but by flattery. Never did the Emperor spend a compliment better than when he called Thiers *un historien illustre et national*. Thiers has not forgotten it."

"Nor," said Pietri, "does he let any one else forget it."

"Paris," said the Prince, "will return ten *rouges*. If I were to go into the Faubourg St. Antoine I should be elected by the *ouvriers* unanimously, especially if the *patrons* opposed me.

"But the opposition, though it may give trouble, will do little good. The Corps Législatif has no influence. 'The deputies,' say the people, 'are named by the prefects; *we* named the Emperor.'

"One thing, however, the next Chamber will do if it be not done before, it will force the evacuation of Rome. We cannot remain the supporters of that odious tyranny and the obstacles to Italian unity. Every motive requires us to escape from such a situation."

"Billault," said Pietri, "says that it will take three centuries to consolidate Italy."

"An additional motive," said the Prince, "for losing no more time."

At about half-past nine we returned to the drawing-room, where we found the Princess, her two ladies, and Madame de —.

I talked to Madame de — about Rome.

"I never would have created," she said, "the 'temporal power of the Pope. It injures his spiritual influence, just as his spiritual functions interfere with his political ones. But he has it, and I dread the immediate consequences of his losing it. I would keep

the *statu quo* if I could; and such are the opinions of almost all whom I see."

"Not here," I said.

"Not," she answered, "on one side of the palace, but very strongly on the other."

The conversation passed to Savoy. M. Petinet maintained that the annexation was popular among all excepting the priests.

"The people," said the Prince, "never from 1815 to 1859 gave up the hope of returning to France.

"Thousands of families kept little tricolors as sacred deposits. They loved, indeed, the House of Savoy, but they hated Piedmont, and felt degraded by the prospect of being swallowed up in the great kingdom of Italy."

"They are swallowed up now," I said, "in a still greater empire."

"Yes," said the Prince; "but in an empire with glorious recollections, with a glorious present, and with a glorious future. The kingdom of Italy is glorious only in its hopes."

The Princess sat at first near the fire with her ladies, but she afterwards came into the middle of the room, sat on an ottoman with a circle round her, and joined easily in a general unconstrained conversation.

Paris, April 12th, 1862.—I paid my visit of adieu to Prince Napoleon.

He, too, had been reading Lord Palmerston's speech, but not with the feelings of Thiers.

"I am delighted," he said, "to find a man who, with all his faults, is at the head of the statesmen of Europe, fully agreeing with me. The union of Rome to the rest of Italy is now only a question of time. I cannot believe that the time will be long, but while it lasts it is full of danger to the Emperor, to the Pope, to France, and to Italy.

"The Pope's death," he continued, "would be a great misfortune."

"Would he have a successor?" I asked.

"I have no doubt," he answered, "that his successor is already agreed on."

"Subject," I said, "I suppose, to the vetoes of France, Austria, and Spain?"

"If the election," he answered, "be made *sur le corps du Pape*, that is, immediately after the death of the Pope, while his body is still on the bed in which he died, there is no veto. And such is the distrust of France in the College of Cardinals that some one hostile to us will be named.

"Pio Nono is weak and timid and irresolute, but his successor may be a fool or a fanatic, still less accessible to reason than he is."

Paris, April 2nd, 1863.—I breakfasted with Prince Napoleon. The only other guests were his aides-de-camp and secretary.

He asked me if there was much sympathy for the Poles in England.

"Our sympathies," I answered, "at least our active sympathies, are only with the nations who have coasts. Besides, if a nation be regarded as one permanent individual, responsible for the acts of all its previous generations, no nation has more deserved its fate than Poland. While it was independent it was the torment of Europe and of itself. It was always engaged in religious civil wars; every party was constantly calling for foreign intervention; the nobles were petty tyrants, the people were slaves; they had no industry, or literature, or toleration; they gave up their commerce to Jews, and then persecuted them; they were utterly without the forbearance, the candour, and the justice which free institutions require. Since the partition they have been stirring up civil war throughout Europe. Every revolution has had Poles among its promoters, often among its excitors."

"Well," said the Prince, "we are less severe. We forget what Poland was in what she is—the victim of falsehood and of systematic oppression. Poles have fought by our side against foreign and against domestic enemies. They have assisted the people of France in their struggles against the aristocrats; they have been one of the elements of the revolutionary leaven which saves us from the general torpidity of the Continent. But I recognise in your language the coldness and—if you will pardon the word—the selfishness of English policy. You will never, as we do, fight for an idea. Then you think yourselves bound by the treaties of 1815. We detest them, we repudiate them, we have torn them to pieces. They were fetters when we were weak, we throw them off as soon as we became strong. It was his submission to them that overthrew Louis Philippe.

"Your policy is formed on reasoning, ours on sentiment. It was sentiment, not reasoning, that made Louis Napoleon President, that made him Emperor. But, though you have no active sympathy for people without coasts, like Poland and Hungary, you must have a passive one, enough not to disturb you, but to make you look with pleasure on the active sympathy of less reasoning nations.

"You cannot but admire the self-devotion of the fathers and mothers who send out their children, or of the young men who, after confession and absolution, go out to die in battle against overwhelming numbers, or to be hunted down in the forests, which are their only fortresses.

"You cannot but detest the barbarity of the Russians, who have turned the conscription, which our glorious revolution invented as

the security for national independence and liberty, into the most odious instrument of oppression. If you will not fight for Poland, you will at least speak for her ; and though speaking without acting is only a half measure, or much less than a half measure, it is far better than silence. Prussia is at the bottom of the scale of baseness and degradation. She joins the Czar in order to subjugate Poland for him, and so to leave him free to use his Russian soldiers to prevent his own subjects from insisting on a constitution. She has done still worse—she has violated the sacred right of asylum, the only resource of the oppressed. She has done what every civilised power in Europe would have refused, what, indeed, it would have been an insult to request from any civilised power. She has delivered the Polish refugees to Russia. She has delivered men of birth and education to be punished by the slow tortures of the Siberian mines, for having attempted to save their children from blows, degradation, and death, in the snow and forests of the Caucasus. This the Prussian ministers have not only done, but avowed.

“With the light graceful irony which may be expected from a German, they describe it by saying, ‘We have not delivered the refugees to Russia ; we have only removed them from Prussia by the Russian frontier.’

“Austria comes next. She is merely silent, not from love of her enemy, Russia, but because she fears to have to give up her share of the Polish robbery.

“You, with your inactive sympathy, are the third accomplice. You say that the conduct of Russia is hateful, that of Prussia hateful and base, that of Poland heroic, and then you say, ‘Poland has no coasts,’ and fold your arms.”

“And what,” I said, “will you make of your *active* sympathy ? Your ministers tell the Poles to rely on the generous and liberal feelings of the Czar.”

“That was a wicked insult,” replied the Prince, “fit for a *ministre sans porte-feuille*. Happily the policy of the Emperor does not depend on that of his ministers. What we shall do I cannot tell. I am not in the Emperor’s confidence ; but that we shall do something—and something great—I am convinced. It may be a pacific intervention—it may be a warlike one. France does not wish for more wars. She has enough, and much more than enough, on her hands already. She is not, like the Americans, carried away by the new excitement of having armies and enormous debts. She knows that armies and debts are things to be kept as low as possible. But, in a good cause—and there cannot be a better—France is always ready to sacrifice herself, or rather will insist on sacrificing herself. And certainly this is a case in which the Emperor will not resist the will of his people.”

The conversation passed to English statesmen.

"Derby, Ellenborough, and Gladstone," said the Prince, "are your best speakers. Palmerston is your best party leader. He has, indeed, all the faults of a very young man. He threw away his first Premiership by his presumption and impatience. But he has the tact and the experience of an old man. His foreign policy is thoroughly English—bold, almost defiant, in words; cautious, almost timid, in conduct; except where no opposition is to be feared. He gratifies your vanity by his language to all, and by his action against the weak; but he takes care to keep you at peace. Then his speeches gratify the national taste for triviality and platitudes. Every one can understand, every one can sympathize with them, for they express merely what has been thought from the time of Adam and repeated from the time of Noah. He goes down to Glasgow, calls together the boys, and tells them that education is an excellent thing. Thereupon there is *brouhaha*. Then he tells them that peace is an excellent thing. More applause. Then he reminds them that they have a dock which would receive the *Warrior*, and the enthusiasm *est à son comble*. A French minister who should talk such *banalités* would be pelted.

"You like, too, to be governed *en plaisantant, quoique la plaisanterie soit quelquefois mauvaise*. Your great men chaff familiarly the *peuple*, because the *peuple* is powerless. All parties know that it is the familiarity of contempt. In France the familiarity is real, because the equality is real. Our servants are our equals. One of mine left me about a year ago; he had been with me seven or eight years. He knew nothing when he came, but learned his business in my service. Now he writes *pour me faire part* that he has a son, and to hope to have an opportunity *de me serrer la main*.

"He will call on me, I shall shake hands with him, and perhaps in three or four months you will meet him dining with me."

N. W. SENIOR.

[This was Mr. Senior's last visit to Paris.—M. C. M. S.]

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WE often hear it said that the nation is beginning to regard the proceedings of the House of Commons with a mixture of contempt and indifference. The indifference is inferred from the fact that the conductors of the daily papers no longer find it worth their while to publish decently full and correct reports of speeches. The contempt is supposed to be provoked by the scenes of anger and recrimination which have so often disgraced the debates of the last three or four years. If there were any real foundation for these apprehensions of so great a revolution in popular sentiment, the old organic institutions of the country might well be declared to be in new and unexpected peril. But there is very little substance in the arguments on which such theories of parliamentary decay are grounded. As for the scanty reporting, it is well to remember that much of the business of the House is of such a kind that even good, useful, and weighty speeches may be, and are, made in the course of it, which still can only be expected to interest the special audience immediately addressed, and could not on the most exacting theory of public spirit and self-government demand the attention of any considerable part of the public. Again, nobody knows so well as those who advocate unwelcome causes in politics, that the truly political part of the nation, and of any nation, is not the largest part. The conductors of newspapers have in a limited space to satisfy not one public but various publics, and the politicians are only one among several. Even of the politicians the majority, we may assume, would rather have news than discussion; if they care for discussion, they enjoy it in the easier and shorter form of leading articles, where the arguments of parliamentary speeches are reproduced or anticipated. The competition between the speaker and the writer is sharper than it was even thirty years since, but this is a different thing from a decay in popular attention to the action of parliament; and it is still more widely different from saying that there is less interest in it than there used to be fifty years ago, or a hundred years ago, when Fox said that for the active political opinion of England you need only go to Yorkshire and Middlesex. In short, a desire to read very full reports of a great many speeches is not at all the same as a desire to know what parliament is doing, and that it is doing it well. That the latter curiosity and interest is declining we see no reason to believe.

The most staunch partisan, however, of representative systems is

unable to deny that in some serious respects the present parliament has covered itself with discredit. The truth is that the House of Commons, like any other public meeting, falls into disorder and helplessness the moment that, from whatever cause, discipline, cohesion of party groups, toleration of opponents, cease to be ruling principles among its members. The great storm of the Russo-Turkish war did not pass away until the heat and passion which it provoked had dissolved the conditions on which the orderly working of parliament depends. It would have been a great advantage from this point of view, if party considerations had allowed Lord Beaconsfield to dismiss the present parliament immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin. As it is, we see every sign of impatience, irritability, and profound unreasonableness; and the impatience and unreasonableness of the House of Commons have not left the judgment of the public outside free from infection. Every public meeting and every newspaper echoes the same monotonous cry, for there is no public in the world more eager than ours to let a catchword or a nickname save it from the trouble of a little diligent observation and honest thinking. "Obstruction" is the stalking-horse of the moment, and the vulgar uncritical feeling about it is expressed by Lord Cranbrook, who says that "it sickens and it enrages him to see that a few men can bring the House of Commons into discredit, causing the finger of mockery and scorn to be pointed at it by foreign nations, as failing in the first essentials of a representative assembly—mutual forbearance and mutual respect." This first essential, we may observe, originally began to be outraged by Lord Cranbrook's own friends, who on more than one occasion, during the heats of the Eastern Question, behaved towards Mr. Gladstone with quite as much brutality and insolence as the Bonapartists ever showed to Thiers or Gambetta. Good will come out of evil, if recent disorders in the House do something to moderate the canting pharisaism, with which we have too long been in the habit of thanking God that we are not as other men, and that Westminster is not as the Chamber at Versailles or the House at Washington. We ought to have learnt by this time that when an assembly of Englishmen and Scotchmen has serious issues before it, they are just as capable of passion, injustice, rudeness, and violence as any other assembly in the world. When the phlegmatic man is once aroused, he is more seriously brutal than the mercurial man. It can hardly have escaped the notice of the most indolent observer that, in the various scenes of the present session, it is the Irish who have most often been strictly in order, and the respectable representatives of the official parties who have most often by hurry, petulance, and heat, put themselves out of order.

It is really worth while for any one who dislikes the domination of stereotyped catchwords in politics, to examine with his own eyes

what Obstruction is, and what it has done, in the case of the Army Bill. Unprejudiced observers of public affairs in this country and elsewhere are well aware that common reprobation is no proof that the railers express anything like a fair and reasoned conclusion; and Englishmen of a certain stamp are always predisposed to greet anybody who seeks to reform their ways, with the same sullen aversion with which Barnardine declined Abhorson's invitation to him to come to be hanged. In their indignation against Obstruction in the abstract, people overlook the numerous and extremely important changes which have been introduced into the Bill by Obstruction as actually practised. We have a right to assume that these changes have been improvements. They must have been really regarded as improvements by the Government, or else it would have declined to accept them. Many serious amendments have been accepted with respect to other matters raised by the Bill, but if we confine ourselves exclusively to the clauses that relate to flogging, it is plain that the legislature and the country are indebted to the party below the gangway for the transformation of what would have been a bad law, into what may be a decently good one. We need only enumerate some of these changes, in order to see their gravity. Flogging is only to be inflicted for offences named in a schedule, and no longer at the discretion of the officer. The maximum penalty has been reduced from fifty lashes to twenty-five. Flogging is no longer to be inflicted on non-commissioned officers. The offences for which flogging can be inflicted, are to be confined to offences which are punishable by death. The clauses regulating the powers and duties of the Provost-Marshal have been completely remodelled, and the power of flogging has been taken out of the hands of that officer, save in execution of the order of a court-martial. How important is this new limitation, we may know from the fact that it is the Provost-Marshal who has hitherto been answerable for much of the flogging in the army, and that he has inflicted it for trivial breaches of discipline and camp rules.

Now no one can realise what all these ameliorations amount to, without feeling that they are quite far-reaching enough to be well worth the cost even of many nights of discussion. In nearly every case, the final concession of the improvement was preceded by positive declarations from the ministers that they would not give way; and unless the party below the gangway had insisted on having those provisions thoroughly considered and re-considered with a care proportionate to their seriousness, it is perfectly notorious that the concessions would never have been made. The iteration of the same arguments in many shapes, and from several points of view, was indispensable. If the changes pressed by Mr. Chamberlain and his friends were changes for the better—and, I repeat, we may take

it for granted that they were so, because a Government with a powerful majority at its back embodied them in its Bill—then, time does not count. Compare the present circumstances with the opposition of the Conservatives to Mr. Cardwell's Army Purchase Bill in the last parliament. That Bill was only three pages in length, yet the Opposition spent no less than twenty-three days in discussing it, and when the twenty-third day came and the discussion was closed, they had not succeeded in obtaining a single amendment which either they or any one else thought to be in the least degree material. The present Bill fills, not three, but one hundred and ten pages; it contains, not one, but half-a-dozen subjects of the widest interest and of real complexity. It is nothing less than an attempt to codify the whole body of military law, and to recast the mass of usages and regulations relating to army discipline in a permanent form. Is a measure of this wide scope and enormous importance to have its clauses passed by the score; and is a party to be taxed with hindering business, because they insist on careful scrutiny of a law which so closely affects one of the great organs of the body politic? What other business is it, for the sake of which a Bill like this should be hurried through parliament? What can the business of parliament be, if it is not deliberation? Let us, again, remember, above all things, that the compulsory deliberation on the Army Bill has not been idle or unfruitful. It has undergone a vital transformation, and when it goes up to the House of Lords, it will no longer be the same Bill which was sent to the House of Commons by the War-Office, but a new, a different, and a better Bill. This transformation, as it has gone on, has been one long and continuous admission of the necessity which originally existed for delaying, examining, criticising, and amending the Bill. Even if the motives of the members who have succeeded in making admittedly bad clauses into presumably good ones, had been as factious and obstructive as is alleged by those who accepted their amendments, that makes no difference in the result; and we plain men who say of a law what Molière's *Alceste* said of *Oronte's sonnet*, that *le temps ne fait rien à l'affaire*, can only rejoice that good has come out of evil, and that instead of the avowedly crude and ill-considered proposals of the original measure, the statute-book will receive a law which is the outcome of a thorough examination, a genuine criticism, and a really deliberate judgment.

What happened two years ago, ought really to be a lesson to the public, even if it has been lost on Parliament. At that time there was exactly the same outcry against Mr. Courtney and the Irish party which is now raised against Mr. Chamberlain and the Irish party; the same rude fury from the ministerialists below the gangway, the same appeal from the leader of the House, the same surly

remonstrances from the front bench of the Opposition. The House of Commons practically refused to hear or allow any effective discussion, beyond the regulation allowance of set speeches from the regulation speakers, of policy in South Africa. It insisted on being led silent and blindfold into the path that had been traced for it by the Colonial Office. Only the honourable persistency and stubborn iteration of Mr. Courtney and his allies made the House aware that they were engaged in something less trifling than a Road Bill. Nothing came of this persistency of the minority, but they did their duty, and, as rarely happens in the world, events have not been long in justifying them, and in justifying them events have condemned their impatient and unintelligent critics—the impatient and unintelligent majority of the present House. Whether we think that Lord Carnarvon at that time was hurried by stronger men into a blunder, or that he acted with wisdom and consideration, we must at any rate all agree, in the light of recent circumstances, that the Annexation of the Transvaal and the South Africa Confederation Act were very far from being the mere formalities which it pleased this slovenly assembly to treat them as being. Mr. Courtney and the Irish party were pursued by a burst of obloquy both in Parliament and the press, and by the members on both sides of the House. They were howled down when they rose to speak. They were menaced with mysterious and terrible penalties. The newspapers asked how much longer parliamentary government was to be made a mockery. Yet after all it was Mr. Courtney and the Irish party who were in the right in their recognition of the gravity of the business before the House. It was the House itself which was making parliamentary government a mockery, by turning the very function for which it exists, the function of mature and repeated deliberation, into the scramble of schoolboys hurrying through the last page of a lesson.

Let us look at the action of the minority from another side. It can hardly be an accident that the opposing minority is largely composed on these occasions by members from Ireland. What their ultimate motives may be, we have no means of knowing, nor any interest in knowing. Mr. Parnell denies that he and his friends have any intention of damaging the House of Commons, and there seems to be no reason to doubt his sincerity. If, however, the real motive of the Irish party were less to make English legislation good, than to secure attention to the requirements of Ireland, then it must be admitted that they have not been unsuccessful, and it is difficult to see why such a motive is not entirely natural and free from discredit. Last year the Government passed a law providing for intermediate education in Ireland, and in the present year they have introduced a bill for the constitution of a new university in-

Ireland. This is an admission that the Irish nation in the opinion of the Government had, and have, a genuine ground of complaint, and that the subject is one of real and substantial interest to Ireland. Not long ago the Government was ready entirely to deny this ; its supporters were extremely impatient of any reference to the subject. Is it not notorious that their eyes have been opened solely and entirely by the persistency of the Irish party in making themselves felt, and keeping themselves in evidence ? If this be so, then what is called obstruction is something very different from that mere arid and meaningless perversity, which the ordinary public would suppose it to be from the reports of parliamentary proceedings, at once abbreviated and exaggerated out of all true proportion, in the newspapers.

To push this aspect of matters a single step further, why should there be anything to regret in the circumstance that some English members have found themselves able to co-operate with the Irish members on such occasions as the South African Bills and the Army Bill ? Is there not, on the contrary, every reason to wish that these occasions should be as numerous as possible ? I do not know a single aim which should be more constantly present to the mind of a member of parliament, than the desire of bringing the Irish members as much as possible into line with the rest of the House, and into a kind of harmony with what is best in its general life. Nobody who values the *sincerity* of parliament—not very high, at the best—can wish that the Irish representatives should lose their special independence, their devotion to their own country, their resolution to make that the root of their whole action. But they might preserve this loyalty to those who sent them to Westminster, and still be made to feel that the Englishmen who care most for a true national unity, for good government, for justice, for morality in political administration, are also most anxious to find as much common ground as they possibly can between themselves and the spokesmen of the Irish people.

Unfortunately this spirit of fusion finds too little favour among liberal statesmen. Centrifugal forces are in the ascendant. It is thought a fine thing to take every available opportunity of repulsing the Irish vote. There is no doubt a reason for this, as for other maxims in practical politics. An inveterate suspicion haunts nervous liberals, that any one who sees anything reasonable in any Irish demand, is angling for party support at the price of party principles. The courageous action in reference to Irish education of men of such unsuspected probity as Mr. Samuel Morley, Mr. Leatham, and Mr. Osborne Morgan, ought to make the most jealous liberals a little more ready to perceive that a willingness to see Irish affairs from the point of view of the people most immediately concerned, is

not necessarily the proof of a spirit of dishonest intrigue. Meanwhile, the genius of dispersion has ruled the hour. One of the most powerful elements in the confusion into which the House of Commons has fallen, is undoubtedly the division that exists among the sections of the Opposition. That this division is aggravated by anything done or left undone by Lord Hartington himself, no person outside the House can well be prepared to say. But as a piece of tactics, the abrupt manner in which he took occasion to cut himself off from Mr. Chamberlain, and the Irish group of his party, was certainly open to criticism. We cannot wonder that Mr. Chamberlain frankly replied to this regrettable declaration, by accepting it. If Lord Hartington would not lead them, or support them in trying to impress convictions which many of them, including Mr. Chamberlain himself, had proclaimed before they were in parliament, then rather than efface their convictions, they must seek leadership and support elsewhere. It is hard to understand the agitation which this incident caused for a few hours among the bustling quidnuncs and censorious triflers of the lobbies and the clubs. The justification was not tardy in coming, for Lord Hartington immediately came round to the very position which Mr. Chamberlain had been stoutly maintaining for so many nights in the face of both front-benches. If flogging is not abolished, its days are now assuredly numbered. It will at the latest come to an end with the present administration, and this remarkable change in the conditions of military life, and in the public sentiment which follows institutions, will be entirely due to the conversions of opinion effected by long debate, and by the men whose action in prolonging the debate has been, and will continue to be, persistently blamed as factious and perverse, "sickening and enraging."

Lord Hartington feels of course that when the time comes for him to undertake the responsibility of government and the conduct of public business, persistent examination of his measures in detail may be as inconvenient to him as it is now inconvenient to his opponents. It is natural enough therefore that he should deprecate the policy of persistent examination. He can hardly believe that his opponents will then show their respect or gratitude by imitating his example. He has too good a memory, and must know them much too well for that. In the last parliament, two gentlemen who are at this moment members of the government, carried obstruction at least as far as it has ever been carried since, yet Mr. Disraeli either watched their proceedings with paternal complacency, or else went home to bed. He felt it no part of his duty to rebuke the ardour of his flock. There is no reason to think that, when these gentlemen return to Opposition, they will remember the magnanimity of the liberal leader. But Lord Hartington may say, and it would be no more

than could be expected from a man of honourable, straightforward, and solid character, that whatever his opponents may do, he at all events will insist on playing his game fairly, or else he will not play at all. And this would be admirably said. The only remark to be made upon it is that he ought to have been very sure, before taking so serious a step as repudiating a very important group of his followers, that they were not playing fairly. As it happened on the particular occasion, he could not really have done this, for men so eminent among his colleagues as Mr. Bright and Mr. Forster had taken part in the obstruction, and approved the aims of the members, whom Lord Hartington afterwards threw over.

The group below the gangway whom it suits Lord Salisbury to describe as the violent Circassian irregulars of the Liberal party, as English revolutionists, wild spirits of the storm, and so forth, have held a rather remarkable position since the fall of Mr. Gladstone from power. The public history of the Liberal party during the present parliament—apart from the Eastern Question, on which there is something special to be said—has so far been associated with the following business:—The Imperial Titles Bill; the first Endowed Schools Bill; the Slavery Circular; the Education Bill of 1876; Indian finances; the Zulu war. Conservatives of course are not expected to approve of the direction of Liberal activity in all these matters, but nobody who reads the great provincial newspapers, or is much in contact with men of political influence in the provincial centres, will be inclined to doubt for a moment that *among Liberals* in the country the action of the Opposition was viewed with cordial interest and sympathy. Now in every one of these cases the pressure came from below the gangway. But for the energy that emanated from that over-abused quarter, there would have been nothing beyond a formal and half-hearted criticism, which would have left measure and policy unmodified, and the country chilled and discouraged. There is no secret history. It has been well known that in each instance the *dii majores* of the party began by throwing cold water on the tactics of activity. The country would be alarmed; the party was not united; Mr. Forster and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen would be placed in an awkward position; we must wait for more dispatches; we must wait until the bill comes in; all governments grow unpopular in time, and then our chance will come, &c. &c. That is the kind of thing—formality, narrow caution, half-heartedness disguised as prudence, and selfish hypocrisy disguised as practical statesmanship—which really brings party government and parliamentary government into contempt. The lesser gods were not abashed. It was Mr. Fawcett who forced his resolution on Indian finance upon the present Opposition bench, and it was Sir Charles Dilke who persevered in his resolution on the mixed crime and blunder of Sir

Bartle Frere, against the counsel and the wishes of the front Opposition bench. Some writers who ought to have known better, have represented Lord Hartington's unlucky excommunication of a wing of his party as a courageous protest against the tyranny of men with crotchets, and a wise repudiation of all subservience to them "where political convictions begin and end with the disuse of vaccination, the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, the abolition of flogging in the army, or the closing of public-houses on Sundays." Now one need not be a member of parliament to know the utter absurdity of applying talk of this kind to men like Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain, and the other members of that part of the House, upon whose action the powers of the Liberal Olympus bend so heavy a frown. They may be right or wrong in their principles, wise or unwise in applying them, adroit or maladroit in judging of opportunity, but in no sense are they men of crotchets. They are as truly and as broadly political in their whole spirit, interests, and method, as if they were the veterans of a cabinet. It is nonsense to speak of them as the creatures of social fanaticism. Even in the prolonged turmoil of the Eastern Question, when their relations with their leaders were often disagreeably strained, their opinions and their action, whether expedient or inexpedient, were at least the opinions and actions of politicians, and of serious politicians. If we suppose for the moment that their course in supporting Mr. Gladstone's view of the successive crises of Eastern affairs, instead of the less energetic view of Lord Hartington, was not approved by the majority in the constituencies, still it is at any rate true that it was most heartily approved by so large, so earnest, so influential a minority, that unless this course had been followed, and constant protests had been raised by divisions taken on the policy of the Government, the representation of the sentiment and judgment of the country by parliament would have become a farce.

It has been assumed ever since the confusion in Eastern Europe first began to agitate this country, that the business of the Opposition was to discover the feeling of the majority outside of Parliament, and then when they had by clever fishing found that out, to have steered their course in accordance with the predominant feeling at the time. Nothing can be either more degrading in itself, or more untrue to political precedent. Will any one venture to say that this either was, or ought to have been, the policy of Chatham, Burke, and Charles Fox during the war with the American colonies? The country was for most of that time thoroughly on the side of the King and Lord North; much more indubitably and universally on their side, than anybody has ever pretended that it is now on the side of Lord Beaconsfield. But those great men thought of their principles and their convictions; these were first in their minds;

they would have disdained to hide their indignation at the ministerial proceedings against the colonies, for no better reason than that to protest against their impolicy would have been to offend the arbitrary prejudices of the less wise portion of the country, even if that portion were a majority ten times over. A dozen years later than this, Fox found himself more desperately in a minority than ever happened to any leader of an English party before or since. The nation, against the better mind of Pitt, insisted on plunging into war with France, and into a policy of repression at home. Fox may have been right or wrong in persuading himself that that war was at once an iniquity and a folly, and that the whole apparatus of Alien Bills and Sedition Bills was needless and dangerous: however all that may have been, the important point for us is that Fox made his own strong convictions the guide and measure of his conduct, and not the strong convictions of political opponents, or the alarms of followers like Windham, who had been terrified out of their wits and their principles. "It is impossible," as a statesman of our own generation has said, "to read the speeches of Fox at this time, without feeling one's heart yearn with admiration and gratitude for the bold and resolute manner in which he opposed the war [with the French Republic], never yielding and never repining under the most discouraging defeats: and although deserted by many of his friends in the House, taunted with having only a score of followers left, and obliged to admit that he could not walk the streets without being insulted by having the charge made against him of carrying on an improper correspondence with the enemy in France, yet bearing it all with uncomplaining manliness and dignity." Yes, this was the conduct of a statesman who, indeed, held office for no more than a few months of a long political life, and in whose hands a party fell to pieces; but he upheld the standard of liberal principles with courage as well as honour, and his name became a symbol of wisdom, enlightenment, and political fidelity to all the best minds of the generation that followed him.

We may console ourselves, however, for the deficiency in energy, and even of devotion, in the political action of the official chiefs of the Opposition, by some hopeful signs that Lord Hartington sees the importance of giving his attention not merely to the liberal party in the House, but to the liberal party in the country. His speech on the Land Question marks the beginning of a new era. Not less important were his words on Mr. O'Connor Power's reference to the true remedy for parliamentary evils being found in allowing local bodies to transact more of their own local affairs than they do now. "We should all be willing," said Lord Hartington, "to entertain any reasonably conceived proposal to transfer some business from that overworked House to local bodies. It seems to me that the House

would be willing to give a full and favourable consideration to that subject whenever it may be brought forward." With such great questions as these in hand, the liberals may well have their work cut out for them; and in order that the work may be satisfactorily done, nothing can be so indispensable as that there should be a full and effective harmony among all sections of the party. But harmony does not mean that the energetic section in parliament, backed by a majority of the active politicians among the liberal voters in the country, are to be uniformly disowned or discouraged by those who after all, when they really come to business, have no other alternative than to take up the measures for which the energetic section have been in a diligent and tenacious spirit preparing public opinion. The true solution of the present parliamentary crisis consists in greater patience with opinions that are, for the moment at least, unpopular; a more lively intelligence and a firmer independence of judgment applied to legislation; and finally a recognition on the part of liberals, that while the *action* of the party may be necessarily limited by the timidity of its moderate section, the discussion, and even the agitation, of more radical schemes of policy must be allowed to go on with entire freedom. The advanced section are not to be chidden and reviled because they decline, at the bidding of a party leader, to hide their strongest convictions in barren silence.

EDITOR.

THE DECAY OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN VILLAGES.

It will not I hope be deemed presumptuous if I begin this paper by saying that I desire to call attention to a state of things existing and growing worse in the country districts of England, of so serious and even dangerous a character as to require careful consideration, especially from politicians of the Liberal party. I aim at no more than describing the actual condition of things in respect of local self-government as they have forced themselves upon my notice in my capacity as country parson of some few years' experience, a guardian of the poor, and a (very) discontented Liberal. In doing this it will be impossible to avoid a variety of petty and even personal details; but then I must submit that a careful study of village political life, in the same spirit as White of Selbourne, or Miss Mitford, or a local antiquarian society, have described other phases of the same life, is not without interest or value to all those whose idea of duty is to "know what is in man," that they may do their best to help him.

A generation or so ago the state of things in country villages was as follows. Each parish constituted an administrative unit for the management of all local affairs, and there was no other governing body interposed between it and the court of magistrates who administered the business of the county. The ratepayers met in council, the vestry or priest's robing-room being the legal place, and the rector the legal chairman, of the meeting. It is curious, and at the same time a matter of far more than more antiquarian interest, to note how, under ecclesiastical forms, surviving successive waves of invasion, the so-called feudal system, and the Tudor despotism, the old communal organization of our Aryan ancestors was reproduced in our English modern life. The vestry meeting was essentially the same as a village gathering of elders on the banks of the Indus or in the forests of Gormany; the same passion for municipal government that asserted itself so magnificently and triumphantly in the cities of Greece and Italy, was busy at work in the quiet, plodding routine of English rural life, producing results of which, with the remembrance of the Puritan revolution and the old country party before him, no Englishman can be otherwise than proud. Just as men talked and voted thousands of years ago, so did men talk and vote in parishes of rural England, with the clergyman—that modern descendant of the ancient mystery man—to preside and see fair play. Hence there flourished a genuine and vigorous form of political life. Old parish books would show how regularly the vestry was sum-

moned and attended; how keenly men debated; how much need there was of honest give and take; how constantly the interests of the community as opposed to, and yet including, his own were presented to every mind; how the best men naturally gained the greatest influence; how many opportunities were afforded for the display of patriotism which, on however small a scale, was none the less the real virtue because perhaps it extended no farther than to the dying farmer's boast—

“An' i' the worst o' times I wur niver agin the raato.”

Now if any statesman of repute had come forward and declared—“We will destroy this venerable and useful relic of the past; we will shut the mouths of these worthy people debating about (to them) public matters; we will debar them from the exercise of all but purely nominal civil functions, just because it is easier to destroy than to reform,”—he would have been set down as demented, or denounced as a traitor to liberty. A thousand voices would have been raised to tell him that this was precisely an instance of that over-hasty Radicalism, which for the sake of some immediate object cuts at the root of ancient and valuable institutions. And yet the thing has been done as effectually as if Parliament were a continental despot engaged in the task of annihilating all expression of free thought. There are now no meetings for public purposes in an English village save for the formal purpose of nominating officers, and on some special and infrequent occasions. How this has come about it may be well briefly to explain.

Local government in villages may be summed up under the following six heads, plus of course those miscellaneous items which any governing body is sure to have to deal with. These six are the church, the poor, the roads, police, health, and education, together with the power to levy such rates as may be required for any of these objects. Of these, the last two, education and health, were not matters of public concern during the time that the vestry was the ruling local authority, while the fourth, police, may be dismissed with the remark that no one affects to regret the change which placed the police under the management of the county authorities. But the remaining three were taken away one by one for reasons that seemed good at the time, and with this the really fatal fault was committed of destroying the administrative unit altogether. No one denies that the mismanagement natural to small units left to go their own way without inspection, auditing, or control of any sort, was such as to make a sweeping reform entirely necessary. Hence the Union for poor-law purposes, and the Board of waywardens for the maintenance of the roads, took the place of the old village authorities, while, by a measure of which at the risk of seeming to be wise

after the event, it must be said that it strengthened the Church of England in its worst features, in proportion as it weakened the position of nonconforming opponents, the abolition of compulsory payment of church rates took from the vestry their last shred of authority and vestige of interest. Having no reason for meeting, people simply abstain from doing so. It is here that the weakness peculiar to our English method, which we choose to call practical, of dealing separately with admitted evils as they chance to arise, makes itself to be felt. No comprehensive system of well-considered reform could have possibly destroyed the administrative unit, or have deliberately taken away that ancient right of meeting in vestry which, thanks to a blind, haphazard, piecemeal method of legislation, has now, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist.

The result of this sweeping change upon the minds of the dwellers in rural districts can only be realised by actual contact with the men and things thus influenced for the worse: it is a kind of darkness that can be seen and felt, but hardly described. Such phrases as decay of public spirit—ignorance and indifference in local affairs—apathy and listlessness—do but convey a vague and perhaps inaccurate idea of the change which is slowly creeping over English country life. And yet we may without much difficulty form some idea of the effect produced when a number of energetic Englishmen, accustomed to the performance of municipal duties, are suddenly given to understand that all these will be in future arranged for them, and that beyond electing one of their number to take too often a merely nominal share in the business of a large district, they have nothing else to do but attend to their own private affairs. Hence follow, in direct consequence, all those phenomena which we are accustomed to associate with the triumph of despotism over freedom. How far this state of things is connected with the somewhat leaden Conservatism at present prevailing in the counties, or with the amazing development of ecclesiastical and sacerdotal tendencies in rural parishes, I do not pretend to say: it is enough to confine ourselves to results which lie plainly upon the surface of things. There is now no check upon the vagaries of clergymen or powerful parishioners; men are no longer under that obligation to stand well with their neighbours, which exercises so wholesome an influence upon the political character; there is no call to cultivate a spirit of compromise or of zeal for the general welfare; there is no machinery ready at hand for meeting the emergencies or transacting the business that from time to time arises even in small places; above all, as men have ceased to have power, they have ceased even to acquire information about matters that concern themselves and the whole community very closely. There are few now who either know or care whether the pauperism of a district is growing or diminishing, or who

the paupers are, or why the rates are higher (they are never lower) than before, or what is being done with the roads, or what is the state of the school attendance, or what kind of examination the school has passed, or what is the law about education and work, or what the regulations of the Union (if there are any) respecting outdoor relief, and so on *ad infinitum*. And, finally, the mere withdrawal of all opportunities for interchange of opinions or for common consultation, together with the impossibility of being called upon to discharge any of the civil duties, for the performance of which it was once our pride that we could find voluntary and zealous officers, exercises a most depressing effect upon the minds of men. As an old farmer, trained in the olden school, expressed it to me forcibly and picturesquely, "Ah, sir, we never have a chance now of looking into each other's mind."

Perhaps if I were to select a phrase in which to sum up the state of things thus hastily delineated, it would be "political helplessness." To adduce proof of this statement would be to write a village history, and I must not dwell on minutiae which, however exasperating to those who have to endure easily preventible evils, would look small and unreal in the pages of this Review. Who would care to know how one day the village Pound, which the memory of the late Mr. Pickwick might at least have kept sacred, was suddenly seized upon; or how the débris left after building a new bridge was placed by the side of the road, stopping up the access to the common watering-place, instead of upon the road itself, which for want of a foot or two of height is constantly flooded; or how the fire-engine is left without a brigade to work it; or how no improvement at the public cost can be so much as suggested; or how the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (though it is just to say that this has been stopped in deference to private remonstrance) enfranchised some of the worst hovels in the place, so that town churches have been endowed literally out of the purity of Islip girls and the health of Islip labourers. But not to be further tedious, I will venture to relate three episodes of village life drawn from an experience which *mutatis mutandis* might be paralleled all over rural England.

The first concerns public health, and shows how impossible it may become to take the simplest measures for the public welfare. A short time ago the village was threatened by an outbreak of scarlet fever so severe as to kill two children in one night. In a moment our utter helplessness for want of local authority became apparent. It was no part of the doctor's duty to report a non-pauper case to the sanitary authority. The inspector lived some miles away and, after some delay in being sent for, made his appearance with but vague ideas as to the nature and use of disinfectants. The medical officer of health for the county, who lived still farther away,

arrived on the scene a day or two afterwards and demonstrated, not quite to the satisfaction of those who heard him, that for want of legal powers, in other words because there was no local authority on the spot, he could do nothing. The sanitary authority who, as I well knew, would be ready to do all that men meeting several miles away from the spot could do, did not chance to meet, until, happily for us, nature kinder than law had stopped the plague. Now what a state of things is this, when in a large village peopled with reasonable and well-intentioned human beings there is no authority on the spot that can *ex suo motu* buy a shilling's worth of lime, or hire a nurse, or close an infected dwelling! And what a school for teaching the art of practical politics on a larger scale, or for the development of a self-reliant and self-contained political character!

The second episode will show what a village community is able and willing to do when the chance is given it; indeed, the most provoking part of the whole matter is precisely this, that this helplessness is forced upon a class, the members of which are far more than is usually the case predisposed towards the performance of civil functions. Partly from traditions of self-government happily not yet quite extinct, partly from the more leisurely mode of life, partly from the smaller scale and closer approximation to himself, the dweller in villages is more ready for public work than the dweller in towns. Here is a significant proof. Our primary school is an endowed one, and has been under the sole control of the rector as trustee. When I came into the place, the inhabitants responded to an invitation to elect at public vestry a committee of management, and one more attentive or helpful or judicious no man need desire to work with. Without dwelling upon the contentment and sense of security thus produced, I am enabled to give an unqualified denial to the statement that farmers are, if properly dealt with, hostile to education. Though bearing the burden of increased expenditure and diminished supply of labour, most often excluded from any voice in the management, and with no suitable public schools for his own children—would this really shameful state of things, by the way, have been possible if there had been recognised organs of public opinion in country districts?—the farmer is yet perfectly willing to adopt and act upon the formula, that every child who cannot legally be employed ought to be made to go to school, and properly taught when there. And the practical result of our experiment is simply this, that we were one of the first villages to adopt compulsory by-laws; that we drew them up to suit our own experience and wishes; and that with general approval we have carried them out to lengths which in one respect I have not seen or heard of anywhere else—I mean as to parents employing their own children. A small matter truly; but what is human life and happiness but

an aggregate of particles, physical and moral, harmoniously adjusted ?

The third episode will show how a village can be prevented by despotic power from carrying out its own wishes in matters that concern no one but itself, and is notable as illustrating one of those abuses of a landlord's power, unfrequent I honestly believe, but still possible where there is no force of organized public opinion to exercise a wholesome restraint. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners are owners of the parish of Islip (subject in some cases to rapidly expiring leases) by virtue of a grant made by Edward the Confessor to the Abbey of Westminster of "that small village where I was born." In that capacity they agreed to give some disused ground—the site, he it remarked in passing, of the Confessor's chapel—to be added to our burial ground. The case was mentioned in the House of Commons by Mr. O. Morgan, as one in which the existing burial laws did not allow the people of a village to make such arrangements as they themselves approved. But upon the failure of Mr. O. Morgan's measure a plan was suggested to us, whereby even under the existing Acts we might do what we desired. A meeting was called and largely attended, the matter was discussed in a spirit that might profitably be imitated in higher quarters, an arrangement perfectly satisfactory to all present was unanimously adopted, a Burial Board was elected which from the mere praiseworthy desire to serve upon it was made as large as it logically could, and a general wish was expressed to spare no reasonable expense, upon the security of the rates, to carry out a great improvement in a befitting manner. Then our landlords thought it time to interfere; they had no notion of such matters being done by a public body out of public money. It must be an ecclesiastical and private affair, done by the clergyman out of money collected by begging, and with no rights admitted for Dissenters, even though these amounted to no more than the provision that, if the burial question was not settled within ten years, they had the right reserved to them of acquiring fresh ground of their own. And to clinch the matter our landlords proceeded to charge £125 for less than half an acre of ground, if we insisted on proceeding under the Burial and not under the Church Building Acts. Remonstrance was useless, explanation was refused, and so as it seems impossible to raise all at once by private donation a considerable sum of money for making the ground, the further sum of £125 may not improbably be wrung from the necessities of a country village to swell the building and endowment of some of those town churches concerning which some ominous information has of late been made public.

Such, then, is the state of affairs resulting from the (I believe quite unintentional) destruction of village legislation. But it may

be answered that this is only the price we pay for administrative efficiency, and that the modern system of management through elected boards representing large unions of parishes works so well, that the regret for the past can only be sentimental, and the hope of reviving it under a better system merely chimerical. This I flatly deny. And this denial brings me to the second count of the indictment that I have to bring against the present order of things. I aver, then, that the local government of country districts is carried on at a vast and wasteful expenditure of time, money, and labour, and is very inefficiently done after all. Indeed, if we do but reflect for a single moment, what else could be expected when there is no administrative unit? The present system is like a house built without suitable foundations, and no energy or expenditure in underpinning, buttressing, and the like, can make up for the want of that indispensable element—something on the spot to begin from. In making this allegation it is right to say that my experience is derived from a union said to be, and I believe quite rightly, the best administered in the South-Midland district. Most certainly if the system do not work well it is from no fault of the officers, paid and unpaid, of the board of which it is a pleasure to me to be a member.

But let such a board do its very best, the want of some recognised authority in each parish, a kind of court, as it were, of first instance, with definite duties and responsibilities attached to it, is fatal to good government. What is wanted is supervision, information, some power of initiation, *on the spot*. Take the most important branch of local duties in illustration of this assertion—out-door relief. How can a board of guardians, sitting once a fortnight, personally ignorant of each applicant's character or history (unless—sometimes a dubious gain—the guardian for his parish happen to be present), obliged to see through the eyes of the relieving officer, which it is the interest of the pauper class to keep blinded, be expected to give out-relief satisfactorily—unless, indeed, as some boards, to their honour, have accomplished it, by limiting it to almost zero? But whatever might be expected of them, and whatever may be individual opinions, derived from actual experience of their work, the proof of failure lies in figures which cannot be controverted, and which, I am amazed to see, are not more generally noticed. Why, if things are properly managed, should one Union return one pauper in 35, others, in precisely the same circumstances, and perhaps adjacent to it, one in 20, in 15, or even, *horribile dictu*, in 12? Or, again, why should the return of our own Union show, year after year, one village with 35 paupers, or 5.5 per cent., and two others close by, with a little more than the same population and 7 paupers, or 1.0 per cent., and 10 paupers, or 1.3 per cent. respectively? To say nothing of the drain upon the resources of the rate-

payers, consider the depreciation of the labourer's character, the laxness of administration, the disturbance of the labour market, the utter inversion of all sound moral and political government involved in, at any rate, the first of these two comparisons (for the difference between parishes might to some extent be explained away). I may fairly stake this part of my case—which is, after all, only a preliminary plea for inquiry—upon these poor-law returns alone, and I suspect some of the inspectors could tell a pretty tale of failure to do the impossible, if they were free to speak. Once more I repeat that without some authority on the spot to refer to, to work through, and to be assisted by, all departments of local administration must be very indifferently managed in the average Unions, and not managed to the satisfaction of even the best Unions, precisely because they are more conscious of imperfection in proportion as they strive after a high ideal.

And all this is done—or not done—at an intolerable expense! A not uncommon experience at Board meetings is something of this sort. A guardian, appealing perhaps to the inspector, affirms that the salaries are eating up the rates. The inspector replies with great truth that low salaries are bad economy: the officers reply with even more truth that, considering their work and position, they are under rather than over paid. And yet the original complaint is perfectly just. If instead of relying as far as possible upon voluntary unpaid labour working under proper control, we prefer to employ salaried officials exclusively, we must take the pecuniary consequences. And what these are, ratepayers are beginning to find out. The charges on the common fund in such an Union as ours (not, however, including the roads, for which I have no return) may be about £4,500 or £5,000 a year. The salaries paid by the Union—not, however, wholly out of the common fund—must approach £1,000 a year. If this sounds vague, I answer that such a thing as an account of all moneys raised for local purposes within one given district is, as things at present stand, an utter impossibility. I have never, for instance, seen or met a man who had seen, or even cared to see, the balance-sheet for the maintenance of roads. But, however this may be, the following array of offices, some of which may of course be held by the same man, will be instructive:—A district inspector, ditto auditor, clerk, relieving officer (2), vaccination (2), school inquiry (2), school attendance (2), medical officer of health for the county, sanitary inspector, surveyor of roads, superintendent registrar, registrar (2), besides the medical officers and the officers of the house, whose duties would not be much altered by administrative reform. Now all the duties discharged by the above, with an exception or two, such as the clerk, require no special training or information, and could nearly all be performed, in the first instance,

by a village authority. At present they are all cut up into bits, with an atom of salary attached to each bit, under different central departments, and requiring a vast mass of separate returns and various disjointed labours. The board-room table groans under a mass of useless statistics, which are rendered necessary by the want of local supervision; while the ordinary balance-sheet of an Union is really a masterpiece of elaborate mystification, that might exhaust the financial patience of Mr. Gladstone himself.

Besides the Union work there are also other things to be done directly for, or under the control of, Government, such as land-tax, assessed taxes, and the like, which no doubt get themselves transacted somehow. But I have said enough to make out a preliminary case for the statement, that the present administration of country districts is nothing less than a costly chaos. There are, I fear, many minds, and some states of the public mind, to which chaos seems interesting, and constitutional, and a plain proof of the practical sagacity of the English people and its superiority to merely scientific system, but luckily chaos is not a thing that people care to pay for. And if it could be shown that reform of local government in rural districts would save money, time, and labour, there is something more than a chance that this paper will not have been written in vain.

Here I might stop. But as various plans have been from time to time brought forward, for instance by Mr. Goschen, to alleviate the evils of the present state of things, I may perhaps be permitted to give a bare outline of the reform which, so far as my experience enables me to judge, would unite the best features of the old and new systems. One is always conscious, indeed, of a certain unreality and pedantry in entering upon the details of a reform of the necessity of which people have yet to be convinced; but I will be very brief.

Instead, then, of the old vestry meeting, let there be elected in each parish, by the people in vestry assembled, a village Council, the minimum number of which should be five, rising in proportion to the population of the place. Separate townships should be as far as possible merged in the parish, and there should of course be the usual provisions for contested elections, retirement of members, and the like. The Council would, it is hardly necessary to add, be in strict subordination to the authority of the Union, which we might call simply the Board, and thus all the old evils of isolated independence would be avoided. To make this subordination a reality such provisions as the following should be enforced. The Board should be the custodian of all moneys, and all payments be made through it; the aid of that most useful invention of modern times, inspection, should be invoked; returns should be made to the Board, and appeals

from the Council allowed ; finally, the Board should be empowered to levy rates for any purpose in which the Council remained in wilful default. . And the final arbitrament would of course reside in the central department.

It may be well to add that in larger parishes it is customary to employ a paid deputy overseer. This officer would be replaced by a clerk, but in most cases I feel certain it would be possible to find members of the Council to discharge the duties of that office—perhaps under another name—without payment, and in rotation. Wherever the parishioners had the control of their own school, the schoolmaster would be a very obvious person to fill the post.

There is no fear but that such a council would soon find enough to do, in addition to those duties now discharged by the overseers and others. But as precision is everything in matters like this, I will summarize what duties might conveniently and profitably be assigned to it under seven distinct heads.

1. Every officer at present supposed to be elected by popular vote ought to be nominated by the Council, especially their representative at the Union, who would be the natural intermediary between Council and Board. Now, this is really a very important matter. With what must appear to veteran writers the artlessness of a beginner, I venture to announce the discovery in the field of political science that man, being reasonable, wants but two votes. In America the practice of electing to every miserable little office by popular vote has a direct tendency to fritter away the voting power and to engender all kinds of abuses. In England the right of election is hardly ever insisted on for purely administrative offices except where there is an outbreak of party politics, and if it were insisted on generally would soon be covered with ridicule and contempt. But I maintain that two votes given under some sense of responsibility cover the whole range of public political duties. Every parishioner is capable, in the first instance, of deciding whether A. or B. is the best man for the Council, the most likely to manage the local affairs in the way he, the voter, approves. And at the other end of the scale the same man is capable of deciding whether C. or D. is the best man to give effect in the supreme legislation to the voter's judgment, the member elected being, in fact, merely the representative (not of opinion but) of the voter's contribution of will-force to the movement of the body politic. Thus, working upwards from his representative in the local council, and downwards from his representative in Parliament, the voter possesses an absolute control over public affairs, while, by a kind of law of political parsimony, the dignity of the vote is preserved intact, the sense of responsibility in the exercise of his voting power is brought home to him, and an incalculable saving is effected in time, money, and character. The

present system of election entirely defeats itself, because men in general prefer to submit to the choice of a man they do not like, rather than go to a contested election. But a parish council, itself liable to be called to account by its constituents, selecting officers liable to be called to account by itself, might surely be trusted to obtain, on the whole, the men who were best fitted for the work they had to do.

2. As regards relief of the poor, especially out-relief, I would assign to the Council at least a consultative voice; they should know what was being done, and be asked for information. But I would myself go much farther than this, and would prepare the way for the abolition of out-relief by laying down the proposition that—after a certain interval—if parishes chose to indulge in that luxury they must do so at their own cost. If statesmen would but believe how easily this burden that has oppressed English industrial life for centuries could be removed! Whether England was ever, in truth, merry England I do not know, but I am sure that it has never been merry since the poor law of Queen Elizabeth's time, and will never be merry again till pauperism is destroyed out of our midst. It is morally and even economically defensible to provide at the public expense a home for those who, by reason of infirmity and deprivation, are unable to help themselves; but the payment of money in out-relief, just as if it had been earned in wages, is fatal alike to the character of the labourer, the interests of society, and the natural play of human sympathy and charity. Wherever there are cases requiring and deserving out-relief there is the proper field for charity, for personal care, for self-sacrifice on the part of relations, friends, and neighbours. The time ought to be looked for and hastened on when a respectable man and woman of the working classes will no more be allowed to become the recipient of out-door relief, or be in fact pauperised in any way, than his more favoured brethren of the higher classes are at present.

3. The same kind of consultative power should also belong to the Council over the management of the roads, and it would probably be found in experience that each parish would take the contract for their own share of the roads, and offer to keep them in repair to the satisfaction of the Union inspector. It is, I believe, very generally felt that, owing to the want of constant supervision on the spot, there is much that is unsatisfactory in the making of contracts and performance of the work.

4. The Council should, as a matter of course, be the primary sanitary authority, with full power to act in all emergencies, and liable at the same time to be made to act by appeal to the Board. In this way many petty nuisances now suffered to linger on would be abated.

5. The Council should be also the primary authority for a number of duties now mostly performed by the relieving officers—school attendance, vaccination, registration—and should be compelled to give a full and satisfactory account to the Union of all cases within the limits of its own parish. How much trouble would be saved by this simple and obvious arrangement, those who have seen an unfortunate labourer compelled to trudge six miles to register a birth, because his cottage happened to belong to an out-lying part of another Union, can say. A simple machinery in every parish, subject to strict supervision, would meet every difficulty. I fear it is too much to expect that the clergy would place the so-called national schools under the same authority; but if they did the school board difficulty in country parishes would be solved. Perhaps even as it is, after a time, reason would prevail.

6. All rates, taxes, and payments of every sort would be levied and collected by the Council and paid over to the respective authorities to whom they were due. With this we may also join the ownership of all parish property, such as charities, trusts, common land, and the like. With disestablishment hanging by a thread over the Church of England, it is useless to propose any new arrangements in things ecclesiastical.

7. Lastly, whatever powers are vested in civic corporations should belong to village councils. Lighting, drainage, paving, precautions against fire, libraries, recreation grounds, cemeteries, and many other smaller details, occur to the mind at once, and need not be further dwelt on. At present it is not too much to say that no provision whatever exists whereby a village may without trouble carry out what the inhabitants may desire in respect of any of these matters.

Not the least advantage following upon this reform would be the change for the better in the Union board. To begin with, instead of two different bodies (guardians and waywardens) with separate officers, rates, members, and places of meeting, there would be but one, composed of delegates from the councils through whom relations with each council would naturally be maintained. But the character of their duties would be changed, and they would gain in dignity and usefulness. The Union-house, the finances, the lunatics, the medical staff would still remain under their charge exclusively. In other respects, instead of wearying themselves over small details of work at a distance, they would superintend and control those who were answerable for doing it in each particular locality. It is, perhaps, probable that in spite of the enormous gain in the simplification of accounts, the clerk, owing to the need of rigorously investigating returns, would have more rather than less to do. But then he would be the one responsible officer of the Union, having under his orders one, or at most two inspectors, who would visit every

parish constantly, and attend, if they pleased, the Council meetings, would examine the work, and collect the statistics, report defaults, pay the bills, and, in short, without attempting the impossible task of doing the work themselves, would be perfectly competent to see that others were doing it. Not half the number of officers now employed would be needed to accomplish this, and thus the duties of local government in country places would be carried on with half the labour and at half the cost.

But it is not because of increased efficiency or diminished cost that I venture to urge the necessity of reform; I should feel precisely the same about it if there were no improvement in these respects to be hoped for. Reform is desirable because it would act as a specific remedy for the evils of which I complained at the beginning. A healthy tone would be restored to country life; interests and sympathies now lying dormant would be aroused; a natural appetite for work would be gratified and public spirit evoked; there would be some sort of check upon the insolence of office, of power, and of selfishness; life, in short, would be made better worth living to thousands of human beings. So strong and clear indeed does the case appear that but for two obstacles I should feel sanguine of success. When people are averse from organic change it is always possible for them to deny the existence or minimize the effects of evils that either do not lie upon the surface, or concern only small things. This cannot be helped. I can but repeat that what I have said is the result of unprejudiced and painstaking observation, and challenge further inquiry by competent hands. And whatever might be the result of such investigation, an attentive study, even if *de minimis*, of subtle tendencies issuing in passing modes of thought and evanescent forms of action, can never be otherwise than useful and interesting. In the science of practical politics the microscope is often as valuable an instrument as the telescope itself.

A still more formidable difficulty arises from the fact that a reform of this sort does not directly or of necessity appeal to party spirit. Certainly a reform which interferes neither with prejudices or vested interests, involves no transfer of power, makes many men the stronger and none the weaker, may fail to become politically attractive. But there are indications abroad—that preposterous measure the County Boards Bill may be mentioned as one—of a growing spirit of discontent with things as they are in country districts. So sure am I that this discontent is thoroughly justified, and ought to be encouraged, that I venture to carry my case to the highest court—I appeal to the leaders of the Liberal party.

THOMAS W. FOWLE.

ART AND CRITICISM.

IN a very entertaining pamphlet, a well-known painter, Mr. Whistler, propounded not long ago his day-dream of a golden age. All would be well, he told us, with art and artists, if only the men of letters could be induced to leave them alone. From such a consummation we are at present singularly far removed. There never was a time when so much was written about art and artists as is written now. In the shape of ephemeral comments on the exhibitions of the day, or of historical studies on the schools and masters of the past, or of discursive essays and exhortations having the fine arts for their text and point of departure—in one of these shapes or another, English literature has of late years been full of the subject.

That literature should thus employ itself is very natural. As the works of fine art, meaning by the word the higher manual arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, are of all human achievements the most tangible and abiding, so they are among the most interesting and most attractive; and to define the nature of their interests and attraction, to furnish such guidance and information as may help a reader to profit by this great branch of man's activity, and to receive from the works of these arts the best they are capable of giving, is as legitimate a literary task as any other. It is a task, at the same time, which calls for special aptitudes and special study, and has methods and difficulties of its own. Let us consider for a moment what those methods and difficulties are. Since literature is not in truth likely to leave art alone, what, let us ask, in dealing with the works of art, are the aims which literature should keep in view, and the errors which it should avoid?

And first, of contemporary criticism, or literature as concerned with the works of living artists. This may at first sight seem a much simpler matter than historical criticism, in which literature concerns itself with the works and schools of the past; and simpler, indeed, it is in one particular. Contemporary criticism does not make the same call as historical criticism on the industry of the critic in examining monuments and ascertaining facts; it does not, in a word, require him to know as much. But in other particulars it is far harder to write justly and to the point about the work of your own, than about that of former generations. In historical criticism it is easy to be dispassionate—you are not prepossessed by personal sympathies, by the conflicts of theories and rivalries of groups; it is easy to see things as they are—your judgment is not confused by the currents of momentary favour and neglect, or by

the influence of the fashions amid which you have grown up; it is easy to keep a just sense of proportion—time has already brought the objects of your study into something like their true relations towards each other and their age. Whereas in contemporary criticism, to be dispassionate, to keep a just sense of proportion, and to see things as they are, apart from fashion and prepossession, are matters of very considerable difficulty indeed.

Unluckily this difficult task is one to which many have been accustomed to address themselves without pausing to consider whether they were qualified, either by aptitudes or study, to perform it. "Art-criticism" has on the whole been conducted so much at random, that a shade of ridicule and discredit has attached itself to the very word. Both before and since the days of Thackeray's genial creation, F. B., the "art-critic" has been an accepted type of the person who pronounces with a light heart on matters which he has been at no pains to understand. We all know in what kind of consideration the business is usually held by artists themselves. Not to make too much of the views of Mr. Whistler, who is a humourist and pushes things far, we may read how Mr. Poynter, in his volume of lectures lately published, denounces "the ordinary newspaper ignoramus;" saying that "as a rule English art-critics start on their career by criticizing the exhibitions, and trust to time and chance for learning something about art," and quoting with satisfaction an indignant protest once made by the French painter, Ingres, to a similar purport. Nor can it be said that the disesteem in which newspaper criticism is thus held by artists is without warrant, though certainly it had more warrant twenty years ago than now. It has come to pass from a variety of causes, and not least from the stimulating power exercised by a master of letters, Mr. Ruskin, that a greater amount of intelligent interest is now directed to the works of art in England than was ever directed before; and this interest naturally reflects itself in current criticism. Vagaries, indeed, occur; as when our old friend the *Pall Mall Gazette*, a journal which within the last five years had been most honourably distinguished for its competent treatment of matters of this kind, the other day amused its readers by suddenly changing its tone, and denouncing some fancied faults in the works of Mr. Burne-Jones in language of the greatest extravagance. We must remember, however, that the ideals of that painter, being ideals of delicacy rather than of strength, are displeasing to the morbidly robust; and for the paroxysms of aggrieved robustness due allowance must be made. Besides, the outbreak in question was not a fair example of the newspaper criticism of the day.

Criticism of a more temperate and clear-sighted kind is not wanting; and for such criticism, with reference to the works of

living artists, there is abundance to do. In comparison with the literary fine arts of poetry and romance, in comparison even with music, the manual fine arts play as yet but a small part in our English civilisation. Painting is the best understood of those arts, and in painting a great, and, as we said, a constantly increasing number of persons are interested. But of the multitudes who interest themselves in painting, and flock to the yearly exhibitions, the interest of a great many neither goes, nor professes to go, beyond the curiosity and amusement of the hour. It is not the pictures in the exhibitions that they care for, but the life, the greetings, and the gossip. And even of those who really care for the pictures, and are anxious to understand and enjoy them, few feel that they can perfectly understand and enjoy them unaided. It is common, though not so common as it was, to find in persons otherwise full of cultivation a real insensibility, acknowledged or unacknowledged, to the effects and pleasures of this art. Picture-blindness in a greater or less degree,—the condition of those who have not the faculty or the habit of seeing and feeling for themselves what there is to see and feel in the combination of lines and colours before them,—is certainly the condition of the majority. The only cure for picture-blindness lies in habitual and rightly directed looking, and it is the business of criticism to teach people how to look. Comparatively few people are able of themselves to receive and discriminate the visual impressions offered by the works of art, with the accuracy and sensitiveness necessary to their right enjoyment; but most can apprehend the force of words. Criticism employs words to assist and reinforce visual impressions; and the mission of criticism, as applied to the works of art, is fulfilled when it has defined and analyzed the qualities of the object before it in the way best calculated to help a reader to see them for himself.

This may seem but a humble office to claim for the critic of art, who is apt to give himself airs, and to address his observations less to the public than to the artist, whom he tells of his faults, admonishing and putting him right with much frankness and confidence. But criticism of this kind, even where it is just, is generally thrown away. Artists are not, in fact, much influenced by any criticism except by that of their brother artists; they know that they possess powers and dexterities which the critic does not possess; and each of them in his way is generally conscious of devoting those powers and dexterities to the production of the best which it is in him to produce. The artist, by the very nature of his vocation, is more likely than other men to be continually doing his best. His vocation is simply to produce a representation or report of something which he has noticed and preferred in life and nature, or imagined concerning the things transcending life and nature; and as his

representation or report has no ulterior object except to delight and impress, so there is everything to induce him to make it as delightful and impressive as he knows how. Nay, it may be said, his work *has* an ulterior object—to sell; and of course it is true that an artist may for money's sake be false to the ideal within him, or that petty cares may drag him down, or that he may have mistaken his vocation, and his best be after all not worth having. But even so, the criticism of those who cannot do as much as he does, will have little direct influence in changing his way of work. Criticism may, indeed, indirectly affect the practice of artists, by drawing favour away from work that is trivial or mistaken, to work that is serious and in the right direction; by opening the eyes of readers to faults to which habit had made them indulgent, or excellences which they could not have found out for themselves; in a word, by helping to form the public taste, and to create, so to speak, a market for the best kinds of things. But it is essentially to the public, and not to artists, that the critic has to address himself—to those who know less than he does, and not to those who know more.

The question next arises, what kind and amount of knowledge entitles a person to criticize the works of art at all? Two extreme views are held on this question. According to the one, it is absurd for any person not a practical painter to give an authoritative opinion about a picture at all; according to the other, painting is an art which addresses not specialists only, but every one, and about which, therefore, every one has a right to form and to express an opinion.

If the first of these views were true, and only painters had a right to speak about painting, then the public would have to do without guidance of any kind in the matter, since members of the same profession are in good feeling debarred from expressing dispraise of one another. Moreover, though on the technical points on which alone a painter himself wants advice, the criticism of another painter is the only criticism worth having, yet the kind of criticism wanted for the public is a kind which painters are very seldom qualified to give. For the public, what is wanted is a criticism that shall be able to sympathize with the most various ideals, and to define, interpret, and do justice to the most opposite kinds of excellence. Whereas an artist, if he has a true vocation for his art, is generally so constituted as to see life and nature under special aspects, and in a manner personal to himself. Those aspects he cannot choose but report; according to that manner he cannot choose but work; and it is the most difficult thing in the world for him fully to sympathize with the aims of a brother artist who sees life and nature in a different light. Once or twice, indeed, in a generation, there appears a painter accomplished in his art, yet without personal

instincts or predilections strong enough to narrow his sympathies; and these are the ideal critics. Sir Charles Eastlake in England and M. Fromentin in France may be mentioned as distinguished cases in point; but as these men were working artists, so they necessarily abstained from contemporary, and limited themselves to historical, criticism.

The second view, according to which the natural man is competent, without study or experience, to judge and to express his judgment of works of art, is one that hardly needs discussion. The judgments so formed and expressed are, in fact, worth no more than the utterances of inexperience are worth on any subject whatever. Let them be heard with courtesy, but by no means with deference. The faculty of the eye for accurately and sensitively discriminating the qualities of the combination of lines and colours before it, both in themselves and in relation to the natural objects which they are intended to recall, is, as we have said, a comparatively rare faculty, and one which comes to most people only by cultivation. If any one proposes to instruct others concerning pictures or works of art in general, the first thing of which he has to make sure is that he be not himself, like the majority, half or three-parts picture-blind. The chances are that he is so, unless he has made the pleasures of fine art a large and serious portion of the pleasures of his life, and unless he has spent much time and trouble in the pursuit and discrimination of those pleasures. In the practical matter of buying a work of art or a curiosity, no one would offer advice who was not conscious of having trained his eye to the perception of those niceties—those minute material differences of form, colour, substance, and surface—which distinguish a genuine thing from a false, an original from a copy, and which to the untrained eye are imperceptible. The beauty and excellence of a work of art depends on visible conditions almost as subtle, though not the same, as those which determine its authenticity or its spuriousness, and to appreciate them with certainty, and at once, demands powers of observation almost as thoroughly trained. Why, then, should we listen to the judgment as to what is beautiful or excellent in art, of persons who have never trained their powers of observation or appreciation at all, and to whose judgment we should never listen for a moment as to what was genuine or false? We have the right to ask from any one who wishes to be heard on these things that he should do more than go through the exhibitions each year, having, perhaps, frequented the studios of a few friends in the interval, and write down whatever crosses his mind during the progress. We have the right to ask, at least, that the study of the works of art shall have been a real part of his life, that he shall have taken trouble to educate his eye, and that he shall have steadied and prepared his judgment

for the appreciation of contemporary work in the familiarity of that of other days and other schools.

Starting with this for the least amount of qualification which will be required of him, the critic has next to be on his guard against his own literary ambition. If he is to be useful in his proper capacity, he must remember that his writing is but auxiliary to the works of that art which he criticizes. The artist is the creator and inventor, the critic is but the commentator and exponent; and an indifferent poem, picture, or statue, is a higher achievement than the criticism which points out why it is indifferent. Fine art, whether manual or literary, reports directly concerning life and nature; criticism only interprets and characterizes the report, and makes it more intelligible and better known. If any one has great and new things to say concerning life and nature, let him say them in the appropriate artistic or didactic form; let him be a writer of poetry or romance, an essayist, or a moralist. But if he only has things to say concerning art, let him be careful to keep to the point. In discussing, in any given case, the artistic result into which the materials of life and nature have already been worked up by another, let the critic keep his attention fixed on the actual qualities of the work before him, and on the precise message which the artist has intended to convey. The temptation is very great to wander, and to make excursions of his own into life and nature in directions not relevant to the case.

It is impossible to lay down a law for genius; and the greatness of Mr. Ruskin's achievement in literature depends, it may be said with truth, on nothing so much as on the very range and frequency of his excursions, on the rousing and illuminating utterances concerning life and nature to which the consideration of the works of art continually draws him on. But the greatness of a writer's general achievement is not the measure of his contributions to sound criticism; and even of Mr. Ruskin it is surely true that his interpretations of the works of art would, as such, have been more just and final had he been able to keep them more severely to the point. While for writers not of genius the observance of this law is essential. To observe it is a matter of no small self-denial; since the considerations suggested by a work of art, but not relevant to its true appreciation, are often the considerations most effective to write and pleasant to read about. This is not true of the works of literary art, which deal with life in its sequence and duration, with the stir and movement of thought, passion, and event; things which criticism can always discuss in an interesting way. But it is true of the works of painting and sculpture, which deal not with the stir and movement of life, but with its stationary aspects, imprisoning visibly for ever some crisis of event or passion, or perpetuating some felicitous moment of repose. In the works of these arts the point

of the performance, the value of the message conveyed, lies precisely in considerations which are not the best to write about. The ideas or story represented must not tempt the critic away, as they are very apt to do, from the mode of their representation. By the mode of representation I mean the aspect of the work as it meets the eye; its general character and conception, the types and expressions of the personages, their arrangement and composition, the beauty and justice of the design and colour, the conduct of light and shade, the charm or want of charm of the parts and of the whole, their relations to natural fact, their harmony among each other, their degrees of finish or neglect, of force or refinement, the particular fashion of the presentation and quality of the execution. It is in these visible and palpable terms that painting delivers its report of life and nature, and upon their quality in each case that the power and significance of the report depend. But these are things which it is far from easy to write about without being vaguely technical on the one hand, or luxuriantly descriptive on the other, and in either case uninteresting.

If, instead of sticking carefully to the point, and running thereby the risk of failing to interest, a critic determines to interest at all costs, he may very easily do so by writing, not about the picture itself, but about thoughts more or less closely connected with it. But then he will have forfeited his reason to exist; he will not have performed his proper function of interpreting the works of art to those who cannot sufficiently judge of them for themselves; and, in the long run, his criticisms may be injurious to art itself. Finding that the public are led to care only about the story or the ideas presented in a picture, artists may attend only to these, and neglect the quality of the presentment. It is not long since this neglect of the essence of the artist's business was the prevailing characteristic of English art. Let us take a case in point, the case of a picture which is typical of many, and which had in its day so famous a success that to disparage it now can hurt nobody—I mean Mr. Frith's *Railway Station*. The principle upon which a picture like this is painted is the principle of putting together as many episodes and anecdotes as the scene will hold, of a kind which everybody can recognise, and about which, when recognised, it is easy to write and entertaining to read. But criticism, in thus entertaining the reader with a narration of the episodes in the scene, draws him altogether away from the main point—namely, the presence or absence of pictorial power and refinement in their visible presentment. And if about the qualities of pictorial power and refinement neither critics nor the public trouble themselves, why then should the artist?

The class of subject which Mr. Frith dealt with in this and some other famous pictures, is one perfectly legitimate for art to treat.

There are schools of criticism, indeed, which maintain that the only legitimate enterprise of art is to represent the modern world as it really is. We shall certainly not join the cry of those who, in France or elsewhere, uphold this doctrine, and declare that no other art is genuine or worth attempting, than that which devotes itself to *la vérité vraie* and *la vie vivante*, that is, to the literal rendering of facts without compromise or embellishment, and to the representation of life in its daily agitation and commonness. To say this is, on the one hand, to deny the rights of the imagination, and on the other to forget that painting, with its limitation to a single point of time, has, after all, but a feeble hold on the bustle of life and its realities. But without joining the fanatics of realism and modernism, we can at least welcome their experiments when they are made with a due regard to the conditions of the art. A most interesting series of such experiments, depending entirely on qualities proper to the painter's art, and offering little temptation to the excursions of literary criticism, has been shown this season in London. I allude to the exhibition of M. de Nittis, an accomplished Italian master, who has lived both in Paris and in our own country, and has caught and turned to pictorial account the physiognomy of modern cities with a justice and an insight that hardly any other painter of similar subjects has equalled. One picture was taken at the level of the Thames beneath one of the great railway bridges, and showed the very colour and flow of the muddy tide overshadowed by the black mass of the bridge; bringing out with admirable effect the grimy grandeur of the great black girders overhead, their hard outlines softened with straggling waifs of black smoke, while across a space of open copper-coloured sky on either hand drifted trails of more black smoke and white steam from passing engines. In another picture, we looked from the parapet of the Thames Embankment in a fog; and the value and power of the work depended entirely upon the subtle sense of space and mystery expressed in the colour of the dense atmosphere, with its shifting gleams of lilac or coppery light, and in the perfect physiognomical truth of the three labourers who were represented, with precisely the right measure of force, definition, and value in the atmosphere, as they leaned smoking on the parapet, and a gleam from the sky caught the wreaths which issued from their pipes. A third exhibited the very life of the City crowd as it may be seen on any wet day, looking across from the Mansion House towards the Bank of England. But in all this medley of rich passengers and poor, policemen and shoeblacks, crossing-sweepers, cabs, vans, and omnibuses with their freights and drivers, in all this familiar turmoil of human life and character, the artist has not thought it worth while to introduce a single episode the narration of which could render entertaining a literary description of the

picture. An artist in literature, dealing with the same scene and the same human materials, might naturally have found in it suggestions for a hundred stories; he would have thought of the fortunes and destinies of the actors before and after their momentary appearance in the crowd, and his imagination would have woven for them in the past and future dramas without number. But the painter is not concerned with their past or future, but only with their momentary appearance and visible relations. Each type is an admirable and unforced study of English character, physiognomy, attitude, and, if the critic wishes to convey a sense of the excellence of the work, it is these points he must drive home in words as he best can—these, and the surprising justness of observation and rendering by which the retreating figures are dimmed and softened in the atmosphere, and the architecture and gas-lamps receive their exact value against the sky, and the coloured wares on the waggons and umbrellas of the omnibus drivers, serve as points of colour amid the greyness and the wet.

Granting, then, that the first thing to be required of critics of art is the faculty of sight and judgment, whereby he is saved from praising or blaming at random; and the second, the habit of literary self-denial, whereby he is on his guard against writing that which shall be readable but irrelevant; what is now the third thing which we shall require of him? The third thing is that he shall be, so far as possible, impartial. This does not mean that his writing shall never be controversial, since false tendencies and unfounded pretensions may need to be discouraged, and since for new and unfashionable kinds of excellence it is impossible, without controversy, to gain recognition. But it does mean that he shall be quick to appreciate not one kind only, but all kinds of real excellence.

It is unreasonable to quarrel about matters which have no practical consequences; but controversy is so much the habit of our lives, and we are so eager to impose our predilections by argument and theory, and still more our aversions, that we often refuse to recognise more than one kind of artistic excellence at a time. The theory to which I have already alluded, the theory of the fanatical realists and modernists, who will have it that all art is obsolete and false which is not modern and realistic, is a signal case in point. This theory has been defended with great force and ingenuity, and with reference to the works of literature as well as to those of the manual arts, over and over again in France, and chiefly by those whose views on the new functions of art are bound up with their views on the new order of society. But all such exclusive theories are obviously shallow. Ever since the prescriptions of the Catholic ages were broken down by the revolutionary Dutch school of the seventeenth century, the aims of modern art have become diverse and

many-sided, and diverse and many-sided they will continue to the end. Some minds will be most impressed by the actual life round about them, and their reports will be nothing but reports of life and nature as they literally are. Others will be most impressed with the thoughts and imaginations of the past, and their reports will be reports, based only on what is choicest in life and nature, of things imagined as existing in a brighter world. The tendency of modern life is to assume aspects less and less capable of yielding occasion for the more potent and enchanting effects of art. The great departments of portrait and landscape will always remain; but the collective life of our communities can yield at best, if they are to be quite literally represented, some such results as we have described in the works of M. de Nittis. Interesting as those results are—full of truth, animation, atmosphere, admirably just and accomplished as records of the passing hour—yet capable of giving the best pleasures of art they are surely not. Art, to give its best pleasures, must surely deal with beautiful materials, and work them up in beautiful combinations; and beauty is precisely the element wanting in the ordinary aspect of modern London streets and London skies. It is, of course, true that since the revolution by which art in the seventeenth century asserted its freedom, and made itself secular instead of sacerdotal, artists have no longer the privilege of dealing exclusively with materials of beauty. That the images of art should be beautiful, or at least that they should aim at beauty, was natural in days when artists had no other business than to embody in forms of visible perfection the imagined objects of a fervent and universal worship. Nowadays the business of art is extended to the whole world of life, humanity, and experience; and the increased range and variety of the reports which it is thus enabled to yield us, may well make up for some decline in their splendour and charm. Moreover, we may expect to find individual artists whom temperament and predilection, instead of usage and prescription, may still lead back into the world of the past, or out into the world of dreams, worlds which they are free to people exclusively with shapes of beauty, and whence they will bring us reports coloured with the special intensity of personal vision and special fervour of private emotion. Such temperaments are likely, in the modern world, to be the exception; but if any such appear, let us be prepared to recognise them, to enter into their aims, and do justice to their performances.

A remarkable instance of such a temperament, and one to whose performances contemporary criticism found itself at first quite unprepared to do justice, is that of our own countryman, Mr. Burne-Jones. As soon as this artist began to exhibit, those most versed in the unprejudiced study of art perceived that his work, with many

shortcomings due to imperfect training, combined in a very high degree some of the qualities most rare in modern painting, as personal vividness of imagination, beauty and richness of linear design, splendour and harmony of colouring. Nevertheless it was received with acrimonious derision by nearly all the newspaper critics. This attitude was not due to the influence of any exclusive theory like that which has at various times possessed the extreme partisans of modernism in France: matters of this kind are not debated with the same eager intelligence here as there, nor do sections frame and follow up their war-cries with the same promptitude and passion. What people disliked in the works of Mr. Burne-Jones was partly its strangeness—any attempt at the more potent and enchanting effects of painting, such as were common in an earlier age, had a strange appearance in the exhibitions of those days; partly the technical shortcomings which it at first undoubtedly presented; but most of all that which was its greatest proof of power and originality, its strong individual colour—or what we have called personal vividness of conception. The ideals of Mr. Burne-Jones, as we have said already, are ideals of delicacy rather than of strength; his types are types of tenderness and wistfulness rather than of prowess and joy; the eyes and mouths that he habitually draws are sad rather than merry; his figures are tall and slender rather than sturdy or exuberant. So has every imaginative painter in history been governed by ideals of a special cast, and instinctively preferred and created one order rather than another of permanent human types and expressions. Within the range of his imaginative preferences, the art of Mr. Burne-Jones displays no languor or monotony, it is rather full of a fiery energy, and inexhaustible in combinations of various richness and grace. But to all this a certain order of critics still show themselves blind. These are the victims, not indeed of a reasoned polemical theory, but of a prepossession which is more fatal than any reasoned theory to the proper appreciation of the works of art. Their prepossession is this, that to be healthy is the first and only duty of man. And certainly to be healthy is an excellent and necessary thing. But when healthiness is too susceptible and too self-conscious, too eager to parade itself and too anxious to detect the signs of malady in others, we cannot help suspecting that there is something wrong. In private life we are all acquainted with the feeble and diminutive type of personage who is always inviting us to test the condition of his biceps, and exhibiting feats of prowess upon fire-irons or door-panels. There is nothing that so much reminds us of this personage as the critic who, seeing in the works of a painter the characters of wistfulness and tenderness which I have described, but seeing nothing more, is instantly on the alarm, and cries out in the name of health against what he imagines to be

signs of feebleness and debility. These are what I have called the morbidly robust critics.

"Perhaps," writes one such, with a fine irony, "there is something higher in art than the love of beauty—the love of disease and languor and despair." Let him reassure himself, there is nothing higher in art than the love of beauty; only, if he was more accustomed to study the characters of art, and to fit expressions and actions in a picture with their appropriate names, I think he would feel that the words disease, languor, and despair were here in no sense to the point. The most curious instance, however, of the exaggerations of this temper is that which I have already quoted from the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Mr. Burne-Jones paints a picture of Venus touching into life the statue fashioned by Pygmalion, and the picture is one of very remarkable grace and beauty; the figures admirably designed and drawn, their interlacing arms and hands especially; a lovely expression of dawning consciousness, awe, surprise, and tender appeal in the countenance of the awakened statue; the colour fair and pale, but as full as an opal of variety and play. But alarmed robustness has no eye for these things, and can only declare, in its heated language, that the feet of Venus are revoltingly ill-drawn, with a great toe like a tinker's thumb; that she is a hollow-eyed poor creature, wearing an expression of dolorous commiseration merely absurd considering the occasion—and so forth; expressions which, their style apart, describe nothing really to be seen in the work in question. Another picture of Mr. Burne-Jones's this year was an Annunciation, the power and complete accomplishment of which has been acknowledged by artists of schools, aims, and tendencies the most opposite to his own. This time our critic was not content with fanciful descriptions of the action and expression of the figures, but propounded a new theory of the Annunciation to suit his purpose. He was scandalized at finding the Annunciation represented as what he called a "deplorable business," or "sad event"—meaning thereby that the Virgin was pale, with looks of rapt and humble expectancy, not unmixed with a foreboding dread—and evidently thought it inconsistent with robust art to take any but a jovial view of the occasion. In happy ignorance of the whole mass of Christian sentiment and tradition of Christian art in the conception of this subject, he ventured to refer in his support to the first chapter of St. Luke,—to which, however, if he had taken the pains to turn, he would have found at the point in question the words, "*And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying.*"

When criticism is betrayed into extravagances of this kind, it is the sign not merely of picture-blindness and prepossession, but of that mistake of criticism as to its own true office and powers to

which I have above adverted—the mistake, namely, of supposing that it is the mission of a critic to dictate to the artist how his work ought or ought not to be conceived. Criticism addresses itself to the public, and defines and characterizes the objects submitted to it; but to instruct and put right the artist, imposing upon him aims and ideals other than his own, is a task beyond its scope. By all means let criticism note and analyse the special characters presented by the work of any master or any school; let it observe, and, if it thinks proper deplore, the limitations of individual power; but in demanding from the creative artist qualities the reverse of what it happens to be his to give, criticism simply wastes its breath. It is only in contemporary criticism that writers fail to recognise this truth. In historical criticism a writer would gain small attention who should spend his time in deploring that Perugino had not the light and shade of Rembrandt, or that the Venetians did not draw with the chastened outline of Raphael. There has been one painter of genius whose canvases, whatever their subject, exhibit always a prodigal and splendidly ordered riot of the limbs and countenances of exuberant women and athletic men, a redundancy of physical energy and joy. There may be such a painter again, and if he appears, let us hope he will receive as ready a welcome from the critics of the robust school as he certainly will from the supposed admirers of disease and despair in the works of Mr. Burne-Jones—I mean, of course, Rubens. In the gallery at Dresden two pictures of Rubens are placed side by side—a Bacchus with his tiger, and a Jerome doing penance in the wilderness. The subjects are the most opposite in the world; but Rubens, with his genius for the painting of mighty thews and sinews, for rich carnations and the riot of life, and with his total disinclination for all that is ascetic or emaciated, has painted his Bacchus and his Jerome as though from the same brawny model, and with an equal strength of frame and splendour of bronzed and glowing flesh-colour. A critic of Rubens would never trouble himself to point out or to condemn this, because for the reader who knew anything of the master it would be a matter of course, but would dwell on the special faults or excellences of the two pieces taken as examples of the master's genius working within its known limits. To do the same is an obvious rule for contemporary criticism also.

To inquire into the springs and connections of any vein of sentiment in art is always an interesting, though usually a very difficult, thing. It will some day be a task for criticism to trace and analyse, if it can, the reason why the best reports brought in our own time from the world of the past and the world of dreams are tinged, over all their beauty, with a shade of unsatisfied desire and sadness. In the meantime, to denounce them as unhealthy and describe them

amiss does no good to any one. The signs of real unhealthiness in painting are flaccid design, livid colour, deadness to the loveliness of the world; and the work of Mr. Burne-Jones exhibits qualities the very reverse of these. Besides, controversy breeds controversy, and those who see the beauty of the thing denounced are sometimes tempted to speak wildly in their turn. For instance, I think it does harm—more harm, perhaps, than nonsense about tinkers' thumbs and deplorable events—when a writer in the *Spectator*, in praising the Annunciation, speaks of his "intense disinclination to dwell upon its merits in detail," and says of certain strictures: "It may well be that these things are true, but for us there only exists the poem, which made our heart beat and our eyes moist——" This may show that the writer has felt the power of the work before him, but it is certainly not criticism.

In pausing thus over the pictures of M. de Nittis and those of Mr. Burne-Jones, we chose our instances at the two opposite extremes of contemporary painting—the extreme of literal modernism and the extreme of visionary and poetical invention. Between these two extremes the great majority of painters move in fields in which the principle of representing natural facts as they are, is blended in various degrees with the principle of selecting and enhancing them, of investing them in the colours of the imagination or of history. It is the business of criticism to study and define with sympathy whatever is sincere and whatever is well done along the whole range of the efforts of the artistic spirit. The ordinary critic, as it seems to me, can only justify his existence—he can only fulfil his true function of helping people to receive from the works of art the best they are capable of giving—if he follows the lines and keeps clear of the temptations of which we have spoken. Having first taken due precautions against picture-blindness, let him next, without neglecting the ideas or story embodied in a picture, yet dwell above all upon what are not nearly so agreeable to dwell upon—the qualities of their embodiment; let him keep his sympathies open to excellence of all kinds; let him seek, not to dictate aims and conceptions to the artist, but to characterize with precision the aim and conception of the artist himself, to recite clearly and without exaggeration what he thinks good and what less good, to make a picture live to the mind of the reader both in its intellectual and its material qualities, and to put it in its proper place with reference to others with which it comes into comparison.

I propose to return another time to the more strictly literary part of the question, and to discuss, with examples, the style and manner in which the works of art have, in point of fact, been treated by various masters of criticism.

SIDNEY COLVIN.

FALLACIES ABOUT HOME RULE.

It is the fate of every new political proposal to be misunderstood and misrepresented, and the proposal for the establishment of an Irish Parliament is no exception to the general rule. It is impossible to suggest any change in the legislation or the government of a country which will not awaken opposition, arising from self-interest or prejudice, or from the more honourable motive of sincere conviction that the change suggested would not be a beneficial one. But it is to be noted particularly that self-interest and prejudice constantly stand in the way of truth, and, by obscuring the facts of the case, make reasoning upon them difficult and imperfect, and anything like conviction in reference to them absolutely impossible. On the subject of Home Rule there is very little conviction among Englishmen, because they have not taken the trouble to inquire what it means; but there is a great deal of prejudice, and this prejudice is strong against the new system proposed by Irish nationalists. The House of Commons has set an example to the country which has been but too generally followed, namely, that of refusing to inquire into the subject. During the present Parliament the House has been twice asked to appoint a select committee to inquire into, and report upon, the nature and extent of the demand put forward by a large proportion of the people of Ireland for the establishment of an Irish Parliament, with power to manage the internal affairs of that country; and in answer to the objections of those who repudiated the idea of "sending the British Constitution to be remodelled by a committee up-stairs," a motion was made that the House do resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the parliamentary arrangements between Great Britain and Ireland. The motion for a select committee, and the motion in favour of consideration by a committee of the whole House, were both rejected by large majorities, with the inevitable result that the Irish members have never yet had an opportunity of explaining before Parliament their proposed system of self-government, or of unfolding the details of the plan by which they believe it can be worked out advantageously alike to Great Britain and Ireland.

This has been unfortunate in many respects, and especially from an English point of view. It has intensified discontent and disaffection in Ireland, and been fruitful of much misunderstanding in England. The proceedings which have recently agitated the House of Commons, and in which some Irish members figured prominently, have been of so unusual a character that an attempt has been made

most illogically to connect them with the demand for Home Rule, and it has been gravely asserted that the Home Rulers in Parliament are determined to make all legislation impossible until Home Rule is conceded. Mark, this accusation is not brought against a section of Home Rulers merely, but against the whole party, and even the shade of Mr. Butt is cursed by some writers for having, as it is alleged, matured this terrible design against parliamentary institutions. Now this is one of many fallacies about Home Rule which no time should be lost in thoroughly exposing; and the point is one of historical importance as well as of immediate interest. It is distinctly affirmed that the Irish elections have been used for the return of men whose object is the wilful obstruction of public business in England. There is not an atom of evidence to sustain the affirmation. The nearest approach to such a policy of which we have any record, is the policy of "independent opposition" which the Irish Tenant League of the last generation inscribed upon its banners, and upon the strength of which the notorious Keogh and Sadleir party entered Parliament. And this policy was not the offspring of Irish ingenuity. It was the creation of an Englishman, Mr. Lucas, who was member for Meath in the days of the Tenant League, and one of the most uncompromising advocates of Irish interests. The members returned to Parliament by the Tenant League were pledged, like the Home Rulers of to-day, to hold aloof from all English parties; but, unlike the Home Rulers, they were also pledged to oppose every Government, no matter what might be the character of its legislative proposals, unless it was prepared to make tenant-right a Cabinet question.

At the Home Rule Conference held in Dublin in 1873, when the federal scheme now before us was adopted, a discussion arose on the subject of independent opposition, but the weight of opinion was against its revival. The general election followed in the next year, and the county of Cavan was the only constituency in Ireland which required its representatives to adopt the policy of independent opposition. Immediately after the election, the members for Cavan were publicly released from their pledges in this respect, because it was found that the policy to which they had unwittingly committed themselves was inconsistent with their obligations as members of the Home Rule party. It is perfectly clear, then, that the Home Rule party was not formed for the purpose of rendering legislation impossible in the Imperial Parliament, that not a single member of the party was elected on such an issue, and that such an issue has never been presented to the Irish electors. But it is most confidently asserted that a section of the Home Rule party, at least Mr. Parnell and others, intend to use the elections for the next Parliament, now so near, for the return of men pledged to the obstruction of public

business ; that is to say, that Mr. Parnell is to insist on candidates adopting a policy which he has himself over and over again repudiated ! This is really most absurd ; and I will venture to say that Mr. Parnell is the last man to place himself in so obviously ridiculous a situation.

What, then, it may be asked, is the purpose of the active section of the Home Rule members in view of the approaching general election ? What issue will they endeavour to put before the Irish electors ? The object of the active section in view of the elections is simply to secure increased activity on the part of the future Home Rule party in Parliament, and the issue which they will endeavour to present to the electors is whether increased activity on the part of Irish members is not absolutely necessary to secure the favourable consideration of Irish questions by a hostile Parliament. This is really all ; and, so far from overturning the constitution, our object is to restore it to its full powers, even under all the disadvantages of Imperial legislation, and ultimately to restore to Ireland an equivalent of self-government for that of which she was foully despoiled at the beginning of the present century. Increased activity on the part of Irish members may appear a small matter, but it is quite enough for its purpose ; and if all the Home Rule members were as active as they are intelligent, they would be able in time to bring sufficient constitutional pressure on the Government and on Parliament, to secure satisfactory legislation on every subject included in the Irish parliamentary programme.

Looking at the mass of business which it is every year attempted to transact in the House of Commons, I always conceive the Government as being in the centre of a circle of constantly pressing *interests* ; and I cannot help noticing that it not unfrequently happens that the *interest* which brings most pressure and least argument to bear on the Government is the interest whose wants are first attended to. Measures of the highest importance have often been so long delayed, that when the hour came when they could no longer be resisted, the general verdict has been that their passage was due more to pressure than to argument. You cannot name a single Irish reform, from Catholic Emancipation in 1829 to the Land Act of 1870, of which this has not been said, and said with all the authority of impartial history. We are bound, then, unfortunately, to recognise this force as one of the agents to be employed in working out any political end. The Irish party, being in a minority in the House of Commons, has hitherto not been able to employ adequate pressure to secure proper attention for Irish interests ; and this is one of the reasons why the system of united legislation for Great Britain and Ireland has utterly broken down, why Ireland has never been reconciled to it, and why, at the present time, she is sternly re-

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solved to amend it. A Liberal or Conservative minority in Parliament has no similar ground of complaint, because it knows that its day of power will come; but the day of power for the Irish members never comes in the English Parliament, and the interests which they represent, if we argue from the history of the past, must stand still until the fear of civil war, or mere party expediency, arises to supplement their constitutional action.

Again, we are told that "Home Rule has set aside practical measures," and that if the Irish members would only devote the time and energy which they expend on the sentiment of nationality to questions of a practical character, there would be no need for Home Rule. This is a rather stale fallacy, but as it has recently been furbished up and displayed for the English public, I may be excused for stopping a moment to notice it. For a quarter of a century after the death of O'Connell, which occurred in 1847, nothing was heard in Parliament of Irish self-government or Irish nationality; and during the whole of that time the Irish members in the House of Commons brought forward, session after session, proposals for practical legislation without ever being able to carry a single one of them. The period is, for the first twenty years at all events, a perfect blank as far as remedial legislation for Ireland is concerned. Towards the close of the period, in 1869 and 1870, Mr. Gladstone undertook to deal with two important questions—the Established Church and the Tenure of Land; but he has admitted himself that he was driven to take up these questions chiefly by the "intensity of Fenianism;" and it is very plain that the practical character of Irish parliamentary advocacy during the previous twenty-five years had very little to do with their final settlement. Mr. Gladstone was, however, the first to invite the Irish members, on the assembling of the present Parliament, to bring forward remedial measures for their country; and in a speech objecting to Home Rule, he was sanguine enough to say, that if the Irish members did introduce such measures, Parliament would be ready to deal with them in a spirit of justice and fairness. Mr. Gladstone was taken at his word. The Irish members covered the Order Book in due time with practical measures, which they have renewed in each succeeding session, but not one of them has yet found a place upon the Statute Book. In no single instance has Mr. Gladstone's prophecy been fulfilled, and the time has come when Irish members look upon any reference to practical measures as a weak platitude and nothing more.

It may be difficult to prove that any particular form of parliamentary action is or is not advisable; but, unfortunately for the critics who have nothing but denunciation for Home Rule tactics, those tactics have been justified by results, and that particular form

of Irish parliamentary action which has been most denounced is that which has been most successful.

Passing from the question of Home Rule policy to the object and meaning of Home Rule itself, I find the subject covered with a mass of rubbish, the accumulations of the effusions of many writers who seem not to have thought it worth their while to look into any of the text-books which treat of the Home Rule proposal, and who substitute their own fancies for the clearly expressed demands of the Irish people. I find it stated that "Home Rule eludes definition," that "it conveys a different meaning to different minds," and, strange to say, this indefinable thing would lead to very definite consequences of the most unpleasant description. It would "sacrifice the Protestants of Ireland to the Catholic majority in that country;" it would "confiscate the property of the Irish landlords;" it would "drive out English capital, and therefore ruin the limited manufacturing industry which still survives in Ireland;" it would "rob the Imperial Parliament of the wit and eloquence of the Irish members;" nay, it would "involve the destruction of that great institution itself, and finally the complete disruption of the empire." I might go on through an almost interminable catalogue of lesser objections which have been brought against Home Rule, but it will be acknowledged that the foregoing are quite numerous enough and quite strong enough to damn any political proposal, supposing them to be well-founded; and as they are the principal objections brought against the Irish demand, we may safely rest the whole case on the test of their validity. I deny their validity *in toto*.

First of all—Is it true that Home Rule "eludes definition"? In the series of resolutions passed at the Home Rule conference held in 1873, which forms the Home Rule charter, I find it is thus defined:—

"That, in accordance with the ancient and constitutional rights of the Irish nation, we claim the privilege of managing our own affairs by a Parliament assembled in Ireland, and composed of the Sovereign, the Lords, and the Commons of Ireland.

"That in claiming these rights and privileges for our country, we adopt the principle of a federal arrangement, which would secure to the Irish Parliament the right of legislating for, and regulating, all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, while leaving to the Imperial Parliament the power of dealing with all questions affecting the Imperial Crown and Government, legislation regarding the colonies and other dependencies of the Crown, the relations of the empire with foreign states, and all matters appertaining to the defence and stability of the empire at large; as well as the power of granting and providing the supplies necessary for imperial purposes.

"That such an arrangement does not involve any change in the existing constitution of the Imperial Parliament, or any interference with the prerogatives of the Crown, or disturbance of the principles of the constitution."

Now we have here a definition, clear and intelligible; and, although the details of the scheme may be viewed differently by

different minds, any one who reads these resolutions cannot fail to perceive their scope and object. Absolute uniformity of view in matters of detail is impossible, and is never arrived at on any subject of practical politics without mutual explanation and mutual compromise. We cannot expect to see the suspension of this law when we come to deal with an Irish question. All who read the foregoing definition of Home Rule will have one and the same idea in reference to the main question—an idea clear and distinct, which no amount of cavilling can obscure, and that is—that the Home Rulers want simply the power to manage their own affairs by a Parliament assembled in their own country. But I have heard it said that in a matter of this kind details are everything. If that be so, I answer, why don't you admit the principle and let us come at once to the details? We have asked for a select committee, before which all the details might be gone into, and this has been refused. Those who are loudest in demanding explanations have determined to make explanation impossible. I am not quite sure that this demand for details of the Home Rule plan is not a good sign. It seems to say that the principle is undeniable; and it seems further to suggest that those who are unable to combat the principle hope to be able to make a decent fight on the details. The Home Rulers have not shirked but have invited discussion on the details of their plan, yet it must be borne in mind that the responsibility of constructing a satisfactory system of self-government for Ireland rests primarily with those who robbed her of her native Parliament and constitution and refuse to restore them. England can better afford to submit to a change in her parliamentary system than Ireland can to the loss of her parliamentary independence. If not, there is no remedy but a return to the *status quo* before 1800 or separation, which England is unquestionably most anxious to avoid.

Now what would become of the Irish Protestants, if we had Home Rule? Those who are so eager to put this question may not be aware that the founders of the Home Rule movement were chiefly Protestants, and that many of those who have directed it since its foundation profess the same religious creed. Its late distinguished leader was a Protestant; so also is his newly elected successor, and, besides him, many of the most influential men in the movement. It remains probable, however, that in an Irish Parliament the Irish Protestants would be in a minority, and what guarantee is there that they would not be oppressed by the Catholic majority? In reply to this objection, I say the Irish Protestants would be at least as safe in an Irish Parliament, as the Irish Catholics are in an English Parliament. Those who would deny this must be prepared to show that Irish Catholics are less tolerant than English Protestants, and, still more, that Irish Catholics would not extend to their own fellow-countrymen of a different religion those rights which English Pro-

testants now extend to those who differ from them both in race and religion! Surely this cannot be shown. All the evidence is quite the other way. We see the Catholics of Great Britain, numbering about two millions, without a single representative in the Legislature, although within their ranks are to be found men of the highest social rank and the most distinguished ability. Who shall say that religious bigotry has not something to do with this remarkable state of things? And who will seriously suspect the Irish Catholics of any indifference to the rights of conscience, of being deficient in the virtue of toleration, in view of the fact that the most Catholic constituencies in Ireland, such as Cork, Kerry, Waterford, Clare, Galway, Sligo, Meath, and the city of Dublin, are represented by Protestants? One of the members returned by each of the counties named is a Protestant, and the Catholic constituency of the city of Dublin is represented by two Protestants.

Apart from these proofs of Irish Catholic toleration, it would be a mistake to suppose that Ireland could ever be governed from Rome in political matters. The Irish Catholic laity, following the example of O'Connell, would be the first to resist Roman interference in the political affairs of their country if it were attempted. That the Catholic clergy of Ireland exercise great political influence is undoubtedly true, but no one can say that this influence is unduly exercised against England, nor can the closest scrutiny discover in it a trace of hostility to Irish Protestants. It has been said that Catholic constituencies return Protestants to the Legislature, only in order to make a favourable impression on English Protestants. No observation could be more unjust, and there is none which is more easily refuted. We have only to look at the action of the corporate bodies throughout Ireland, in which the Catholics have an overwhelming majority, to find ample proofs of the genuineness of their religious liberality. It is the rule of the Catholic corporation of Dublin to elect a Protestant and Conservative to the office of chief magistrate every alternate year. I wish I could add that this liberal spirit, which is frequently manifested in Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, as well as Dublin, were reciprocated by the Protestant corporations of Belfast and Londonderry. But there is not, I believe, a single instance of such reciprocity.

It cannot be denied, however, that the position which the Irish Protestants would occupy under Home Rule is a question which it was proper to raise and fully consider; and this was felt at the Home Rule Conference in 1873, when, to remove all doubts and fears upon the matter, it was unanimously resolved "that there should be incorporated in the Federal Constitution articles supplying the amplest guarantees that no legislation shall be adopted to establish any religious ascendancy in Ireland, or to subject any person to disabilities on account of his religious opinions."

As regards the property of the Irish landlords, the resolution from which I have just quoted contains also a provision declaring "that no change shall be made by the Irish Parliament in the present settlement of property in Ireland." The more one considers the Home Rule proposal, with its many safeguards and limitations, the more one is impressed with its moderate character. It is the best offer that England can ever hope to receive from Ireland for the settlement of the national question. Irish land-reformers are very far from looking to Home Rule as a means of attaining the objects they have in view. They have no hope that Home Rule, if successful, would bring necessarily either fixity of tenure or a peasant proprietary, and their want of hope in this direction shows the groundlessness of the fears which others entertain regarding the rights of the landlords. I do not hesitate to assert that one of the earliest effects of the establishment of Home Rule would be the development of manufacturing industry, which would draw off large numbers from the land, and so abate the prevalent desire for its possession. Land questions would not be so vital to the Irish people as they now are, and consequently their settlement in the new circumstances need not involve those organic changes which many now consider to be desirable. The tillers of the soil in Ireland are certainly anxious to become the owners of their farms, and wisely so; but they don't want to abolish landlordism according to the method of the French Revolution. The conscience of the Irish people revolts at the idea. The most that they have asked from the State only amounts to a demand for such facilities as would enable them to acquire ownership by means of their own industry; and all the talk, therefore, about "the confiscation of the property of the landlords" is no argument whatever against Home Rule.

It is in the same way a most mistaken notion that Home Rule would "drive English capital out of Ireland." Departing from the usual course of disputation, I will give the best argument first, and say that Home Rule would not drive English capital out of Ireland, for the simple reason that English capital is not there to drive out. One of the golden promises of the Union was that it would cause an influx of English capital into Ireland. Castlereagh excited the most extravagant expectations on this head which have never been realised. English capital finds its way to every part of the world except Ireland. It is supposed to be more safely invested in Egypt, or Peru, or Timbuctoo than it could be in Ireland. And we have only to consider whether Home Rule would not really attract English capital to Ireland. I am convinced that it would. English capital, like any other capital, only wants security and profit, both of which it would find in Ireland, if Ireland were a self-governing country, because Ireland self-governed would be Ireland tranquil and contented, no longer disaffected by a sense of injustice nor dis-

turbed by the fear of revolution. At all events the Union has not brought English money into Ireland. Instead of causing an influx of English capital, it has caused an efflux of the Irish people, who testify to-day, in every part of the world, to the severity of English rule.

Sometimes the opponents of Home Rule declare, in a half-playful mood, that it would be too much to expect the Imperial Parliament to consent to be deprived of the enlivening presence of the Irish members. Though rebellion and ten thousand horrors in its train should come, we cannot sacrifice the ornaments of debate! This is an ingenious appeal to Celtic vanity which is frequently made, but it is founded on a total misconception of the Home Rule scheme. Home Rule, while creating a new Irish Parliament for the management of purely Irish affairs, would leave the Irish members elected to the Imperial Parliament precisely as they are now, to represent Ireland on all Imperial questions. They would not interfere in English or Scotch local business, but would remain to take part in all Imperial affairs, Ireland being still bound to contribute her quota to the expenses of the empire. Here I am reminded of an objection which I ought to have stated before—namely, the difficulty of deciding what are Irish and what are Imperial affairs. This difficulty is not so great as it has been made to appear. It has been successfully overcome in several instances elsewhere, and can well be overcome here if an earnest attempt be made to construct a federal arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland. Each of the Swiss cantons enjoys Home Rule, while bound by the federal union in allegiance to the whole commonwealth. The same principle is partly recognised in the Imperial German Constitution. And in the United States we have a splendid example of State self-government combined with Imperial unity. I prefer at present, however, to dwell for a moment on an example to be found within the British empire itself, namely, the British North American Confederation, or the Dominion of Canada. While all the North American Provinces are represented in the Dominion Parliament, which meets at Ottawa, the powers of the provincial Parliaments remain intact, and are strictly and clearly defined in the Articles of Confederation. I have now before me a copy of the official report of Debates on Confederation of the British North American Provinces, a work extending over a thousand pages, and it is curious to read the eloquent speeches which were delivered against the scheme of confederation. I find it insisted again and again that the scheme would not work; that there would be continual conflicts between the local Parliaments and the Federal Legislature. I need not say that these forebodings have been utterly falsified. Not a single hitch has taken place in the working of the federal arrangement since its adoption in 1867. In the Articles of Confederation, a copy of which is ap-

pendent to this report, the distinction is clearly drawn between local and imperial affairs. The different subjects assigned to each authority respectively are specified, and recognisable at a glance. To attain this result required, no doubt, great care and discrimination and enormous labour, but the end was worth ten thousand-fold all the care and labour bestowed upon it. Similar efforts, actuated by a similar spirit, and directed to a similar end, could not fail to be equally successful if employed on the case under consideration; and I cannot at all regard as insuperable the difficulty of determining what should be considered to be Irish and what Imperial questions.

Enough has now been said to show that, whatever Home Rule means, it does not mean the destruction or the disintegration of the Imperial Parliament, and we may pass to the consideration of the supreme and most important objection, that "it would lead to the disruption of the empire." Were it not for this danger many Englishmen would, we are told, be in favour of Irish self-government, and the House of Commons more considerate of the Home Rule proposal. The danger of separation will last as long as the sea rolls between the two islands, and must continue, more or less, in every case where an union has been formed between peoples so essentially different in race and religion as the Irish and the English. Such an union must be either an union of force, or an union of mutual interests and mutual goodwill. England professes to be willing to make an union of the latter description, as the one that would be more likely to be permanent; and the argument is that Ireland is more likely to be contented in an union which deprives her of her liberty, than in one in which she should enjoy that great boon! What could be more unreasonable?

Then we must consider what is at the root of the desire for separation. Is it not the chafing under alien rule, caused by the neglect of Irish interests by a Parliament indifferent to Irish opinion and ignorant of Irish wants? Undoubtedly! And there is, therefore, far greater danger of separation under the existing system than there would be under a system from which the chief cause of discontent was removed. The advanced nationalists, who want separation, do not look upon Home Rule with much favour, which shows that they do not see in it that tendency to the end which they have in view, so much dreaded by Englishmen.

Then, if England has no faith in the goodwill of Ireland in this matter, she has faith, it may be presumed, in her own army and navy; and as Home Rule would not diminish the one or the other, or give Ireland the power to create any army or navy of her own, it does not appear that England would be less able to maintain the connection between the two countries after Home Rule was conceded to Ireland. The bonds of union between distinct nations are more

likely to be broken when they are too tightly drawn than when they are given reasonable relaxation. There is irresistible and conclusive force in the argument of Edmund Burke, when he says, "A natural and cheerful alliance is a more secure link of connection than subordination borne with grudging and discontent."

I am far from contending that the Home Rule scheme is free from objection. I do not say that it is the best possible solution of the Anglo-Irish difficulty; but I say that it offers a fair basis for discussion to those who look to a peaceable and constitutional settlement of the question. The revival of the Irish House of Peers is one of its leading provisions, but I confess that, after mature consideration, I have come to despair of the practicability and to doubt of the desirability of such a revival. One of the most eminent of the Irish peers said to me at Ottawa, some two years ago, discussing the question of Home Rule, "We don't want to be restored." He thus expressed, no doubt, the feelings of the whole body as well as his own. Besides, we live now in an age of democratic tendencies, when hereditary chambers are generally considered useless, and when there is a decided objection to vest any power of legislation in irresponsible men. The creation of an Upper Chamber by election, as in France and the United States, or by royal appointment as in Canada, would seem, therefore, to be more in accordance with the principles of modern freedom. The members of the Canadian Senate, the Upper Chamber of the Dominion Parliament, are appointed by the Crown, through the Governor-General, but only on the recommendation of the Canadian Government, which is responsible to the Canadian House of Commons. An Irish Upper Chamber might be created in the same manner and under similar conditions. *

A strong argument, however, in favour of the restoration of the Irish House of Lords is, that it would bring back the men of wealth and property to Ireland, and cause them to spend in their own country the millions which are now spent elsewhere, and from which, of course, Ireland derives no benefit. Their presence in the Irish capital during the session of Parliament would, it is urged, have most beneficial social consequences, and revive the olden glories of Irish society, so brilliant and gay at the close of the last century, while their residence occasionally on their estates would tend to promote good feeling among all classes of the community, and be an encouragement to the staple industry of the country. But before the lords are asked to return to Ireland, I should like to see them return to their allegiance to Ireland, and then I should have more hope of our being able to reconcile the exercise of their privileges with the national well-being and with national liberty.

Whatever may be thought of Home Rule, the problem of Irish nationality and Irish self-government remains, and the Irish electors in England will take good care that it shall not be put out of sight

at the coming elections. No sort of influence will be able to induce Irish electors in English constituencies to vote for a candidate who is not willing to support a motion for a parliamentary inquiry into Home Rule. The executive of the Home Rule Confederation has drawn up a test question to be put to all candidates at English and Scotch elections in constituencies where the Irish are strong, or sufficiently strong to turn the scale between the two English parties, and the answer given to this question will determine, in each case, the action to be taken by the Irish party. There are some disturbing influences, however, which are worth noting, if it were only to point out the contradictory policy pursued towards the Catholics by both English parties. Perhaps I may state at once what I mean by saying that, in my judgment, the Conservatives are anti-Catholic in Ireland and pro-Catholic in England, while the Liberals are anti-Catholic in England and pro-Catholic in Ireland. The Catholics in Ireland have always looked upon the Conservatives as their unappeasable, irreconcilable foes. Consequently in Catholic districts the Conservatives have no political power. They are confined mainly to the province of Ulster, the seat of Orangeism and anti-Catholicism in its bitterest form. It is only natural that this should be so, for Irish Conservatism has been uniformly opposed to Catholic claims. It did its very worst to prevent Catholic emancipation; and when the proposal to disestablish the Irish Church was brought forward in Parliament by Mr. Gladstone, so fierce was the Conservative opposition to this just concession to Catholic sentiment, that a Protestant clergyman in the north of Ireland declared, amid the applause of a Conservative multitude, that he and his co-religionists would "kick the Queen's crown into the Boyne" if she gave the royal assent to such a measure. The Conservatives treat the Catholics in England in a very different manner. For example, they willingly give English Catholic schools equal privileges with their own Protestant schools, and they are at one with the Catholics in preferring the voluntary and denominational system to that of the school boards. The attitude of the Liberals towards the Catholics of Ireland, and their co-religionists in England respectively, has been in each case the reverse of that pursued towards them by the Conservatives. Out of all this an attempt may be made to confuse the Irish elector between the rival claims of the two English parties; but the Irish elector, who is both a Catholic and a Home Ruler—and there are few exceptions to this description—will vote for Home Rule at all hazards. He will vote for it as a Catholic because it represents freedom for the greater number of Catholics, namely, the Catholics of Ireland; and he will vote for it as an Irishman, because he is convinced of the wisdom and necessity of Irish self-government.

J. O'CONNOR POWER.

THE ANTS' NEST.

I've an ants' nest in my garden, and on sleepy summer days
I delight to sit beside it, and to watch the works and ways
Of the busy little people (watched of late too closely these
By a far less kindly Virgil than who sang the civic bees),
While I muse upon the impulse, silent, hidden—full of awe,
Whether it be force of Godhead or of self-fulfilling law,—
That, by every year's mid-season, crowds the air with humming
wings,

Covers earth's abounding bosom with the toil of tiny things.
Thus engaged the other evening, lounged me by my gardener's boy,
Futile lout and turnip-headed, whom I foolishly employ
At a certain weekly stipend to do nothing with a hoe,
And to train the climbing roses where I want them not to grow :
Lounged me by, I say, this booby, and, in passing—Master Sam
Being of the age when mischief has the zest of epigram—
Poised a heavy hob-nailed Blucher o'er the hapless little state,
And with one strong kick of ruin spurned it flat and desolate !
Thus he did. Then I, indignant at the blockhead's brutal jest,
Seized him by the nape, and straightway to his ample cars addressed,
In the only way to make them take a message to his brain,
Strong advice against indulging in such pleasantries again.
Off he sneaked, *demissâ caudâ*, and I turned me, full of ruth,
To the commonwealth subverted by the too facetious youth,
Seeking if, among the ruins of their city thus laid low, *
Haply might be found a suburb still inhabitable. No !
Thread-like street and atom gateway, where awhile ago had trod
Tiny feet of thronging thousands, all was formless mould and clod ;
Only here and there were hurrying houseless burghers two or three,
Dazed, bewildered, void of counsel, o'er the hideous *débris*,
Waiting doubtless *his* appearing, calm amid their shattered haunts,
His, the shepherd of the people, his, the "leader born of ants,"
The creative, the constructive, "still, strong" ant, with purpose
high

Order to educe from chaos, law evoke from anarchy ;
Who shall nerve his helpless fellows with their adverse fates to cope,
Fortify them with his patience, animate them with his hope ;
So that, howsoever slowly, with whatever toil and pain,
From its ruins may the devastated city rise again,
And resume its peaceful labours and renew its prosperous day
Unmolested—till some other booby chance to pass that way.

Moralizing o'er my claret in my library that night,
 "Ah!" thought I, "how much more hopeful, arduous though it be,
 the fight

Fought by man with hostile Nature's banded forces, age by age,
 Than is waged by lower races, or than they can ever wage!
 Yonder ants repair their ruins: well, a city straight appears
 Built as ants have built their cities any time these myriad years;
 Just as fragile and defenceless, nowise safer in the least
 From the boot of playful boyhood, or the hoof of straying beast.
 Weak they stand, and fall through weakness, and in weakness rise
 again,

Death instructs not, and disaster brings not wisdom in its train.
 But mankind? We stand confronting calm our overshadowing foe,
 Lightnings strike us, tempests whelm us, plague and famine lay us
 low;

Yet with every blow he levels weaker grows the giant blind,
 Stronger Polypheme's Odysseus foreordained—the human mind;
 Stronger grows man's strength of cunning his world-enemies to
 brave,

Some to baffle, some to conquer, some to capture and enslave.
 Fire he tames, and water serves him, earth her treasure-hiding robe
 Raises at his bidding, lightning speeds his message round the globe.
 These once foes he makes his vassals; other foes more hostile still,
 Irreclaimable to service, forces only strong for ill,
 These he cheats or neutralises, circumvents or turns aside,
 Ever setting back their limits as sea-walls set back the tide.
 Each succeeding generation breathes a stronger healthier breath;
 Every decade sees new tillage conquered from the wastes of death;
 Nature yearly makes submissions; soon the philosophic dream
 Will become the workday waking, and mankind will reign supreme,
 Master of the world around him, king of his environment
 Absolute, and waiting only that deliverance latest-sent,
 Man's redemption from his passions, from the scourge self-wielded,
 • crime,

From the brutal lust of battle (blunted even now by time),
 And from competition, blindest of the conflicts that divide
 And dividing weaken workers who should labour side by side—
 Which deliverance once accomplished, dawns for him a brighter day
 Than the golden age of fable, never more to pass away!
 Shall we then," I cried elated (reaching down from off its shelf
Comte, in Martineau's translation), "shall we only live for self?
 We of the unbounded future shall we in the present rest,
 Narrowing ant-like aspirations to the limits of our nest;
 Striving through life's summer only as the ant laborious strives
 To provide what may suffice us for the winter of our lives?

And not rather learn to look beyond our own day's little span,
 So to live that we may help to hasten on the Reign of Man.
 Forasmuch as surely knowing, while we labour and abstain,
 That our labour in our Lord, Humanity, is not in vain."

How it chanced I do not know—
 That my claret served me so,
 Sound as is that modest drink,
 I am loth indeed to think ;
 But howbeit, truth to tell,
 Musing thus asleep I fell,
 And I heard a Voice whose tones
 Froze the marrow in my bones,
 Crying, " Labour and abstain !
 Labour spent will not be vain
 If it harden thee to bear
 The full weight of man's despair :
 And to practise abstinence
 From the pleasant things of sense,
 Easier makes of abnegation
 Pleasures of imagination."
 Here a pause ; then once again :
 " Labour, labour, and abstain,
 Ye who will—or ye who can,
 But ere thou, O dreamer Man,
 Take the altruistic vow,
 Pledge thy comfortable Now
 To insure a glorious Then
 To the common race of men,
 Open eyes of sleep and see
 What the womb of time is bearing,
 What millennium is preparing
 For 'your Lord' Humanity."

The voice surceased : and in a hush of awe
 The walls of dark were riven, and the night
 Became as day around me, and I saw,
 As from a tower, a strange and fearful sight.

Earth, kindly Earth, our blithe and blossoming home,
 Far as to where her limits seemed to meet
 A sky spread o'er her like an iron dome,
 Lay dead beneath my feet !

Dead—or her only life, the life-in-death.
 Of moss and lichen ; mute, with such repose

As stirs but when the ice-berg sundereth,
Or sounds the distant grinding of the floes.

This earth of springs and harvests, flocks and herds,
Of toiling, laughing, loving, human throngs;
Warmed by the sun, and glad with flight of birds,
And rained on by their songs,

Lay fruitless, soundless, dead : from zone to zone
Sprcad over her the terrible control
Of Arctic frost—the idle gloom, the lone
And everlasting leisure of the Pole !

Spake again the Voice abhorr'd :
"Lo, the kingdom of your Lord !
Lo, his dazzling palace-walls,
And the silence in his halls,
Marking in its depth intense
A profounder reverence
Than abates the courtier's tones
At the foot of lower thrones.—
Idle dreamer! vain and blind !
Had thy vision-ridden mind
In its scheme of earthly bliss
And dominion room for *this* ?
Did'st thou think that taming these,
Lightning, famine, fire, disease—
Powers that take thy yoke, or flee
From thy face—was conquering Me ?
Fool of foolish boastings ! They
Are my children at their play !
Whatso wastes the face of earth
Is but malice of their mirth ;
All your famous victories gained
Mean but infants' sports restrained.
Doeper for your real foe
Search ye—I abide below,
Storing for your 'age of gold'
Treasure of eternal cold,
Weaving for man's 'majesty'—
Him, whose expectations high
All your toils and hopes absorb
On this slowly-freezing orb—
Such a robe as may be meet
For—a monarch's winding-sheet."

"Then is He the Creator of things? or is It their volitionless cause,
Is it Spirit or Force?" I cried, in a passion of wonder and woe,
"That breathes free life out of freedom, or, binding, is bound by laws?
Was it choice or chance—was it Demon or Demiurge ordered it so?"

"Is our master a sightless Strength, unwilling—our oppressor in chains
Of the iron he lays on ourselves? it is well: we can learn to bear
As the slaves of a slave endure, for whom in their cruellest pains
No longings of unwreaked hate disturb the content of despair.

"But a Person? A Cause Uncaused? Can it be that deliberate Will,
At a point in the vast Before whereunto no mind can climb,
Appointed such end and prepared it, selecting such means to fulfil,
Or e'er from Eternity's ocean arose the island of Time?"

"Can it be that the planets obeyed a commanding Voice? Can it be
That no aimless impulse arrayed them around the solar fire,
But that floatings of nebular masses were changed by conscious
decree
To the rhythmical music and march of a solid and orderly choir?"

"That the first faint thrills of the germ and the blind beginnings of
life
Were marked by a sentient Mind that, of fixed predeterminate
plan,
Had willed the fierce struggle of living, the pitiless secular strife,
And thereout in the fulness of untold years the emergence of Man;"

"Had willed him emerge and survive, and that slowly, through age
upon age,
From the jungle and swamp to the city the painful ascent should
be made,
From the first rude stammer of tongues to the speech of the poet and
sage,
From the first rough knottings of barter to infinite network of
trade;"

"From isolate weakness to faggoted strength in the communal
band,
To the peace and justice of States from the clashing of wilderness-
wars;
From the fingers that fashioned the flint to the fingers of Raphael's
hand;
From the skulls that bleach in the caves to the heads that have
measured the stars;"

"To the end that at last—that at last the whole into night should
 go down
 Into night and the void, when the long-sought summit of things
 has been won,
 And the glorious God-planned scheme attain consummation and
 crown
 In the idiot whirl of a lifeless globe round a useless sun?"

Yet once more the Voice, whose tones
 Froze the marrow in my bones:—

"Can it be, O can it be,
 (Cry the ants in agony.)
 That the Power whose prescient mind
 Our illustrious race designed,
 Placed us here with cunning blest
 To construct our mighty nest,
 And to store our yearly fruit,
 Also foreordained the Boot
 That with catastrophic——"

"Nay,
 Spare your sneers. Far happier they,
 In that only fancy sees
 Power in them for thoughts like these:
 In that whatsoever fate
 Their frail race annihilate
 To despair it will condemn
 No immortal hopes in them.
 But for *us*! O God of truth,
 God of justice and of ruth!
 Does our everlasting wrong
 To thy equity belong?
 Did thy truth decree on high
 That we should believe a lie?
 And is thy compassion shown
 In a truth too late made known?
 Why to man alone this lot?"
 Cried the Voice: "And know'st thou not?"
 Then, in words of bitter gibe—
 "Claims not man's complacent tribe
 O'er the beasts pre-eminence,
 Chief in this—his laughter-sense?
 So the fate contrived for him
 Should appeal, in humour grim,
 To that faculty acute
 Which discerns him from the brute:"

Wherefore hopes and longings blind
 Were enkindled in his mind,
 And to fire's devouring strength
 Fanned and fostered—that at length
 Their evanishment in smoke
 Might produce the effect of joke ! ”

“ Ah ! scoffer accursed,” I cried, “ we know and too well we know
 How cruel a humour indulges the Power who breathed in us breath,
 How he bred in us love of our children and wives, and rooted it so
 That our hearts are transfixd by the point of the terrible jest of
 death !

“ We know ” (and my voice sank lower) “ he even refines upon this,
 And deludes us with shadowy hopes of meetings beyond the grave,
 Though as yet he has spared undeceiving the weak, and prolongs
 them the bliss
 Of the faith that he slowly tears from the tortured breasts of the
 brave !

“ But must we believe at your bidding that ‘ life-in-the-future of
 earth ’
 Is the nothing of life-in-the-heavens ? that *that* last pitiful gleam
 Is to fade from the sky of the soul, till the great World Jester his
 mirth
 Shall have sated on anguish of man in dispersing the Humanist
 dream ? ”

No answer came. I cried again ;
 No voice the silence broke
 Till silence seemed to burst my brain,
 And, sweating cold, I woke.
 I woke : long hours had fled, and lo !
 Dim-seen through curtains drawn,
 The moon's pale corpse is sinking slow
 In the grey pools of dawn.
 Night is departing terror-thronged,
 But unreleased I seem,
 For waking life awhile prolonged
 The questionings of dream,
 And break of day the hour had brought
 That bows the soul to earth
 In idle travail of a thought
 Which comes not to the birth ;
 So to the voice that answered not
 Still cried I “ Answer Thou !

The dumb enigma of our lot
Lies heaviest on us now."
But now! . . . The brooding East was riven,
The morning-wind took wing,
Above in the fast-brightening heaven
The lark began to sing;
Sweet through the lattice breathed the bine,
The mower clinked his scythe;
Rang out from 'mid the gathered kine
The milkmaid's laughter blithe.
Ah! blessed sounds of wiser life,
Contented with its day,
How ye rebuke the inward strife
That wears the soul away!
And blessed life itself! that holds,
So we not shun its grasp,
The troubled spirits it enfolds
In soothing mother-clasp;
Whose commonplaces merciful
The brain from madness keep,
And lull—so we but let them lull—
Until we fall asleep.

H. D. TRAILL.

MATERIALISM AND ITS LESSONS.

It is well known that from an early period of speculative thought two doctrines have been held with regard to the sort of connection which exists between a man's mind and his body. On the one hand, there are those who maintain that mind is an outcome and function of matter in a certain state of organization, coming with it, growing with it, decaying with it, inseparable from it: they are the so-called materialists. On the other hand, there are those who hold that mind is an independent spiritual essence which has entered into the body as its dwelling-place for a time, which makes use of it as its mortal instrument, and which will take on its independent life when the body, worn out by the operation of natural decay, returns to the earth of which it is made: they are the spiritualists. Without entering into a discussion as to which is the true doctrine, it will be sufficient in this article to accept, and proceed from the basis of, the generally admitted fact that all the manifestations of mind which we have to do with in this world are connected with organization, dependent upon it, whether as cause or instrument; that they are never met with apart from it any more than electricity or any other natural force is met with apart from matter, and that higher organization must go along with higher mental function. What is the state of things in another world—whether the disembodied or celestially embodied spirits of the countless myriads of the human race that have come and gone through countless ages are now living higher lives—I do not venture to inquire. One hope and one certitude in the matter every one may be allowed to have and to express—the hope that if they are living now, it is a higher life than they lived upon earth; the certitude that if they are living the higher life, most of them must have had a vast deal to unlearn.

Many persons who readily admit in general terms the dependence of mental function on cerebral structure are inclined, when brought to the particular test, to make an exception in favour of the moral feeling or conscience. They are content to rest in the uncertain position which satisfied Dr. Abercrombie, the distinguished author of the well-known *Inquiry concerning the Intellectual Powers*, who, having pointed out plainly the dependence of mental function on organization, and, as a matter of fact which cannot be denied, that there are individuals in whom every correct feeling in regard to moral relations is obliterated, while the judgment is unimpaired in all other relations, stops there without attempting to prosecute inquiry into the cause of the remarkable fact which he justly emphasises. "That this power," he says, "should so completely lose

its sway, while reason remains unimpaired, is a point in the moral constitution of man which it does not belong to the physician to investigate. The fact is unquestionable; the solution is to be sought in the records of eternal truth." And with this lame and somewhat melancholy conclusion he leaves his readers impotent before a problem, which is not only of deep scientific interest, but of momentous practical importance. The observation which makes plain the fact does not, however, leave us entirely without information concerning the cause of it, when we pursue it faithfully, since it reveals as distinct a dependence of moral faculty upon organization as of any other faculty.

Many instructive examples of the pervading mental effects of physical injury of the brain might be quoted, but two or three, recently recorded, will suffice. An American medical man was called one day to see a youth, aged eighteen, who had been struck down insensible by the kick of a horse. There was a depressed fracture of the skull a little above the left temple. The skull was trephined, and the loose fragments of bone that pressed upon the brain were removed, whereupon the patient came to his senses. The doctor thought it a good opportunity to make an experiment, as there was a hole in the skull through which he could easily make pressure upon the brain. He asked the boy a question, and before there was time to answer it he pressed firmly with his finger upon the exposed brain. As long as the pressure was kept up the boy was mute, but the instant it was removed he made a reply, never suspecting that he had not answered at once. The experiment was repeated several times with precisely the same result, the boy's thoughts being stopped and started again on each occasion as easily and certainly as the engineer stops and starts his locomotive.

On another occasion the same doctor was called to see a groom who had been kicked on the head by a mare called Dolly, and whom he found quite insensible. There was a fracture of the skull, with depression of bone at the upper part of the forehead. As soon as the portion of bone which was pressing upon the brain was removed the patient called out with great energy, "Whoa, Dolly!" and then stared about him in blank amazement, asking, "Where is the mare?" "Where am I?" Three hours had passed since the accident, during which the words which he was just going to utter when it happened had remained locked up, as they might have been locked up in the phonograph, to be let go the moment the obstructing pressure was removed. The patient did not remember, when he came to himself, that the mare had kicked him; the last thing before he was insensible which he did remember was, that she wheeled her heels round and laid back her ears viciously.

Cases of this kind show how entirely dependent every function of mind is upon a sound state of the mechanism of the brain. Just

as we can, by pressing firmly upon the sensory nerve of the arm, prevent an impression made upon the finger being carried to the brain and felt there, so by pressing upon the brain we can as certainly stop a thought or a volition. In both cases a good recovery presently followed the removal of the pressure upon the brain; but it would be of no little medical interest to have the after-histories of the persons, since it happens sometimes after a serious injury to the head that, despite an immediate recovery, slow, degenerative changes are set up in the brain months or years afterwards, which go on to cause a gradual weakening, and perhaps eventual destruction, of mind. Now the instructive matter in this case is that the moral character is usually impaired first, and sometimes is completely perverted, without a corresponding deterioration of the understanding; the person is a thoroughly changed character for the worse. The injury has produced disorder in the most delicate part of the mental organization, that which is separated from actual contact with the skull only by the thin investing membranes of the brain; and, once damaged, it is seldom that it is ever restored completely to its former state of soundness. However, happy recoveries are now and then made from mental derangement caused by physical injury of the brain. Some years ago a miner was sent to the Ayrshire District Asylum who, four years before, had been struck to the ground insensible by a mass of falling coal, which fractured his skull. He lay unconscious for four days after the accident, then came gradually to himself, and was able in four weeks to resume his work in the pit. But his wife noticed a steadily increasing change for the worse in his character and habits; whereas he had formerly been cheerful, sociable, and good-natured, always kind and affectionate to her and his children, he now became irritable, moody, surly, suspicious, shunning the company of his fellow-workmen, and impatient with her and the children. This bad state increased; he was often excited, used threats of violence to his wife and others, finally became quite maniacal, attempted to kill them, had a succession of epileptic fits, and was sent to the asylum as a dangerous lunatic. There he showed himself extremely suspicious and surly, entertained a fixed delusion that he was the victim of a conspiracy on the part of his wife and others, and displayed bitter and resentful feelings. At the place where the skull had been fractured there was a well-marked depression of bone, and the depressed portion was eventually removed by the trephine. From that time an improvement took place in his disposition, his old self coming gradually back; he became cheerful again, active and obliging, regained and displayed all his former affection for his wife and children, and was at last discharged recovered. No plainer example could be wished to show the direct connection of cause and effect—the great deterioration of moral character produced by the physical injury of the

supreme nerve-centres of the brain : when the cause was taken away the effect went also.

Going a step further, let me point out that disease will sometimes do as plain and positive damage to moral character as any which direct injury of the brain will do. A fever has sometimes deranged it as deeply as a blow on the head ; a child's conscience has been clean effaced by a succession of epileptic convulsions, just as the memory is sometimes effaced ; and those who see much of epilepsy know well the extreme but passing moral transformations that occur in connection with its seizures. The person may be as unlike himself as possible when he is threatened with a fit ; although naturally cheerful, good-tempered, sociable, and obliging, he becomes irritable, surly, and morose, very suspicious, takes offence at the most innocent remark or act, and is apt to resent imaginary offences with great violence. The change might be compared well with that which happens when a clear and cloudless sky is overcast suddenly with dark and threatening thunder-clouds ; and just as the darkly clouded sky is cleared by the thunderstorm which it portends, so the gloomy moral perturbation is discharged and the mental atmosphere cleared by an epileptic fit or a succession of such fits. In a few remarkable cases, however, the patient does not come to himself immediately after the fit, but is left by it in a peculiar state of quasi-somnambulism, during which he acts like an automaton, doing strange, absurd, and sometimes even criminal things, without knowing apparently at the time what he is doing, and certainly without remembering in the least what he has done when he comes to himself. Of excellent moral character habitually, he may turn thief in one of these states, or perpetrate some other criminal offence by which he gets himself into trouble with the police.

There are other diseases which, in like manner, play havoc with moral feeling. Almost every sort of mental derangement begins with a moral alienation, slight, perhaps, at the outset, but soon so great that a prudent, temperate, chaste, and truthful person shall be changed to exactly the opposite of what he was. This alienation of character continues throughout the course of the disease, and it is frequently found to last for a while after all disorder of intelligence has gone. Indeed, the experienced physician never feels confident that the recovery is stable and sure, until the person is restored to his natural sentiments and affections. Thus it appears that when mind undergoes decadence, the moral feeling is the first to suffer ; the highest acquisition of mental evolution, it is the first to witness to mental degeneracy. One form of mental disease, known as general paralysis, is usually accompanied with a singularly complete paralysis of the moral sense from the outset ; and a not uncommon feature of it, very striking in some cases, is a persistent tendency to steal, the person stealing in a weak-minded manner what he has no particular

need of, and makes no use of when he has stolen it. The victim of this fatal disease is frequently sent to prison and treated as a common criminal in the first instance, notwithstanding that a medical man who knows his business might be able to say with entire certitude that the supposed criminal was suffering from organic disease of the brain, which had destroyed moral sense at the outset, which would go on to destroy all the other faculties of his mind in succession, and which in the end would destroy life itself. There is no question in such case of moral guilt; it is not sin but disease that we are confronted with; and after the victim's death we find the plainest evidence of disease of brain, which has gone along with the decay of mind. Had the holiest saint in the calendar been afflicted as he was, he could not have helped doing as he did.

I need not dwell any longer upon the morality-sapping effects of particular diseases, but shall simply call to mind the profound deterioration of moral sense and will which is produced by the long-continued and excessive use of alcohol and opium. There is nowhere a more miserable specimen of degradation of moral feeling and of impotence of will, than the debauchee who has made himself the abject slave of either of these pernicious excesses. Insensible to the interests of his family, to his personal responsibilities, to the obligations of duty, he is utterly untruthful and untrustworthy, and in the worst end there is not a meanness of pretence or of conduct that he will not descend to, not a lie he will not tell, in order to gain the means to gratify his overruling craving. It is not merely that passion is strengthened and will weakened by indulgence as a moral effect, but the alcohol or opium which is absorbed into his blood is carried by it to the brain and acts injuriously upon its tissues: the chemist will, indeed, extract alcohol from the besotted brain of the worst drunkard, as he will detect morphia in the secretions of a person who is taking large doses of morphia. Seldom, therefore, is it of the least use to preach reformation to these people, until they have been restrained forcibly from their besetting indulgence for a long enough period to allow the brain to get rid of the poison, and its tissues to regain a healthier tone. Too often it is of little use then; the tissues have been damaged beyond the possibility of complete restoration. Moreover, observation has shown that the drink-craving is oftentimes hereditary, so that a taste for the poison is ingrained in the tissues, and is quickly kindled by gratification into uncontrollable desire.

Thus far it appears, then, that moral feeling may be impaired or destroyed by direct injury of the brain, by the disorganizing action of disease, and by the chemical action of certain substances which, when taken in excess, are poisons to the nervous system. When we look sincerely at the facts, we cannot help perceiving that it is just as closely dependent upon organization as is the meanest function of

mind ; that there is not an argument to prove the so-called materialism of one part of mind, which does not apply with equal force to the whole mind. Seeing that we know no more essentially what matter is than what mind is, being unable in either case to go beyond the phenomena of which we have experience, it is of interest to ask why the spiritualist considers his theory to be of so much higher an intellectual and moral order than materialism, and looks down with undisguised pity and contempt on the latter as inferior, degrading, and even dangerous ; why the materialist should be deemed guilty, not of intellectual error only, but of something like moral guilt. His philosophy has been lately denounced as a "philosophy of dirt." An eminent prelate of the English Church, in an outburst of moral indignation, once described him as possibly "the most odious and ridiculous being in all the multiform creation ;" and a recent writer in a French philosophical journal uses still stronger language of abhorrence—"I abhor them," he says, "with all the force of my soul. . . . I detest and abominate them from the bottom of my heart, and I feel an invincible repugnance and horror when they dare to reduce psychology and ethics to their bestial physiology—that is, in short, to make of man a brute, of the brute a plant, of the plant a machine. . . . This school is a living and crying negation of humanity." The question is, what there is in materialism to warrant the sincere feeling and earnest expression of so great a horror of it. Is the abhorrence well founded, or is it, perhaps, that the doctrine is hated, as the individual oftentimes is, because misunderstood ?

This must certainly be allowed to be a fair inquiry by those who reflect that no less eminent a person and good a Christian than Milton was a decided materialist. Several scattered passages in *Paradise Lost* plainly betray his opinions ; but it is not necessary to lay any stress upon them, because in his *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* he sets them forth in the most plain and uncompromising way, and supports them with an elaborate detail of argument. He is particularly earnest to prove that the common doctrine that the spirit of man should be separate from the body, so as to have a perfect and intelligent existence independently of it, is nowhere said in Scripture, and is at variance both with nature and reason ; and he declares that "man is a living being, intrinsically and properly one and individual, not compound and separable, not, according to the common opinion, made up and framed of two distinct parts, as of soul and body." Another illustrious instance of a good Christian who for a great part of his life avowed his belief that "the nature of man is simple and uniform, and that the thinking power and faculties are the result of a certain organization of matter," was the eloquent preacher and writer, Robert Hall. It is true that he abandoned this opinion at a later period of his life ; indeed, his biographer tells us with much satisfaction that "he buried materialism in his father's grave ;" and

a theological professor in an American college has in a recent article exultantly claimed this fact as triumphant proof that the materialist's "gloomy and unnatural creed" cannot stand before such a sad feeling as grief at a father's death. One may be excused, perhaps, for not seeing quite so clearly as these gentlemen the soundness of the logic of the connection. On the whole, logic is usually sounder and stronger when it is not under the pressure of great feeling.

The truth is that a great many people have the deeply-rooted feeling that materialism is destructive of the hope of immortality, and dread and detest it for that reason. When they watch the body decay and die, considering furthermore that after its death it is surely resolved into the simple elements from which all matter is formed, and know that these released elements go in turn to build up other bodies, so that the material is used over and over again, being compounded and decomposed incessantly in the long stream of life, they cannot realise the possibility of a resurrection of the individual body. They cannot conceive how matter which has thus been used over and over again can remake so many distinct bodies, and they think that to uphold a bodily resurrection is to give up practically the doctrine of a future life. It is a natural, but not a necessary conclusion, as the examples of Milton and Robert Hall prove, since they, though materialists, were devout believers in a resurrection of the dead. Moreover, there are many vehement antagonists of materialism who readily admit that it is not inconsistent with the belief in a life after death. Indeed, they could not well do otherwise, when they recollect what the Apostle Paul said in his very energetic way, addressing the objector to a bodily resurrection as "Thou fool," and what happened to the rich man who died and was buried; for it is told of him that "in hell he lifted up his eyes, and cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame." Now if he had eyes to lift up and a tongue to be cooled, it is plain that he had a body of some kind in hell; and if Lazarus, who was in another place, had a finger to dip in water, he also must have had a body of some kind there.

Leaving this matter, however, without attempting to explain the mystery of the body celestial, I go on to mention a second reason why materialism is considered to be bad doctrine. It is this: that with the rise and growth of Christianity there came in the fashion of looking down on the body with contempt as the vile and despicable part of man, the seat of those fleshly lusts which warred against the higher aspirations of the soul. It was held to be the favourite province of the devil, who, having intrenched himself there, lay in wait to entice or to betray to sin; the wiles of Satan and the lusts of the flesh were spoken of in the same breath, as in the service of the English Church prayer is made for "whatsoever has been decayed by

the fraud and malice of the devil, or by his own carnal will and frailness;" and all men are taught to look forward to the time when "he shall change this vile body and make it like unto his glorious body." It was the extreme but logical outcome of this manner of despising the body to subject it to all the penances, and to treat it with all the rigour, of the most rigid asceticism—to neglect it, to starve it, to scourge it, to mortify it in every possible way. One holy ascetic would never wash himself, or cut his toe-nails, or wipe his nose; another suffered maggots to burrow unchecked into the neglected ulcers of his emaciated body; others, like St. Francis, stripped themselves naked and appeared in public without clothes. St. Macarius threw away his clothes and remained naked for six months in a marsh, exposed to the bite of every insect; St. Simeon Stylites spent thirty years on the top of a column which had been gradually raised to a height of sixty feet, spending a great part of his time in bending his meagre body successively with his head towards his feet, and so industriously that a curious spectator, after counting one thousand two hundred and forty-four repetitions, desisted counting from weariness. And for these things—these insanities of conduct may we not call them—they were accounted most holy, and received the honours of saintship. Contrast this unworthy view of the body with that which the ancient Greeks took of it. They found no other object in nature which satisfied so well their sense of proportion and manly strength, of attractive grace and beauty; and their reproductions of it in marble we preserve now as priceless treasures of art, albeit we still babble the despicable doctrine of contempt of it. The more strange, since it is a matter of sober scientific truth that the human body is the highest and most wonderful work in nature, the last and best achievement of her creative skill; it is a most complex and admirably constructed organism, "fearfully and wonderfully made," which contains, as it were in a microcosm, all the ingenuity and harmony and beauty of the macrocosm. And it is this supreme product of evolution that fanatics have gained the honour of saintship by disfiguring and torturing!

These, then, are two great reasons of the repugnance which is felt to materialism, namely, the notion that it is destructive of the hope of a resurrection, and the contempt of the body which has been inculcated as a religious duty. And yet on these very points materialism seems fitted to teach the spiritualist lessons of humility and reverence, for it teaches him, in the first place, not to despise and call unclean the last and best work of his Creator's hand, and, secondly, not impiously to circumscribe supernatural power by the narrow limits of his understanding, but to bethink himself that it were just as easy in the beginning, or now, or at any time, for the omnipotent Creator of matter and its properties to make it think as to make mind think.

Passing from these incidental lessons of humility and reverence, I

go on now to show that materialism has its moral lessons, and that these, rightly apprehended, are not at all of a low intellectual and moral order, but, on the contrary, in some respects more elevating than the moral lessons of spiritualism. I shall content myself with two or three of these lessons, not because there are not more of them, but because they will be enough to occupy the space at my disposal.

It is a pretty well accepted scientific doctrine that our far-distant prehistoric ancestors were a very much lower order of beings than we are, even if they did not inherit directly from the monkey; that they were very much like, in conformation, habits, intelligence, and moral feeling, the lowest existing savages; and that we have risen to our present level of being by a slow process of evolution which has been going on gradually through untold generations. Whether or not "through the ages one increasing purpose runs," as the poet has it, it is certainly true that "the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns." Now when we examine the brain of the lowest savage, whom we need not be too proud to look upon as our ancestor in the flesh—say a native Australian or a Bushman—we find it to be considerably smaller than an ordinary European brain; its convolutions, which are the highest nerve-centres of mind, are decidedly fewer in number, more simple in character, and more symmetrical in arrangement. These are marks of inferiority, for in those things in which it differs from the ordinary European brain it gets nearer in structure to the still much inferior brain of the monkey; it represents, we may say, a stage of development in the long distance which has been traversed between the two. A comparison of the relative brain-weights will give a rude notion of the differences: the brain-weight of an average European male is 49 oz.; that of a Bushman is, I believe, about 33 oz.; and that of a Negro, who comes between them in brain-size, as in intelligence, is 44 oz. The small brain-weight of the Bushman is indeed equalled among civilised nations by that of a small-headed or so-called microcephalic idiot. There can be no doubt, then, of a great difference of development between the highest and the lowest existing human brain.

There can be no doubt, furthermore, that the gross differences which there are between the size and development of the brain of a low savage and of an average European, go along with as great differences of intellectual and moral capacities—that lower mental function answers to lower cerebral structure. It is a well-known fact that many savages cannot count beyond five, and that they have no words in their vocabulary for the higher qualities of human nature, such as virtue, justice, humanity, and their opposites, vice, injustice, and cruelty, or for the more abstract ideas. The native Australian, for example, who is in this case, having no words for justice, love, mercy, and the like, would not in the least know what remorse meant; if any one showed it in his presence, he would think probably

that he had got a bad headache. He has no words to express the higher sentiments and thoughts because he has never felt and thought them, and has never had, therefore, the need to express them; he has not in his inferior brain the nervous substrata which should minister to such sentiments and thoughts, and cannot have them in his present state of social evolution, any more than he could make a particular movement of his body if the proper muscles were wanting. Nor could any amount of training in the world, we may be sure, ever make him equal in this respect to the average European, any more than it could add substance to the brain of a small-headed idiot and raise it to the ordinary level. Were any one, indeed, to make the experiment of taking the young child of an Australian savage and of bringing it up side by side with an average European child, taking great pains to give them exactly the same education in every respect, he would certainly have widely different results in the end: in the one case he would have to do with a well-organized instrument, ready to give out good intellectual notes and a fine harmony of moral feeling when properly handled; in the other case, an imperfectly organized instrument, from which it would be out of the power of the most patient and skilful touch to elicit more than a few feeble intellectual notes and a very rude and primitive sort of moral feeling. A little better feeling, certainly, than that of its fathers, but still most primitive; for many savages regard as virtues most of the big vices and crimes, such as theft, rape, murder, at any rate when they are practised at the expense of neighbouring tribes. Their moral feeling, such as it is, is extremely circumscribed, being limited in application to the tribe. In Europe we have happily got further than that, since we are not, as savages are and our forefathers probably were, divided into a multitude of tribes eager to injure and even extirpate one another from motives of tribal patriotism; but mankind seems to be far off the goal of its high calling so long as, divided into jealous and hostile nations, it suffers national divisions to limit the application of moral feeling, counts it a high virtue to violate it under the profaned name of patriotism, and uses the words "humanitarianism" and "cosmopolitanism" as crushing names of reproach. There is plainly room yet for a wider expansion of moral feeling.

Now what do the discoveries of science warrant us to conclude respecting the larger and more complex brain of the civilised man and its higher capacities of thought and feeling? They teach us this: that it has reached its higher level not by any sudden and big creative act, nor by a succession of small creative acts, but by the slow and gradual operation of processes of natural evolution going on through countless ages. Each new insight into natural phenomena on the part of man, each act of wiser doing founded on truer insight, each bettered feeling which has been developed from wiser conduct, has tended to determine by degrees a corresponding structural change

of the brain, which has been transmitted as an innate endowment to succeeding generations, just as the acquired habit of a parent animal becomes sometimes the instinct of its offspring; and the accumulated results of these slow and minute gains, transmitted by hereditary action, have culminated in the higher cerebral organization, in which they are now, as it were, capitalised. Thus the added structure embodies in itself the superior intellectual and moral capacities of abstract reasoning and moral feeling which have been the slow acquisitions of the ages, and it gives them out again in its functions when it discharges its functions rightly. If we were to have a person born in this country with a brain of no higher development than that of the low savage—destitute, that is, of the higher nervous substrata of thought and feeling—if, in fact, our far remote prehistoric ancestor were to come to life among us now—we should have more or less of an imbecile, who could not compete on equal terms with other persons, but must perish, unless charitably cared for, just as the native Australian perishes when he comes into contact and competition with the white man. The only way in which the native Australian could be raised to the level of civilised feeling and thought would be by cultivation continued through many generations—by a process of evolution similar to that which lies back between our savage ancestors and us.

That is one aspect of the operation of natural law in human events—the operation of the law of heredity in development, in carrying mankind forward, that is, to a higher level of being. It teaches us plainly enough that the highest qualities of mind bear witness to the reign of law in nature as certainly as do the lowest properties of matter, and that if we are to go on progressing in time to come it must be by observation of, and obedience to, the laws of development. But there is another vastly important aspect of the law of heredity which it concerns us to bear sincerely in mind—its operation in working out human degeneracy, in carrying mankind downwards, that is, to a lower level of being. It is certain that man may degenerate as well as develop; that he has been doing so both as nation and individual ever since we have records of his doings on earth. There is a broad and easy way of dissolution, national, social, or individual, which is the opposite of the steep and narrow way of evolution. Now what it behoves us to realise distinctly is that there is not anything more miraculous about the degeneracy and extinction of a nation or of a family than there is about its rise and development; that both are the work of natural law. A nation does not sink into decadence, I presume, so long as it keeps fresh those virtues of character through which it became great among nations; it is when it suffers them to be eaten away by luxury, corruption, and other enervating vices, that it undergoes that degeneration of character which prepares and makes easy its over-

throw. In like manner a family, reckless of the laws of physical and moral hygiene, may go through a process of degeneracy until it becomes extinct. It was no mere dream of prophetic frenzy that when the fathers have eaten sour grapes the children's teeth are set on edge, nor was it a meaningless menace that the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generations; it was an actual insight into the natural law by which degeneracy increases through generations—by which one generation reaps the wrong which its fathers have sown, as its children in turn will reap the wrong which it has sown. What we call insanity or mental derangement is truly, in most cases, a form of human degeneracy, a phase in the working out of it; and if we were to suffer this degeneracy to take its course unchecked through generations, the natural termination would be sterile idiocy and extinction of the family. A curious despot would find it impossible, were he to make the experiment, to breed and propagate a race of insane people; nature, unwilling to continue a morbid variety of the human kind, would bring his experiment to an end by the production of sterile idiocy. If man will but make himself the subject of serious scientific study, he shall find that this working out of degeneracy through generations affords him a rational explanation of most of those evil impulses of the heart, which he has been content to attribute to the wiles and instigations of the devil; that the evil spirit which has taken possession of the wicked man is often the legacy of parental or ancestral error, misfortune, or wrong-doing. Let me illustrate by an example the nature and bearing of this scientific study.

I will take for this purpose a case which every physician who has had much experience must have been asked some time or other to consider and advise about: a quite young child, which is causing its parents alarm and distress by the precocious display of vicious desires and tendencies of all sorts, that are quite out of keeping with its tender years, and by the utter failure of either precept, or example, or punishment to imbue it with good feeling and with the desire to do right. It may not be notably deficient in intelligence; on the contrary, it may be capable of learning quickly when it likes, and extremely cunning in lying, in stealing, in gratifying other perverse inclinations; and it cannot be said not to know right from wrong, since it invariably eschews the right and chooses the wrong, showing an amazing acuteness in escaping detection and the punishment which follows detection. It is, in truth, congenitally conscienceless, by nature destitute of moral sense and actively imbued with an immoral sense. Now this unfortunate creature is of so tender an age that the theory of Satanic agency is not thought to offer an adequate explanation of its evil impulses; in the end everybody who has to do with it feels that it is not responsible for

its vicious conduct, perceives that punishment does not and cannot in the least reform it, and is persuaded that there is some native defect of mind which renders it a proper case for medical advice. Where, then, is the fault that a human being is born into the world who will go wrong, nay, who must go wrong, in virtue of a bad organization? The fault lies somewhere in its hereditary antecedents. We can seldom find the exact cause and trace definitely the mode of its operation—the study is much too complex and difficult for such exactness at present—but we shall not fail to discover the broad fact of the frequency of insanity or other mental degeneracy in the direct line of the child's inheritance. The experienced physician seldom feels any doubt of that when he meets with a case of the kind. It is indeed most certain that men are not bred well or ill by accident any more than the animals are; but while most persons are ready to acknowledge this fact in a general way, very few pursue the admission to its exact and rigorous consequences, and fewer still suffer it to influence their conduct.

It may be set down, then, as a fact of observation that mental degeneracy in one generation is sometimes the evident cause of an innate deficiency or absence of moral sense in the next generation. The child bears the burden of its ancestral infirmities or wrongdoings. Here then and in this relation may be noted the instructive fact, that just as moral feeling was the first function to be affected at the beginning of mental derangement in the individual, so now the defect or absence of it is seen to mark the way of degeneracy through generations. It was the latest acquisition of mental evolution; it is the first to go in mental dissolution.

A second fact of observation may be set down as worthy of consideration, if not of immediate acceptance, namely, that an absence of moral feeling in one generation, as shown by a mean, selfish, and persistent disregard of moral action in the conduct of life, may be the cause of mental derangement in the next generation. In fact, a person may succeed in manufacturing insanity in his progeny by a persistent disuse of moral feeling, and a persistent exercise throughout his life, of those selfish, mean, and anti-social tendencies which are a negation of the highest moral relations of mankind. He does not ever exercise the nervous substrata which minister to moral functions, wherefore they undergo atrophy in him, and he runs the risk of transmitting them to his progeny in so imperfect a state, that they are incapable of full development of function in them; just as the instinct of the animal which is not exercised for many generations on account of changed conditions of life, becomes less distinct by degrees and in the end, perhaps, extinct. People are apt to talk as if they believed that insanity might be got rid of were only sufficient care taken to prevent its direct propagation by the marriages of those who had suffered from it or were likely to do so.

A vain imagination assuredly ! Were all the insanity in the world at the present time clean swept away to-morrow, men would breed it afresh before to-morrow's to-morrow by their errors, their excesses, their wrong-doings of all sorts. Rightly, then, may the scientific inquirer echo the words of the preacher, that however prosperous a man may have seemed in his life, judge him not blessed before his death : for he shall be known in his children : they shall not have the confidence of their good descent. In sober truth, the lessons of morality which were proclaimed by the prophets of old, as indispensable to the stability and well-being of families and nations, were not mere visions of vague fancy ; founded upon actual observation and intuition of the laws of nature working in human events, they were insights into the eternal truths of human evolution.

Whether, then, man goes upwards or downwards, undergoes development or degeneration, we have equally to do with matters of stern law. Provision has been made for both ways ; it has been left to him to find out and determine which way he shall take. And it is plain that he must find the right path of evolution, and avoid the wrong path of degeneracy, by observation and experience, pursuing the same method of positive inquiry which has served him so well in the different sciences. Being pre-eminently and essentially a social being, each one the member of one body—the unit, that is, in a social organism—the laws which he has to observe and obey are not the physical laws of nature only, but also those higher laws which govern the relations of individuals in the social state. If he make his observations sincerely and adequately in this way, he cannot fail to perceive that the laws of morality were not really miraculous revelations from heaven any more than was the discovery of the law of gravitation, but that they were essential conditions of social evolution, and were learned practically by the stern lessons of experience. He has learnt his duty to his neighbour as he has learnt his duty to nature ; it is implicit in the constitution of a complex society of men dwelling together in peace and unity, and has been revealed explicitly by the intuition of a few extraordinary men of sublime moral genius.

As it is not a true, it cannot be a useful, notion to foster, that morality was the special gift to man, and is the special property of any theological system, and that its vitality is bound up essentially with the life of any such creed. The golden rule of morals itself—“Do unto others as ye would have others do unto you.”—was perceived and proclaimed long before it received ‘its highest Christian expression.’¹ It is not, indeed, religious creed which has invented

(1) There appears to be no doubt that Confucius, among others, had the clearest apprehension of it and expressly taught it ; and the Buddhist religion of perfection is certainly founded upon self-conquest and self-sacrifice. They are its very corner-stone : the purification of the mind from unholy desires and passions, and a devotion to the good of others, which rises to an enthusiasm for humanity, in order to escape from the

and been the basis of morality, but morality which has been the bulwark of religions. And as a matter of fact it is certain that morality has suffered many times not a little from its connection with theological creeds; that its truths have been appropriated and used to support demoralising superstitions which were no part of it; that doctrines essentially immoral have been even taught in the name of religion; and that religious systems in their struggles to establish their supremacy have oftentimes shown small respect to the claims of morality. Had religion been true to its nature and function, as wide as morality and humanity, it should have been the bond of unity to hold mankind together in one brotherhood, linking them in good feeling, good-will, and good work towards one another, but it has in reality been that which has most divided men, and the cause of more hatreds, more disorders, more persecutions, more bloodshed, more cruelties than most other causes put together. In order to maintain peace and order, therefore, the State in modern times has been compelled to hold itself practically aloof from religion, and to leave to each hostile sect liberty to do as it likes so long as it meddles not by its tenets and ceremonials with the interests of civil government. Is it not, then, fortunate for the interests of morality that it is not bound up essentially with any form of religious creed, but that it survives when creeds die, having its more secure foundations in the hard-won experience of mankind?

The inquiry which, taking a sincere survey of the facts, finds the basis and sanction of morality in experience, by no means arrives in the end at easy lessons of self-indulgence for the individual and the race, but, on the contrary, at the hardest lessons of self-renunciation. Disclosing to man the stern and uniform reign of law in nature, even in the evolution and degeneracy of his own nature, it takes from him the comfortable but demoralising doctrine that he or others can escape the penalty of his ignorance, error, or wrong-doings either by penitence or prayer, and holds him to the strictest account for them. Discarding the notion that the observed uniformity of nature is but a uniformity of sequence at will which may be interrupted whenever its interruption is earnestly enough asked for—a notion which, were it more than lip-doctrine, must necessarily deprive him of his most urgent motive to study patiently the laws of nature in order to conform to them—it enforces a stern feeling of responsibility to search out painfully the right path of obedience and to follow it, inexorably laying upon man the responsibility of the future of his race. If it be most certain, as it is, that all disobedience of natural law, whether physical or moral, is avenged inexorably in its consequences of this life and to attain to a perfect moral repose. "Let all the sins that have been committed fall upon me, in order that the world may be delivered," Buddha says. And of the son or disciple of Buddha it is said, "When reviled he revileth not again; when smitten he bears the blow without resentment; when treated with anger and passion he returns love and good-will; when threatened with death he bears no malice."

quences on earth, either upon the individual himself, or more often, perhaps, upon others—that the violated law cannot be bribed to stay its arm by burnt-offerings nor placated by prayers—it is a harmful doctrine, as tending directly to undermine understanding and to weaken will, to teach that either prayer or sacrifice will obviate the consequences of want of foresight or want of self-discipline, or that reliance on supernatural aid will make amends for lack of intelligent will. We still pray half-heartedly in our churches, as our forefathers prayed with their whole hearts, when we are afflicted with a plague or pestilence, that God will “accept of an atonement and command the destroying angel to cease from punishing ;” and when we are suffering from too much rain we ask him to send fine weather “although we for our iniquities have worthily deserved a plague of rain and waters.” Is there a person of sincere understanding who, uttering that prayer, now believes it in his heart to be the successful way to stay a fever, plague, or pestilence? He knows well that, if it is to be answered, he must clean away dirt, purify drains, disinfect houses, and put in force those other sanitary measures which experience has proved to be efficacious, and that the aid vouchsafed to the prayer will only be given when these are by themselves successful. Had men gone on believing, as they once believed, that prayer would stay disease, they would never have learned and adopted sanitary measures, any more than the savage of Africa who prays to his fetish to cure disease does now. To get rid of the notion of supernatural interposition was the essential condition of true knowledge and self-help in that matter.

Many persons who could not confidently express their belief in the power of prayer to stop a plague or a deluge of rain, or who actually disbelieve it, still have a sincere hold of the belief of its miraculous power in the moral or spiritual world. Nevertheless, if the matter be made one simply of scientific observation, it must be confessed that all the evidence goes to prove that the events of the moral world are matters of law and order equally with those of the physical world, and that supernatural interpositions have no more place in the one than in the other ; that he who prays for the creation of a clean heart and the renewal of a right spirit within him, if he gets at last what he prays for, gets it by the operation of the ordinary laws of moral growth and development, in consequence of painstaking watchfulness over himself and the continual exercise of good resolves. Only when he gets it in that way will he get the benefit of supernatural aid ; and if he rests in the belief of supernatural aid, without taking pains to get it entirely in that way, he will do himself moral harm ; for if he cannot rely upon special interpositions in the moral any more than in the physical world, if he has to do entirely with those secondary laws of nature through which alone the supernatural is

made natural, the invisible visible, it needs no demonstration that the opposite belief cannot strengthen, but must weaken, the understanding and will. It is plain that true moral hygiene is as impossible to the savage who relies upon his fetish to change his heart in answer to prayer, as sanitary science is impossible where he relies upon his fetish to stay a pestilence in answer to prayer.

So far from materialism being a menace to morality, when it is properly understood, it not only sets before man a higher intellectual aim than he is ever likely to reach by spiritual paths, but it even raises a more self-sacrificing moral standard. For when all has been said, it is not the most elevated or the most healthy business for a person to be occupied continually with anxieties and apprehensions and cares about the salvation of his own soul, and to be earnest to do well in this life in order that he may escape eternal suffering and gain eternal happiness in a life to come. The disbeliever might find room to argue that here was an instance showing how theology has taken possession of the moral instinct and vitiated it. Having set before man a selfish instead of an altruistic end as the prime motive of well-doing—his own good rather than the good of others—it is in no little danger of taking away his strongest motive to do uprightly, if so be the dead rise not. Indeed, it makes the question of the apostle a most natural one: "If, after the manner of men, I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me if the dead rise not?" Materialism cannot hesitate in the least to declare that it is best for a man's self and best for his kind to have fought with the beasts of unrighteousness at Ephesus or elsewhere, even if the dead rise not. Perceiving and teaching that he is essentially a social being, that all the mental faculties by which he so much excels the animals below him, and even the language in which he expresses his mental functions, have been progressive developments of his social relations, it enforces the plain and inevitable conclusion that it is the true scientific function, and at the same time the highest development, of the individual, to promote the well-being of the social organization—that is, to make his life subserve the good of his kind. It is no new morality, indeed, which it teaches; it simply brings men back to that which has been the central lesson and the real stay of the great religions of the world, and which is implicit in the constitution of society; but it does this by a way which promises to bring the understanding into entire harmony with moral feeling, and so to promote by a close and consistent interaction their accordant growth and development; and it strips morality of the livery of superstition in which theological creeds have dressed and disfigured it, presenting it to the adoration of mankind in its natural purity and strength.

HENRY MAUDSLAY.

TRADES UNIONISM IN INDIA.

I BELIEVE that amongst no people on the face of the earth does combination exist so universally and in such strength as it exists amongst the races which inhabit Hindustan. The peculiar social system known as caste is a huge series of extraordinarily powerful combinations. Caste is often spoken of in this country as though it were an exclusively religious phase of Hinduism. Even if it were so, it would still be evidence of strong combination, because the system which enables each section of the community, though of the same race and the same religion as the other sections of the same community, to maintain customs different from theirs, to regulate social intercourse in the minutest details, and to so far disregard passion and its impulses as to successfully prohibit marriages out of its own section, shows (from whatever causes) a unity of purpose and an obedience to some influence compared with which the power exerted by the best-organized Trades Union in England is as nothing. The combination that exists in India, however, is not one which affects exclusively folk and faith, kinship and worship. As recommended by Menoo, professions and trades have become hereditary, and thus also castes have been formed. There are, therefore, trade-castes, profession-castes, and calling-castes. Take as an instance the coppersmith caste. I do not propose to discuss here the peculiar habits and customs of this caste. That is foreign to my subject; but it is relevant to point out that by the powerful combination which exists among the coppersmiths, they are able to command a higher price for their commodities than they could obtain without such reliance on their customs. They are able to do more than this: they are able to do what an English Trade Union seldom, if ever, accomplishes—they are able to get a higher price for their commodities than they could obtain in what is called a free market. Any one who has been in the habit of making purchases in the coppersmiths' bazaars in Bombay, Benares, or other Indian city, knows very well that the traders are able to maintain two prices for the same article; one which they ask and receive from the poorly paid native—another, a higher price, which they demand from the well-paid European. This plan is not adopted and pursued surreptitiously. It is openly acknowledged, confessed, and defended with a charming *naïveté*. It is true that some Europeans long resident in India are by a patronising *nonchalance* able to persuade the coppersmith to sell to them and their friends at native prices; but such transactions are regarded on both sides as favours, and

not unfrequently some additional consideration other than money is expected from the buyer by the salesman. Sometimes, too, there are what Trades Unionists would call black sheep, who will sell secretly to Europeans at native prices, in order to force a sale; but the instances are comparatively rare, and do not affect my general observation. The essential principle of a caste may often be deviated from, both in trade and religion (as the essential principles of Christianity and fair dealing are often neglected in this country); but the fact that the system I have mentioned is the fiction or tradition of the caste, establishes rather than otherwise what I have written. The effects of combination are visible in other respects than the prices asked for the goods produced. If one inquired more minutely into the customs of an Indian trade caste than the present opportunity offers, a class of restrictions would be found very much more stringent than characterized the ancient European guilds and their offspring—the earlier Trades Unions of England. The practice in this country of limiting the number of apprentices has been regarded with mixed feelings, but with none greater than that of surprise. What must we think, however, of a combination so powerful that it not only forbids the entry of any apprentice born outside the caste, but forces into the trade all who are born within the caste? It must, of course, be remembered that there is no inclination on the part of the trade castes to intrude upon each other; but this fact shows that the power of cohesion or combination exists universally, and is not confined to one particular caste. The doctrine believed in is “each caste for itself.” The result is peculiar. The members of professional castes, since the introduction of European customs into India, have often changed their callings, and still do so. The Brahmin becomes a clerk, the Sepoy or fighting man is a messenger; the Hakim or doctor caste furnishes commission agents. I have not, however, been able to discover that members of a trade-caste become anything else but traders. I have never known a man of the coppersmith caste who was not a coppersmith. I have never known a Bania who was not a merchant, or a Marwaree who was not a money-lender. It is true that a Gaekwar or herdsman may become the Gaekwar *par excellence*, a merchant may become a warrior like the ancestor of Holkar, and a menial, such as a “slipper-bearer,” may found a dynasty, as Scindiah’s progenitors did; but these are instances in which men have risen to circumstances, and have become first the chief of their caste, then the prince of a territory and founder of a dynasty. They do not affect my general statement that the members of a trade-caste follow the trade of that caste.

I have taken as an instance the copperamith caste. The remarks I have made apply to all other trade castes. They extend beyond

them. The Hindoo system of caste control has spread, either by example or of necessity from surrounding circumstances, in a great degree to the Mahomedans. This remark refers not only to such customs as are intended for the enforcement of morality (with which this article has no concern), but also in regard to trades. Further even than this: among the native Christians—a race of beings found hardly in any other place than Southern India, caste restrictions like those of the Hindoos prevail to a considerable extent. What I have said about the coppersmith bazaars of the Hindoo, applies with equal if not greater force to the Mahomedan borah bazaars, and the salesmen of beef in the meat markets. Amongst the former there are the two prices—one for the native, the other for the European—for every yard of calico, for every dozen of buttons, for every pair of shoes; while amongst the meat salesmen there is a deduction made to the cook who buys, which cannot be obtained by the master who pays, “charm he never so wisely.” There is evidence of the same kind of combination amongst the wholesale merchants. When a scarcity threatens, it is marvellous with what unanimity the Banias keep back their stores of grain in order to enhance the price. This is done in total disregard of all honour, to say nothing of higher feelings which the distress of the time should prompt. In disregard of all honour, I say, because they combine to evade even those contracts into which they have entered, store up the grain they have contracted to deliver, and subscribe to a general fund to defend each other in the law courts when actions for breach of contract are brought against them. On the hearing of such actions they solemnly swear (and are corroborated) that they have no grain, and they plead that they cannot fulfil their contract on account of the “act of God.” Sometimes they win their cases, sometimes they lose them, but whichever way the affair goes, they walk from the court to the market, and with remarkable effrontery offer for sale at famine prices the stored-up grain the existence of which they had just denied.

The introduction of European industries and customs into India has modified—though very slightly—the domestic system of working. This seems, however, to have strengthened rather than otherwise the desire to combine, to which reference has been made. In the workshops of India strikes and lock-outs are common; and it is a fact worth noting that in such strikes the men are not all of one caste. Men of different castes combine to attain a common end. An instance of this is found in the lock-out of the carpenters by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company from their works in Bombay, in February, 1876. The company found that their men were neglecting their work, and they, therefore, determined to establish the piece-work system. The first attempt was made with the carpenters, upwards of six hundred in number, all of whom

received a month's notice, with an intimation that at the end of that time they could if they wished return to work on the "payment by piece" system, instead of payment by salary. In a few days the whole of the men, Parsees, Hindoos, and native Portuguese Christians, formed themselves into a union to resist the alteration. They held interviews with the officials of the company; they pointed out the hardship which the change would inflict upon those old men who had been fifteen and twenty years in the company's service; they reminded their employers that when piece-work had been resorted to in years gone by, the work of building waggons had been so "scamped" that Government had been obliged to interfere; and they complained, also, that the hardship which was imposed upon them did not apply to the European workmen who were still retained at work on monthly salaries. They, however, with a pig-headed candour made an admission which lost them their case. They acknowledged that it was impossible for them to earn as much at piece-work as the company paid them in salary. Mr. Le Mesurier, C.S.I. (then the agent of the company, a clear-headed and vigorous administrator, whose services the Egyptian Government have done well to secure) was not slow to use the argument of the men against them to good advantage. They, however, held out for several weeks, until at last ten of the best workmen saw the untenable position they had assumed, and returned to work. The others gradually admitted the fallacy of the case they themselves had drawn up, and returned to work in batches. Considering, however, that so far as the principal point in dispute was concerned, the men were entirely in the wrong, and considering that up to the moment of the dispute there was no formal union amongst them, I think it must be admitted that the sudden and concerted action of men of distinct races and of different religions and social customs, proves a strong power of combination, especially when it is remembered that race, religion, and custom are such important factors in India in all the relations of social intercourse.

I will simply mention a few other instances. I have known toddy drawers prevent the increase of the tax on their occupation, by refusing to draw toddy from the trees till the intended increase was abandoned. Again, in March, 1876, the Lucknow butchers almost caused a meat famine, by going on strike out of sympathy for two of their companions who had been sent to prison for stealing a cow. In October of the same year the butchers of Madras refused to slaughter, for a reason like that of the toddy drawers already mentioned refusing to draw toddy, and for four days the city of Madras was almost entirely without meat, when concessions were made to them. In July, 1876, coolies employed by the East Indian Railway Company at Allahabad struck because they were required to do work to which they

objected, viz., sweep out the sheds: the company were obliged to give way. The most notable strike, however, which has taken place in India for many years, was that of the Bombay Dock coolies, near the middle of 1877. At that time there was a large immigration into Bombay from the famine-stricken districts. The distressed natives by thousands a day sought shelter and food in the city. Bombay, the second city in the whole of the Queen's dominions so far as population is concerned, is not by any means the second in regard to area. The result was that there was not even sleeping accommodation for the vast number of famishing immigrants who crowded the streets. Fevers of many kinds broke out, and the municipality felt themselves obliged to erect temporary hospitals on some Flats near the town, to which the suffering and the infected were conveyed. Carelessly worded instructions given to the police caused members of the force to attempt to carry to the Flats some sickly-looking coolies. The object and motives were misunderstood by the latter, and in a few hours the whole of the coolies at work on the Bombay Docks—numbering several thousands—were on strike. The harbour was filled with ships. Up to sunset the quays were crowded with swarms of swarthy natives landing cargoes and conveying them to the warehouses and storing-sheds thereabouts. The scene wore the usual appearance of animation and activity which has been observed by all who have visited the commercial capital of the East. Next morning not a single coolie was to be seen. The teeming thousands were idle, the quays were deserted, the ships listless and asleep on the bosom of the harbour. The strike was so complete that the instructions to the police were instantly withdrawn, and the men returned to work on the following morning. It must be remembered that there is no organization amongst these men. They have no secretary, no executive, no register of members, no rules, no funds. There are amongst them simply a few men who are looked up to as a sort of advisers, and yet without any of the machinery of a Trades Union they were able—thousands in number as they were—to arrange in a few hours a strike so complete, so sharp, and so successful, that the whole history of Trades Unionism in this country may be searched in vain for any approach to it, though in this country there would be the wisdom of a multitude of counsellors, who would not decide upon a course of action until after anxious deliberations, and here too the dispute could not have been maintained except by the expenditure of a large sum of money. There are three remarkable features in a strike amongst the natives of India—its immediate and decisive action, its completeness, and generally speaking its success.

It may naturally be asked: How is it, then, that with such strong desire for and such power of combination, nothing like a Trades

Union has been established amongst the natives of India? One reason for this is obvious—the Hindoo is averse to change. He acts as his father acted before him, and it would be difficult to impress upon him any notions of a permanent system of organization. It would be still more difficult to induce him to sacrifice a portion of his scanty earnings to form a fund for future contingencies. Each individual Hindoo is content with sufficiency for the day, and the wonderful power to combine of which I have spoken is only displayed as occasion requires; it sinks to sleep as soon as the occasion is past. It is important, too, to remember that there is not yet any Factory System in India. The industries of the vast peninsula are conducted on what, when it existed in England, was called the domestic system, under which the only union that has ever existed or can exist is a union of the masters. It is true that there are a few mills in India, but these are almost entirely confined to one industry—cotton pressing, spinning, and weaving—and are very few in number. Bombay has arrogated to itself the proud title of the “Manchester of Asia.” In my opinion, it has too hastily assumed the distinction. There are not in the Bombay mills more than 5,000 looms and 500,000 spindles. If these figures be doubled, it would be an exaggerated estimate of the means of the factories of all India. Now, Messrs. Horrocks, Miller & Co., of Preston, Lancashire, work 143,700 spindles and 3,358 looms; so that all the Indian cotton mills put together do not equal half-a-dozen large Lancashire factories. There is, then, practically as yet no factory system in India, and consequently there is not, to speak of, any such thing as a labour market or a wages market. The great incentive to the formation of a Trade Union, therefore, does not exist. Any condition is better than the miserable existence of those millions who labour in their own huts; so that the few thousands who work day by day (Sundays included), from sunrise to sunset, in the factories consider themselves much better off than their fellows. This, perhaps, accounts for the extreme apathy the factory hands show for the praiseworthy efforts that are being made to improve their condition by the introduction of a Factory Act—assuming, of course, that they have heard anything of it, which is doubtful; but I mention it chiefly to show that there is not that inducement to ask for higher wages, and to combine, to strengthen the request which, under other circumstances, there would most assuredly be. Another reason why the native factory workers of India have not united to improve their condition is their dread of the European master or overseer. With the causes of this, and with the Indian Factory system, I have nothing to do on this occasion. The fact that the fear exists is sufficient for my purpose. “The English in India,” it has been well said, “are a

strange mixture of benevolence and bluster." It is not, therefore, surprising that the feelings of the natives should be a mixture of respect and fear. "What the Sahibs will, is," said a native to me; and there can be no doubt that the fact that an attempt at union would be discouraged by the Sahibs is quite sufficient to deter Indian operatives from making any effort in that direction. The native factory workers have never read or heard of the early days of English Trades Unions, of their secret meetings in the dead of night, of their development into Benefit Societies, or of their subsequent recognition by law. These are the reasons that Trades Unions have not yet taken root on Indian soil. It remains to consider how far the only attempt to found a Trades Union in India has been successful.

As a matter of fact, nearly every English working man who has been sent out to India is a Trades Unionist—a member of his Society at home. It must be remembered, however, that the members of the artisan class who leave England for India are chiefly engineers of some kind or other, as well as spinners, overlookers, loom-tuners, &c., who go out under written agreements for a term of years. They occupy positions of responsibility and trust, working with their heads in the factories of Bombay, having abundant native labour at command, and being very highly paid. There is therefore no likelihood of disputes between them and their masters, about wages or anything else, which would require any concerted action. It is true that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has a branch in Bombay, but from the causes just stated it exists only for the purpose of enabling the members of the society who go out to India conveniently to pay their monthly subscriptions. It has no other object, and it seeks for none. It is worthy of note that it is the only English Trades Union with a branch in India.

The other class of workmen who go from England to India are railway servants (chiefly engine-drivers and guards), and it is amongst them that the only Trades Union exists in India—or more correctly the only one which existed until recently. These men are sent out to India under written agreements and on wages sufficiently higher than they can obtain at home, to induce them to make all the sacrifices to leave England for a life in India. In addition to the wages stipulated (Rs. 150 to Rs. 200) a month, much more is given to them in the shape of perquisites, and is earned by them as overtime. They receive extra pay for punctuality when it is accompanied by economy in the consumption of coal, and there are many other things for which they receive additional remuneration. In times of extraordinary traffic it is not an uncommon thing for an engine-driver to earn Rs. 500 a month. It may indeed be generally stated that, taking all the year round, the wages of an engine-driver vary

between a minimum of Rs. 150 and a maximum of Rs. 500. Engine-drivers in India, therefore, are by no means in an unenviable position. They drive out in carriages of their own, accompanied by servants in livery, their wives dress in silks and satins, and their whole families fare sumptuously every day.

In 1872 the railway servants in Bombay started a friendly society composed of the European employés of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, the only two railway companies which have lines to Bombay. This may really be considered the first union amongst European workmen in India, and although started only for prudential and not for trade purposes, was really the beginning of an organised Trade Union in our Eastern Empire. In 1874 the East Indian Railway (the first railway in the country in point of magnitude) endeavoured to introduce a system among its locomotive employés that would have greatly increased the amount of work they would have had to perform, while it would have also reduced the remuneration they would receive. Mr. F. T. Atkins (an engine-driver), a man of great energy, of more intelligence than is ordinarily found in his class, and with some degree of education due entirely to his own efforts, at once called upon his fellow-workmen to resist the innovation. Within fifteen days, and under the disadvantage caused by the enormous distance (1,504 miles) over which the company's line is laid, a union so strong was formed, that the intention of the company was abandoned in language which reads very much like an apology for ever having dreamed of such a thing. When the position of the Government in regard to the Indian railways is remembered, it must be confessed that this was really a very great victory, and one of which the men had reason to feel justly proud. It did, indeed, inspire them with very great confidence, and the union so hurriedly organized began to assume a more permanent shape. Within a few weeks after the attempt of the East Indian Railway Company already mentioned, another great Indian railway, the Great Indian Peninsula, threatened to substitute nine hours as a day's work instead of seven. It was not unnatural that beneath the burning sun of the East this should rouse the men, as it did, to the strongest resistance. It was also natural that the men in Bombay should say to the men in Allahabad, who had so recently and successfully fought the East Indian Railway Company, "Come over and help us." The appeal was listened to and responded to. The superintendent of the Great Indian Peninsula was determined to resist the men to the uttermost, but the agent, who is plenipotentiary on an Indian railway, and who in this case was the wise and just Mr. Le Mesurier to whom allusion has been already made, showed an inclination to consider the demands of the men. The men persevered in their resistance, and

the result was, that it was agreed that in future a day's work should consist of eight hours, but that overtime should be paid as though it consisted of only seven; and concessions were also obtained in regard to privilege leave, sick-pay, and some other matters which the men considered fully compensated them for the loss of the one hour a day which they conceded.

Mr. F. T. Atkins was now becoming popular among the railway servants. Indeed, he was fast developing into a Trades Union secretary and agitator, and he adroitly seized the opportunity afforded by his two successes, to advocate an amalgamation with the East Indian Society, with the Bombay Society already mentioned, as well as with the Locomotive Steam Enginemen and Firemen's Society, which had been started in Calcutta some years before, but which had ceased to exist except in name. Both societies were possessed of funds—the former having Rs. 40,000, and the latter Rs. 4,000. The scheme met with support, and in the same year The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in India was registered under the Indian Companies Act (Act X. of 1866). In December, 1874, a dispute arose on the Scinde, Punjab, and Delhi Railway, and in the following month there were difficulties between the employes on the Oudh and Rohilkund Railway and their employers. The new society, however, was not sufficiently organized to conduct disputes over such wide areas; and, as the men on the railways affected had anything but confidence in their own power of cohesion, they were obliged to give way. One result, however, of the comparison between success when the society interfered, and non-success when it did not, was an increase of members to the new society, and a consequent augmentation of its funds.¹ My own opinion at the time was, that the constitution of the society was such that it could never be capable of any organization on a scale commensurate with the vast area of India. Subsequent events proved that I was right in my conjecture. Of course great allowances must be made for the hurried way in which the society was formed, and for the inexperience of those who drew up its rules. One rule contradicts another, definitions are most lax, and in matters of detail the whole code is a muddle. It is with difficulty one can discern even the leading principles upon which the society was based; and when they are discovered, so far from showing any probability of a strong organization, nothing seems more plainly certain than ultimate and speedy failure. The objects of the society are plainly enough stated. They

(1) I am carefully avoiding the use of figures in my remarks. I may state, however, that the income of the Society for the year ending 30th April, 1877, was Rs. 50,039, of which Rs. 12,500 were contributions by the members, the rest being interest on investments, and profits from the *Railway Servants' Gazette*, a paper which was the property of the Society. The expenditure for the same year was Rs. 16,347. The number of members on the books of the Society at the same time was upwards of six hundred.

are "the improvement of the general condition of railway servants in India;" "temporary assistance to its members when out of employment through causes over which they have no control;" "to promote a good understanding between employer and employed;" "to provide for the legal defence of its members;" "arbitration for the settlement of disputes;" "to prevent strikes;" the formation of an accident fund; superannuation, life insurance, and pension funds; and a fund for the support of the widows and orphans of members. When, however, we come to the third rule, headed, "Eligibility of persons to become members," we find, "*Any Christian* employé in any way connected with any railway in India, British Burmah, Ceylon, the Andamans and the Straits settlements, shall be eligible for admission into this society." I have italicised the word *Christian*, because to my mind its appearance in the rule was one of the greatest elements of weakness in the constitution of the society. It must not for one moment be supposed to have a religious signification. It simply meant that "no natives need apply." I ought, perhaps, to have mentioned before that one of the great incentives to the formation of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in India, was the strong inclination shown on the part of the railway companies gradually to educate the natives to occupy positions as engine-drivers, stokers, guards, and in other capacities. Indeed, the number and suddenness of dismissals of Europeans by the East Indian Railway Company became so great, that in 1875 Government was obliged to interfere to stop further reductions, and so prevent the distress that was being caused. This policy was looked upon with great suspicion by the European employés, and was the cause of much bitter feeling towards their employers. Mr. Fawcett recently quoted the statement of a railway official that native engine-drivers were being trained with success, and gave less trouble than Europeans. He little thought that what the official really meant was that the natives, having no Society, did not discuss their grievances as did the members of the Amalgamated Society; were, indeed, tractable, abject, and submissive. To keep these natives out of employment as railway servants, was one of the first objects of the Amalgamated Society. The high-class European in India looks upon the native of India as a being too insignificant to be dreamed of as a rival. The railway servants, however, know well that the "niggers" can easily be taught to drive an engine, and they imagine that it is a monstrous injustice that a dark skin should be allowed to compete, and perhaps rival, the pale-faced race who are their masters. Eurasians, half-castes, country-born people, and "poor whites," as a certain class are called, were already employed in considerable numbers, and the Society considered these would be an acquisition to the society, especially as it is sometimes difficult to draw the line

of nationality ; and especially, too, as they have not that antipathy to a community from which many of them have taken their wives. There was, therefore, no objection to those whom, to avoid using names that are not pleasant to them, they called "Christian," and admitted them within their ranks ; but no Parsee, Hindoo, or Mahomedan could join their union. It is seen, therefore, that the society was based upon race antagonisms and race prejudices—a position that had ultimately to be abandoned, as will be seen in the sequel. This condition was a great element of failure in the Society, and weakened it in influence, in finances, and in every other respect.

Another source of weakness in the constitution of the Society which I shall simply mention (because the Society did not exist long enough to feel its effect) was the amount which had to be paid by the members to its several provident funds. The newly fledged Trade Union secretary thought—as many better men before him have thought—that, having been capable of so much, he was capable of anything. No actuary was consulted, and the tables of fees, &c., were compiled by the rudest rule of thumb, chiefly from comparison with other tables referring to totally different circumstances. I have said that the Society did not live long enough to be appreciably affected by this basis of ultimate insolvency ; but it was affected by another feature in the rules, the effect of which was immediate and disastrous. The head office of the Society was fixed at Allahabad. A glance at a railway map of India will show that a more inconvenient place could hardly have been selected. Only one company, the East Indian Railway, enters the town, which is a day's journey by rail from the property of any other company. At Jubbulpore, on the other hand, the East Indian Railway and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway meet ; and in this town are situated the printing-presses and publishing office of the Society's *Gazette*. At Bombay even two railway companies join, the one last named and the Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian Company. When the enormous mileage of the Indian railways is considered—the longer lines considerably exceeding one thousand miles—it will be admitted that it was highly important that the executive should meet in a place so central that representatives from two at least of the railways could serve on the Directory. At Bombay this could have been carried out ; at Jubbulpore it could have been done with greater facility, and with more justice, on account of the magnitude of the railways which meet there ; while on many occasions representatives from more than two companies could, with a minimum amount of inconvenience, have occasionally met there. The result of the arrangement adopted, however, was exactly what every one ought to have foreseen. The executive was composed entirely of delegates

from the East Indian Railway, who could alone visit Allahabad with any degree of frequency; and on occasions, and they were many, when it was inconvenient to them, the whole direction of affairs was intrusted to the secretary, who thus became the autocrat of the railway servants all over India. Another natural result was that, from the very essence of the arrangement, and from the way in which the Society had got into existence, the affairs and interests of the East Indian Railway received the attention of the secretary and his old friends of the past who were now his Executive, while the wants of the other lines were neglected and forgotten. The employés on the other companies soon saw this, and began to grumble. It was not right, they said, that their contributions should be devoted entirely to the interests of East Indian Railway employés. The old Bombay society, which it may be remembered consisted of employés on two lines neither of which ran to Allahabad, urgently demanded a reform in this respect—a request which was arrogantly refused. A rupture ensued; Bombay declined to hand over its accumulated funds, amounting to the sum already mentioned, as by the rules of the amalgamation it was bound to do; and claimed the right of secession, a position which was stoutly resisted by those who had the power, who were determined to keep it, and who in the long run showed that they knew how to exercise it. A squabble ensued, identical in principle to, though of course different in detail from, that which took place some years ago in England amongst the members of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, and as in that case so in this, appeals were made to the Courts of Law.

Events ere long took place which made the breach wider and wider. I have stated that the Society had no objection to admit into its ranks “poor whites,” or as they were styled “native Christians.” The executive soon found, however, that by this policy they were caught in their own trap. The authorities gave the poor white every encouragement, doubtless as a stepping-stone to the further employment of natives which they were so anxious (and justly so) to promote. The result was that the labour market became so overstocked that it was evident that unless something were done, wages must inevitably fall and the European be supplanted by the Eurasian. The secretary was not slow to propose a remedy. In May, 1875, he advocated the emigration of “poor whites,” as well as the colonization by them of the waste lands of India. His committee—now indolent and subservient—were easily induced to sanction the necessary outlay, and the members of the society who worked on other than the East Indian line saw to their chagrin their funds squandered without their knowledge or consent, in order that the secretary might go on a “stumping” tour all over the country for an object which, as will be admitted by all who know India, it was simply impossible to attain.

The success attending the scheme was very meagre. Government caused iron works to be opened in the Beerbhoon District, Bengal; at Kumaon, in the North-West Provinces; and an order to close the Warrora collieries was cancelled. These steps were taken in the hope of attracting to work the great number of poor white mendicants in India. The Bengal Government went even so far as to "promise to consider" the feasibility of establishing poor white colonies at some of the Hill stations; and I suppose it is still under consideration, for nothing more has been heard of the matter. The outcome of the agitation was an insipid society which is now without funds, and without influence, without anything but the title "Indo-European Association." There is much to be said in favour of the proposed scheme, but the agitation failed; nothing fails like failure, and the Bombay portion of the Society were furious in their denunciation of the agitation. They still held to their funds, demanded the dismissal of the secretary, and avowed a determination to resist the executive to the last penny they possessed.

The effect of the failure of the "poor white" agitation was instantaneous. The stronghold of the Society was attacked. Towards the end of 1875 the East Indian Railway succeeded in effecting a reduction in the wages of their locomotive employés, in some instances to the extent of 50 Rs. a month. The secretary, like a prudent general, awaited his opportunity, which soon came. In January, 1876, traffic became brisk, all hands were wanted, and he then demanded a restoration of the old rate of remuneration. The demand was refused. A memorial, however, independent of the Society, which, though written like a wail of lamentation, was yet respectful in its tone, and contained such statements as rendered necessary an inquiry, was at once listened to, and Government, on the request of the agent of the East Indian Railway Company himself, ordered an inquiry to be made into the grievances under which the guards, drivers, and firemen employed in that company alleged they were suffering. This independent and successful course of action aroused the ire and perhaps the jealousy of the autocrat of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. He at once took the position that there was no need for consideration, and that wages should be at once restored to their former position. He issued a manifesto or circular, which for folly and indiscretion surpassed anything that ever fell from the pen of the despotic officials of English Trades Unions in the darkest and most degraded periods of their existence. One paragraph, which I will give entire, will show the utter silliness of the document. He says:—

"I do not wish to arouse angry passions, but I have a sure presentiment that unless prompt measures are taken, in six years hence you will be just one remove from starvation, and unable to provide for those little loved ones

growing up around you, those little mouths whose infant prattlings have awakened all those soft and gentle emotions that belong even to the sternest of mankind who may chance to be a father. I do not wish to agitate or excite you in an undue manner, but are you prepared to know that in the event of your death these pretty little prattlers, in whose infantile amusements you find pleasure, whose fond carresses awaken all the father in your heart—are you prepared, I say, to know, to look forward with almost absolute certainty to the knowledge, that when you are gone to your long rest, these little links that rivet all your affection in that centre home will lose all that buoyancy of spirits, that little sparkling eye will lose its brilliancy, those little limbs will lose their roundness, that cheerful smiling face will become sad—and that shrunken little form, those pinched and sharp features, the result of want, gaunt want and poverty, will constitute a deep but lasting reproach against you. Oh, fathers, look on your little ones, and in your mind's eye conjure up the truthful picture I have drawn. Is the contrast not enough? Do you not clasp them in your arms, and bless your God that you have awakened from the terrible trance to a reality of your position? Is it necessary I should point out to you that you are responsible for the future of that gentle girl who is growing into maidenhood? Have you heard what I have heard? How parents have sold their daughters to keep them from starvation. Does not a shudder pass through your frame at the idea of a fate like that happening to one of your flesh and blood? I fancy I see the troubled glance—the nervous twitching of the hand at the thought thereof. At the thought of—but—no, I close the picture—it may become a sad, a sad reality.”

Foolish and ridiculous as the production was, there still lurked within it an element of danger. He called upon those who would no longer be slaves to take advantage of the then existing brisk state of traffic to resign their situations in a body, *i.e.* to strike, in direct opposition to one of the fundamental rules which he himself had drawn up, of the society which he himself had started, and of which he was secretary, and which distinctly stated that “strikes, or anything approaching strikes, were not to be resorted to on any occasion.” The manifesto, however, was disregarded alike by the Government, the railway company, and the men themselves: very fortunately, as it happened, because the respectful memorial of the men (already referred to) soon met with a satisfactory answer to its prayer. The wild circular from which I have quoted widened still further the breach between the Bombay District and the main body of the Amalgamated Society, not only on account of the absurd tone assumed, but also because it was the old grievance of an appeal for the East Indian Company's employés alone. Even some of these, too, felt that their leader had gone too far. Mr. Atkins, however, was not a man to be deterred by adverse criticism or by the full exposure of his folly. In a short time he issued another circular, which, although not characterized by such outrageous rant as his former production, was yet more extravagant in its import. In 1876 the volunteer movement in India was becoming popular, and was taken up with zeal by the employés of the East Indian Railway Company. It is difficult to see any connection between the enrol-

ment of railway servants as volunteers, and the reduction of the wages of railway servants, yet this, to Mr. Atkins' mind, was a logical sequence. Here is an extract from his circular of December 14th, 1876:—

"I could not help noticing the remarks contained in the address of General Maude, when he inspected the Volunteers at Allahabad. He said: '*It is essential that you should render yourselves as perfect as possible—not that it is likely you will be called out for active service, but to protect yourselves in case of emergency.*' I feel confident that the establishment of a Volunteer Corps on the E. I. R. and the supersession of Europeans and Eurasians by natives on that line, were simultaneous resolves; as it would evidently be unsafe to introduce a large body of men into the running department of any railway in India, whose sympathies in the event of any disturbance among the native population must naturally be with their fellow countrymen. General Maude's remarks I interpret as follows:—'*The natives are being largely introduced into the several departments on the East Indian Railway for the sake of economy, and as the Government know the step is a dangerous one, you are intrusted with rifles to overawe them, and the more perfect you become as Volunteers, the more easily can this innovation be carried out.*' Allusion to the Volunteer Rules reminds me that there is a clause contained therein, which empowers any Volunteer to disperse, in the Queen's name, any assembly of natives exceeding five in number; thus the existence of a European Volunteer Corps on a railway in India, not only facilitates the introduction of native labour to the detriment of Europeans and Eurasians—and by its rules and regulations prevents those natives who are engaged, meeting to discuss the best means of obtaining an increase of wages—but also will eventually reduce and keep the wages of *all* classes of subordinate employes connected with the railway service at an abnormally low rate."

This was too much for even Mr. Atkins's most ardent admirers. The circular was construed to mean that European employes were to be trained to shoot down their native fellow-workmen on an emergency, not of a political, but of a business character. And, indeed, it is difficult to put any other construction upon the words used.

The demands from Bombay for the disruption of the society unless the secretary was dismissed and the place of meeting of the executive changed, were more pronounced than ever. Advice was sought by the Bombay district, and I was one of those who were consulted. The society was soon told that the basis on which it was founded was a weak one. It was, they were reminded, an established fact that natives were being employed as drivers, guards, &c.; it was pointed out that the practice would increase; that it was quite right that it should be so; and that a society which made it a chief object to resist the inevitable, was based on wrong principles and must crumble to the dust. It was therefore recommended that the constitution of the society should be extended, so as to admit of native employes as members, and a scheme was suggested in which the difference of the wages of Europeans and natives was acknowledged. In regard to the immediate quarrel between Bombay and Allahabad,

a policy of mutual concession was recommended by the advisers already referred to. The suggestions in regard to both points were at first stoutly resisted both by the Society at large and (though less feebly) by the Bombay District. In regard to the proposal to admit native employés as members of the association, the outcry against such a course was very loud. In Bombay, it is true, a few men realised the inevitable, and were prepared to yield to it with nothing more than an ordinary grumble; but others were of quite an opposite opinion, and declared they would sooner sacrifice all their investments in the society and return to England, than associate with "niggers." The society, they declared, was formed to prevent such a thing, and it would be faithless to its trust if it budged one iota. Particularly was this the feeling at Allahabad, and, as one would naturally expect, an earnest advocate in this direction was found in the secretary. He had discovered, however, that his hot circulars failed in their object; but he had such faith in that mode of discussion, that he induced others to adopt the method which he himself had so unsuccessfully initiated. Anonymous circulars were issued speaking of the horror of Europeans "rubbing shoulder to shoulder" with natives; and, indeed, every step was taken to resist the change in the constitution of the Society which the more thoughtful could see was inevitable. Attention, however, was soon diverted from this question by decided action in regard to what I have called the "immediate quarrel" between Bombay and Allahabad. The Bombay District, after hovering about the High Court for about two years, at last, in 1877, proceeded by petition praying for the winding up of the Society. No sooner was this step taken, than the executive at Allahabad took a similar step in the High Court in that town. The rest is soon told. Cross suits are bad enough when they can be heard in the same court and at the same time. I leave it to be imagined what was the result when the two actions were pending in different courts, separated from each other by nearly one thousand miles. Questions of jurisdiction and of *locus standi* were raised without end. There was soon little left to fight about. Bombay yielded when it was too late. The lawyers divided the oyster between themselves, gave back the shells to the disputants, and the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in India ceased to exist.

The next and last feature in the history of this question is peculiar. As soon as the old Society was dead and buried in oblivion, it was sought to raise up a new society on its ashes. The inevitable, however, was accepted. Mr. Atkins, like the Vicar of Bray, determined that, come what would, he would still be secretary, and he, therefore, at once started a New Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants in India, a principal feature in which is that natives can be members. The indefatigable secretary is now as diligent and

earnest an advocate for the admission of natives, as before he had been determined against it. He had, however, been anticipated. The Bombay district had already started a society on their ruins, on a much wider basis. Not only were natives admissible, but the society was not restricted to railway servants. Under the title, General Association of Workmen in India, all, no matter of what calling, could avail themselves of the advantages it offers. This distinction between the two societies at once aroused the ancient jealousy of Allahabad, and there was another shower of grandiloquent circulars, warning railway servants against rubbing shoulder to shoulder with "butchers fresh from the slaughter-house, tanners fresh from the tanpit, or with a blunghy or a mehter, whose clothing, it may naturally be concluded, would not emit a pleasant perfume." However, both societies at once received a large number of members, and in both cases the numbers are gradually increasing. It will readily be admitted that there is no limit to the sphere of the General Association of Workmen, while, when it is remembered that there are in India no less than 65,500 subordinate railway servants, of whom 3,500 are Europeans, it will be seen that there is ample scope for the vigorous action of the New Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. It is, of course, too soon yet to express any opinion on the prospect of the new societies. I can only regret that experience has not taught them the advantage of proper actuarial assistance. The tables of subscriptions and benefits have been, as in the case of the old society, compiled by rule of thumb, and, unless altered, ruin will sooner or later overtake both associations. It will, indeed, be a pity if these latest attempts at a Trades Union in India fail from any such cause. Setting aside the effects on wages, and the objects for which the two societies have been started, they will, under their present constitution, do much to break down the rules of caste. There are in India bodies of a celebrated secret society which extends over all the world, and at their meetings it is a common thing to see at the same banquets Europeans, Mussulmans, Hindoos, Parsecs, and Jews. What that society is doing in the upper ranks of native society, these two new associations I have mentioned may do to a much greater extent where such a reform is much more needed, viz. amongst the lower grades of society. I have pointed out how strong is the power of, and desire for, combination amongst the natives of India; I have pointed out why they could not join the first Trades Union introduced among them; I have stated how eagerly they joined the two societies as soon as they could be admitted; and I venture to predict that under proper management two large and powerful associations will flourish. The problem is a highly interesting one, and should be closely watched.

W. TRANT.

THE CASE AGAINST BIMETALLISM.

THE fall of silver during the last few years has produced a large crop of that dismal currency literature which has brought almost all writing on currency into disrepute. The distinguishing feature of this literature is the constant assumption that some small defect in a currency which has all the recognised essentials of a good money—a basis in one or other of the precious metals, identity of the standard coins with a certain weight of that metal, and security for free coinage with only a small seignorage, or with no seignorage at all—may be productive of monstrous evils; or that a small manipulation of the currency, even at the risk of violating one of the essentials, may have some vague and indefinite advantage. It would be useless to enumerate the various schemes, of which the most prominent has perhaps been the proposal, generally known as Colonel Smith's, to raise or restore the rupee coinage of India to a level in value with gold. They are sufficiently answered by the common sense of the monetary world, which demands, in this question, merely that a government should authorise a coinage having the essentials above described, arrange for the coins being legal tender and receivable in taxes, and for the rest leave the matter alone. But there is one theory or system which has to a certain extent commanded more respectful attention than the others, viz. the theory which is known by the name of bimetallism. In its best form this theory is not open to the charge of artificiality, and of being inconsistent with free mintage, to the degree that some of the other schemes are open to the charge. The idea is that a State, instead of having the basis of its money in one of the precious metals only, should declare money obligations to be solvable by either of the two metals, silver and gold, in prescribed quantities, still permitting free coinage. The theory, therefore, has gained adherence even from people who have little enough sympathy with the way in which currency writers exaggerate the possible evils of slight derangements in the currency, and look for impossible advantages from currency changes. I wish, then, to put together some observations on this bimetallist question, and account if possible for the dislike of bimetallic theories which is entertained as a rule by those who have carefully studied the English monetary system. Bimetallists are often treated like other currency prophets, as inventing or grossly exaggerating the evils produced by the choice of monometallic systems in preference to theirs, and as aiming at benefits which cannot possibly be derived from any currency change. Is there real cause for this dislike or for the contumelious

treatment which bimetallist advocates, who comprise among their number not a few men of real eminence as economists and statisticians, not infrequently receive?

It will be expedient to begin with a short account of the bimetallic arguments. Up to a certain point monometallists and bimetallicists—at least the more able of the latter—are really agreed. They hold to the common sense doctrine of currency already referred to—that it is not an arbitrary thing to be regulated at will, but that a government fulfils its duty in selecting one or two of the metals as money, receiving all that is brought to them, impressing upon them certain stamps denoting their weight and fineness, and declaring them receivable for taxes, if not legal tender in release of all obligations expressed in money. Where they part company is on the point whether a government should have one metal only, or two or more metals for its standard. Monometallists affirm that there should only be one, and even that there *can* only be one; bimetallicists that there may be two, the law establishing the indifferent employment of certain prescribed quantities of one or the other, and that it is desirable two and not one should be so used. In support of the view, bimetallicists maintain that legalising the use of both metals as a standard will procure certain advantages which are not procurable with one metal only. Such a regulation, it is said, would have the effect, first of all, of keeping more money in use than would otherwise be the case. Money would be more abundant than with one metal only, and abundant money is good for trade.¹ It is no doubt admitted now that unless all governments and communities have the same money regulations, the legalisation of the use of both metals will not have the effect of keeping both in use at one time in a particular State. On the contrary, the debtor will always pay in the metal which it is easiest for him to obtain; a very slight fraction of difference in procuring the prescribed quantity of the one, as compared with the prescribed quantity of the other, will drive the dearer metal out of use. But any inconvenience arising from this alteration, it is said, is amply compensated for by the greater abundance of money generally in which all countries participate.² Another alleged superiority in the use of the two metals as compared with the use of

(1) See Wolowski's *L'Or et l'Argent*, pp. 331—2, where M. Wolowski quotes Count Daru's argument for the famous law of 1803, giving France the system of bimetallic money, which it retained till within the last few years. Daru says: "En réduisant l'or à n'être qu'une marchandise, on diminuerait la masse du numéraire, on gênerait le commerce," &c., &c. And this language is still of the essence of the bimetallic argument.

(2) This is the modern account of the argument. But so far as I can judge, the authors of the French bimetallic law, as of former bimetallic experiments, really hoped to retain both gold and silver in use in their own country. They thought they had found a ratio from which the metals would not vary for a long period, and in the original draft of the law a revival of the ratio was contemplated. See Wolowski, *L'Or et l'Argent*, p. 296.

one only, is the increased facility of exchange between different countries. The legal ratio of use, it is said, tends in fact to keep the metals nearly at the corresponding relative value, so that exchanges between countries not bimetallic themselves, but some of them having gold and others having silver, become almost as steady, through the help of the bimetallic regulations of other countries, as if only one metal were universally in use. This facility would be enhanced by several nations becoming bimetallic, and still more by all nations adopting that system. This is the general theory* of bimetallism, and it is supported by practical arguments from present circumstances. The depression of trade of the last few years is by some held to be accounted for by the scarcity of money due to the demonetisation of silver, and greater pressure upon gold; and by the confusion introduced into the exchanges by France (which has played the rôle of intermediary between gold and silver countries during the present century) abandoning its bimetallic regulations. By others who do not go so far, the actual evils of the last few years, especially through the derangement of the exchanges, are said to be so great as to require a special remedy such as bimetallism would give. Finally it is held by some ardent enthusiasts in the cause that there is a providence in the matter; that not only have two metals adapted for use as money been provided, but that a certain ratio, viz. $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, tends naturally to be established between them. A bimetallic law fixing this ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, merely confirms an ordinance of nature! Such is a fair account, I believe, of the bimetallic argument, and the last point in it, I may observe, is not inserted by way of caricature, but in order not to leave out any principal argument on which leading bimetallists lay stress.

What we have to inquire into, then, are the objections of monometallists to this argument. Is there any real foundation for the superiority to monometallism alleged? and are there no counter-considerations? How far is bimetallism even a practicable scheme? I would begin by saying that the whole onus of proof is on bimetallism. Not only is the opposite system installed, but that system has the merit of simplicity. No one can say that if only one metal had been in existence suitable for use as standard money, the world would have been badly off because there were not two. The controversy is also a comparatively modern one. What governments had to debate before the present century was not any real choice between one or several metals for use as standard money, but how to get a sound metallic currency of any sort. Their difficulties were the temptation to make a profit for themselves at the expense of their subjects by debasing the coin or "raising its denomination" (which comes to the same thing), and the natural difficulty of keeping the bullion contents of a coinage up to the nominal value assigned to it.

It is only since 1696 in England, and since the beginning of the present century elsewhere, that governments have learnt the wisdom of resisting the temptation to debase—if even yet the lesson has been perfectly learnt; and the effectual method of meeting the difficulty caused by wear and tear is of equally recent discovery. The alleged advantages of bimetallism therefore are supplementary only to the primary advantages aimed at by a good currency. A people afflicted with debased coins, whether the debasement was due to natural or artificial causes, would plainly be only too glad to get a good metallic currency of any sort. This of itself is almost enough to prove that there is a fundamental exaggeration in the bimetalist argument. Why is there so much importance attached to matters which could not have been thought of when nations were struggling with the real difficulties of coinage?

Even when these real difficulties existed, it may be remarked, though the social misery and nuisance were intolerable, and there was some hindrance to trade, it was possible for countries to make great advances in material prosperity. Speaking of the seventeenth century, when, as we shall see, the country was afflicted with debased and constantly changing coinage, and when there was besides a long period of civil war and confusion, Lord Liverpool, who was above all statesmen alive to the evils of a bad currency, remarks: "It is certain, however, that during the whole of this period, when our coins were in so great a state of confusion, the commerce of the kingdom was progressively improving, and the balance of trade was almost always in favour of this country."¹ It seems impossible, therefore, that bimetallic money can be so necessary to the world as is alleged, when countries got on so well as they did with money so inferior, that the question between bimetallism and monometallism could not arise, attention being absorbed in more serious matters.

But let us examine directly what the argument comes to. One of the two points of superiority alleged may I think be passed over as hardly counting, or rather as counting against those who use it as an argument for bimetallism. This is the allegation that bimetallism increases the quantity of money in use as compared with the opposite system. It cannot be true that it will have that advantage necessarily, that is if there is any advantage in the matter. Clearly as much gold and silver may be in use as money throughout the world, if some nations have gold and others silver, as if some or all were bimetallic. The quantity of money in use might be diminished by all nations becoming monometallic, and using the same metal; and were this to be done suddenly, great evils might ensue. I believe evil has ensued from the haste to introduce gold in place of silver in some countries, which prevailed ten or fifteen years ago under

(1) Lord Liverpool on the *Coins of the Realm*, p. 120.

the influence of eager advocates of a universal gold money. But this diminution of the money in use is obviously not a necessary consequence of monometallism. It would be rather the result of an injudicious application of the principle which the nations of the world are not now likely to be guilty of.

And the argument turns against bimetallists in this way, that by attaching such great importance to keeping money abundant, they ally themselves with the most vicious of currency theorists. It is not true that the quantity of money, apart from the possibly mischievous effects of any sudden change, socially and otherwise, can affect materially the real wealth and welfare of an industrial community. It is a mere truism to say that while it may be useful to the world for other purposes to have gold and silver more easily obtained than they are, yet, so far as their use as money is concerned, they would be equally serviceable if they were only half as abundant. The bimetallist argument is accordingly tainted, and this accounts very much, I believe, for the extreme disgust and dislike of the theory which economists and statesmen have shown. The prophets who prophesy that the world is to be enriched by abundant money are the detestation of men of sense.

Has not the scarcity and appreciation of gold, it may be rejoined, something to do with the present depression of trade? To this I would reply that the depression is mainly traceable to many other well-known causes of such phenomena, so that the scarcity of gold can only have been a contributory cause. In any case, moreover, the temporary effects of a change in the supply or demand for a particular kind of money, causing a general change in the level of prices, are not to be confounded with the permanent effects of scarce or abundant money. At the new level of prices established, the scarcity and abundance of money may become what they were before. However much, therefore, the scarcity of gold may have contributed to the recent fall of prices, and through that to the depression of trade, it does not follow that the effect will be continued, or that trade will be permanently contracted. A less number of gold and silver pieces at low prices will serve for the same exchanges as a larger number at higher prices. It may be added that it was never proposed by the great English writers on currency—Locke, Harris, Lord Liverpool—to prevent the fluctuations of one of the precious metals in reference to itself at different periods. If other fluctuations were got rid of, those in the metal itself were not reckoned as of great importance, while they were considered to be inevitable. It may be said, perhaps, that abundant money is of more consequence now than it was a century or two ago, because the effect of any given quantity of money is now multiplied by our system of credit. But I fail to see how the con-

stitution of our system of credit makes any difference adverse to the conclusion of Lord Liverpool and the old authorities. Rather we have now a constant demonstration that moderate changes in the quantity of money in use, unless they are suddenly made, are not material. In consequence of changes in credit alone, the serviceableness of the same quantity of money varies indefinitely in comparatively short periods; the scale of prices is in constant oscillation; no conceivable changes in the quantity of money itself could at all have the effects which are constantly being produced by changes in credit alone.

To come to the other alleged superiority of bimetallism, the facility of exchange, we find there is again a good deal of exaggeration. The benefits of great facility of exchange may themselves be readily exaggerated. We may look only how trade has been carried on with inconvertible paper countries, and with enormous fluctuations in exchange. The fluctuations are no doubt an evil, and a serious one, but in a question of the relative advantages of two systems of money, we must see exactly how great the evil is. Even serious evils may have to be endured, because relatively they are unimportant compared with the great objects proposed in a sound currency. Moreover, the question of exchanges concerns only the foreign trade of the countries affected, that trade being at most a fraction of their whole trade. Whatever injury great fluctuations of exchange may inflict, they can only do so by hindering the development of a part of the whole trade of a country—even in this country perhaps only a sixth or an eighth part of its trade. Naturally, and in the long run too, it results from the nature of gold and silver as money, and the magnitude of the stocks in existence, that exchanges between countries using gold and silver will be steady without bimetallism. There may be rapid fluctuations at particular periods, as there have been lately, and as there were in 1850, when great changes in the supply of particular metals and in the demand for them occur. But such great changes, unless all nations lose their senses, are not likely to be of frequent occurrence, and in ordinary times exchange will be steady. The reason is that as neither gold nor silver is likely to change greatly with reference to commodities in general, this being the cause of their selection for use as money, they are not likely to change with reference to each other. Accordingly we find that in past times, without bimetallism, exchanges have been steady for long periods together. I would refer especially to the course of exchange between France and England from about 1820 to 1850. During all that period France was practically a silver-using country. Silver being cheaper than the legal rate, and tending to become cheaper still, had expelled gold from circulation, till, in 1848, the Bank of France had hardly

any gold left in its till. French bimetallism, therefore, could not have prevented a further fall in silver. "Ten years ago," says M. Leon Faucher, writing in 1852, "every one was frightened at the prospect of the depreciation of silver." But notwithstanding this inoperativeness of bimetallism, the price of silver and rate of exchange between France and England remained almost as steady as they have done since, although bimetallism afterwards came into operation through gold becoming cheaper than the legal ratio fixed, and the bimetallic countries having a great quantity of silver to be exchanged for it. Thus fluctuations in exchange are neither so formidable to trade as they are frequently represented, nor are the exchanges so likely to be unsteady as a rule without bimetallism, as its advocates have been in the fashion of maintaining.

The fluctuations with bimetallism may also be considerable. Bimetallism of some sort was the attempted practice of the world for centuries, but this did not prevent great fluctuations in exchanges or the price of silver. Lord Liverpool, writing in 1805, says—

"The price of silver in dollars has varied in twenty-two years, that is, from the end of the year 1774 to the 31st of December, 1797, $11\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and even in the course of one year, that is the year 1797, no less than $9\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. The variation in the price of silver bullion appears to have been still greater, by another account, with which I have been favoured, by the late Mr. Garbett, an eminent merchant and manufacturer at Birmingham; it there appears that the silver purchased by him, as a refiner, with bank notes, varied, according to his calculation, in the course of ten years, to 1793, more than $19\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and in one year only more than $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent."¹

Apart from its bearing on the particular point in hand, this quotation may, perhaps, be useful in convincing people that great fluctuations in silver or in exchange with silver-using countries, are not so novel as they have lately been assumed to be.

What, then, is the increased steadiness of exchange which bimetallism can give? And of what advantage will it really be? The answer to the first question appears to be that, in certain circumstances, in some countries, bimetallic regulations would help to steady the exchanges. When a change in the relative value of the two metals is occurring *in the direction of making the less valuable the more valuable*, and when the bimetallic country possesses the metal which is becoming appreciated, bimetallism may help to steady the exchanges. The metal becoming cheaper pours into the country to be exchanged for the metal becoming dearer, and so the rise in the latter and fall in the former are arrested. Of this the world had a conspicuous illustration after the Australian and Californian gold discoveries. Silver, from being cheaper, became dearer than what was fixed by the legal ratio between silver and gold in France; and as France had much silver to be exchanged for gold, the rise in silver and fall

(1) Lord Liverpool on the *Coins of the Realm*, p. 160.

in gold relatively to each other were arrested. Gold was poured into France and exchanged for silver, the process continuing for many years. More lately an opposite process was beginning, silver, as it lately fell, being sent back to France in exchange for gold, when a stop was put to the proceeding by France suspending the free mintage of silver. But it is only in such transition periods that bimetallism can have any effect. Suppose a change, not in the direction of making the cheaper metal dearer than the other, but in the direction of making it cheaper still (the chances of the one event being exactly equal to the chances of the other), bimetallism, it is plain, can have no influence of any sort. It is powerless to arrest the fall, because the bimetallic country has *already* got the cheaper metal, and has none of the metal which is becoming dearer to exchange. As already mentioned, this was precisely the case in France for many years before 1850. If silver had become abundant then as now, as there was at one time, it appears from the above-quoted statement of M. Leon Faucher reason to think it would be, there was no gold in France to be exchanged for it to arrest the fall. It is not true, then, that bimetallism has a general effect in steadying the exchanges. A country which adopts it must expect that it will only operate in that way in certain special circumstances, and those circumstances may never occur.

It may be said, perhaps, that if many countries were bimetallic, the steadying effect would be greater. But this is clearly not the case. If all bimetallic countries had the same ratio, and the cheaper metal tended to become still cheaper, they would simply be as one country. The fact of their being many would give them no more power over the exchanges than if they were one country, and their power would be precisely that of monometallic countries. Of course, if all countries were bimetallic, supposing that to be a possible arrangement, exchanges would be steadier, just as they would be if all were monometallic upon the same basis. So much may be granted on this head to the bimetallist argument.

But what would be the advantage of this increased steadiness of exchange? As we have seen, the exchanges in any case are likely to be fairly steady; great fluctuations, when they do occur, are not so harmful to trade as they are often supposed to be, while foreign trade, after all, is only a fraction of the business of great countries. In any case, unless there is universal bimetallism, bimetallism will only help to steady the exchanges in certain circumstances, and will have no effect in other circumstances which are just as likely to occur. Can the increase of steadiness which bimetallism may give, therefore, be worth any great price, so long as there is no universal bimetallism? Is universal bimetallism worth aiming at for the sake of mere steadiness of the exchanges? I cannot but think that,

when really looked at, the alleged superiority of bimetallism in this respect, as in regard to its promise of more abundant money, amounts to very little.

But what of the great evils sustained by the Indian Government through the fluctuations of silver and the exchanges? by Anglo-Indians who receive salaries in India and have to remit in gold? and by banks, insurance companies, and others who have invested in Indian securities? Is it not desirable, to obviate these evils, that bimetallism should be made to operate as far as possible—that is, in the circumstances when it will steady the exchanges—and that there should also be universal bimetallism? To this I would reply that, so far as the Indian Government is concerned, and the Indian community generally, the evils of the fluctuations which have occurred have been enormously exaggerated. The difficulty of the Indian Government and people, so far as it is a real one—that is, so far as the changes between silver and gold impose any additional real burden on the Indian community, which can only be if gold has appreciated—will not be affected at all by India becoming bimetallic. The Indian Government would receive silver just as they now receive it, and this would not help them with the increased real burden of their gold payments. England might help India by becoming bimetallic, and so arresting the rise in gold or fall in silver, because England has much gold to exchange for silver; but this would be gratuitously altering our monetary system for the sake of a temporary advantage to India. If gold, on the other hand, has not appreciated, and silver has really depreciated, the difficulty even of the Indian Government can only be transitory, pending the adjustment of all prices and payments in India. As to Anglo-Indians who receive salaries in silver and have to remit in gold, their case is no doubt a hard one, though to some extent the hardship is exaggerated. They are not worse off than annuitants were in this country after the gold discoveries, when all prices rose and their salaries or annuities did not. Here, again, to introduce bimetallism would be to make a permanent alteration in a monetary system to meet a temporary evil. Much the same may be said of the question of investments by banks, insurance companies, and others in silver securities. They have suffered a temporary loss at a time of great fluctuation, and at the present moment there is a difference of about three-eighths in the rate per cent. which the Indian Government has to pay on its rupee compared with its sterling loans, showing the premium which investors here charge for the additional risk of an investment in a silver security compared with a gold security. But as the exchanges become steadier even this premium will, no doubt, diminish. It cannot be said that the flow of capital from gold to silver countries is seriously checked by the want of bimetallism.

Yet another advantage is alleged for bimetallism, viz., that the standard of value set up by it will probably be more stable from period to period than a standard of one metal only. And on the doctrine of chances it would seem there is, perhaps, some foundation for this statement. There is some probability that the chances of one metal fluctuating in value in reference to itself from period to period, will be partly compensated in a double standard system by the chances of the two metals not fluctuating in the same direction. But in this matter, it seems to me, the doctrine of chances is not a sufficient guide for action. The preponderant probability, on one side or the other, is not very great—it appears something like two to one in favour of bimetallism; whereas, for a guide to action, the probability should be so great as to amount almost to certainty. The assumption on which the doctrine of chances is appealed to is, moreover, not quite warranted. In real life, it may be assumed, nations will not be constant in their monetary arrangements. In the future, as in the past, changes of price, political aspirations, the love of imitation, and hundreds of other motives, will induce one nation to change gold for silver or silver for gold, or to give up bimetallism for one or the other metal. The result may well be that, after a long lapse of years, the change of one metal in value in reference to itself will be no greater than the change in the combination of the two. In any case the differences over long periods in the relative stability of monometallic and bimetallic standards of value, hardly seem an object worth any great concern to a State.

So much for the negative criticism of the alleged superiorities of bimetallism to the opposite system. But there is another side to the criticism. May there not be positive defects in the bimetallic proposal, which would counterbalance even greater advantages than any that seem to be promised?

As far as what may be called particular bimetallism is concerned, that is, the bimetallism of one or two countries only, as distinguished from universal bimetallism, there can be little dispute, I believe, of the existence of such great defects. For particular States to be bimetallic is, in fact, to condemn themselves to the misery and nuisance of constant alterations of the money in use. M. Wolowski argues that this is a minor matter, alleging that a country like France suffers nothing by constantly changing its money in use; but history is against him. Since he wrote, France has shown its practical fear of the consequences of bimetallism by suspending its silver coinage, and this was only in accordance with the previous experience of other countries. Lord Liverpool dwells upon this misery at certain periods in English history, as one of the reasons which decided him against a double standard. Those who have any curiosity in the matter may be referred to Lord Liverpool's treatise (p. 57 *et seq.*), but the following summary may give some idea of his argument:—

"The evils resulting from the fluctuations in the relative prices of these metals do not appear to have shown themselves in any great extent, or at least to have been the subject of general complaint, till the reign of James I. At this last period these evils were felt in a most alarming degree. . . . In the first years of the reign of this monarch, the complaints of the exportation of the gold coin, on account of the low value at which gold was then estimated at the English Mint, compared with the value at which silver was then estimated, were great and incessant. To remedy this evil, King James raised the value of gold in his coins by successive proclamations, but he at last raised it beyond the due proportion ; so that during the remainder of his reign, and the whole of the reign of Charles I., the silver coins were in their turn exported, and a very small quantity of these last remained in circulation. The complaints of the want of silver coins were then as great as the complaints of the want of gold coins had been before. During a short period in the middle of the seventeenth century, the relative prices at which the precious metals were estimated at the Mint in our coins, appear to have been in a sort of equilibrium, or to have maintained a due proportion with the prices at which they respectively sold in the market. But in the fifteenth year of the reign of Charles II., that is, in the year 1668, when a new estimate was made of the relative value of gold to silver at the English Mint, that of gold was underrated. . . . A general coinage took place by the advice of Parliament in the reign of King William III. After this recoinage the gold coins passed in payment at a higher value than that at which they were still rated in the Mint indentures, or than the relative value of gold to silver at the time would justify ; not, however, by authority of Government, but by the general consent of the people. The consequence was that the new silver coins began immediately to be melted down and exported, notwithstanding the very great charge which the public had incurred in recoinage them. A very considerable part, in the course of not more than seventeen years, had disappeared, and there was found to be a want of them in circulation. The same deficiency in the number, as well as the weight of the silver coins, has remained to the present day, to the great inconvenience of your Majesty's people. From the beginning of the reign of James I. to the period of which I am now speaking, gold and silver coins were alternately exported, for the reasons just stated, to the great detriment of the public, as often as individuals could profit thereby."¹

These were the practical reasons given at the beginning of this century for adopting a single rather than a double standard, and the mere statement, confirmed as it has been by the subsequent experience of France, is enough. No country will endure the misery and nuisance of the incessant change, and M. Wolowski's allegation to the contrary is singularly unfortunate. In England especially there is a special reason against the alternation in its expense. There is no seignorage on the standard coin at the English Mint, a feature of importance in our monetary system. Whether it is good or bad, it would have to be abandoned in a bimetallic system. It could not be proposed that the expense of an incessant recoinage should be thrown on the country.

To some extent the misery inflicted by these alternations appears to arise from their depriving the people of the peculiar sort of money they want, so that bimetallism really thwarts the natural inclination of communities in choosing their money. It is a pro-

(1) Lord Liverpool on the *Coins of the Realm*, pp. 117, 118.

crustean rule under which the State forces, or attempts to force, an overrated metal into use, so that a country wishing to have gold may be made to take silver, and *vice versâ*. That nations have their wishes in such matters is not only proved incidentally by the continual outcries in England in the seventeenth century, but by numberless facts, such as the difficulty Germany now experiences in keeping the gold it has acquired at so much expense and disturbance to the money market, the refusal of California to take greenbacks in the American Civil War, the liking of the Americans and of almost all English-speaking communities for gold rather than silver, the difficulty of floating a note-circulation in India, the preference in Scotland and Ireland for £1 notes to sovereigns, and other phenomena of a similar kind. The most significant event of the sort, however, was perhaps that adoption of gold by England after 1696 in place of a new silver coinage by the free choice of the people without its being legal tender, described in the above quotation from Lord Liverpool. Those who talk of legislation being able to constitute a demand for money, and being all that is necessary to do so, may be referred to such facts as these. Bimetallism, proceeding on the same assumption, also stands condemned by the facts.

It may be urged that now it cannot matter to a nation which metal it employs for a standard, because the real standard is now bullion only, and all the coins in use are substantially token coins, used only for small change, whether they are of gold or silver. Mr. Lowe's scheme, as described in the *Fortnightly Review* of last month, also assumed that standard coins of gold could be dispensed with. But it may be doubted if, even in England, we have yet got to the stage of wholly dispensing with coins in use of the standard metal. For travelling, and for settling minor balances between countries, gold coins and not gold bullion only are still useful, as silver coins or silver bullion would not be. Apart from this, the greater convenience of gold for storage and for the handling of banks and other institutions which have to deal in it, would make it naturally to be preferred by the richer countries; and whatever may be the case here, it is quite certain that many nations are still in a state to require coins of the standard metal in use, and particularly the silver-using countries. So far as such preferences still exist, bimetallism would tend to thwart them. It would at times create in a country which naturally likes silver a premium on the export of that metal; and at other times, in countries which preferred gold, a premium on its export. This would be obviously a daily and hourly drawback to bimetallism, if any country thinks of adopting it, to be set against the possible advantages it may confer. It will be answered that under universal bimetallism nations will be able to use whichever metal they want, and to what extent they

want; but so far as they do so, and do not use both equally, bimetalism will be inoperative. If they are not to have both metals in use as standard money, they might as well be monometallist at once.

Having mentioned these drawbacks, we need not dwell on others. It is plain that bimetalism, if it does any good, will have many counterbalancing disadvantages, whether it is particular or universal. But the catalogue is far from exhausted. For instance, the difficulty of making such subsidiary arrangements as the exemption of standard money from seignorage, now so conveniently made in a monometallic system, would soon be felt. There would also be an obvious difficulty, under particular bimetalism at least, in finding a means of bullion remittance as compared with the present system. In remitting now to a country where gold is used, any one at need can draw a cheque on his bankers and get the gold he wants. Under bimetalism he might be offered silver, and consequently have to purchase gold in the market. Under universal bimetalism the difficulty would be the same. Gold and silver *ex hypothesi* would be equally available in paying debts, but money is not wanted exclusively to pay debts with; a particular sort of money is wanted for special purposes, and all choice of this sort would be at an end. In effect, also, the use of either silver and gold in prescribed quantities in paying debts, though it avoids in appearance the fixing of a legal ratio, does fix a ratio in reality. It alters the demand for gold and silver from what it would be if communities merely selected the money they wanted according to their convenience, and *pro tanto* diverts and hinders the natural development of the industry of working the precious metals. It is not to be assumed certainly that this interference with natural taste will be more successful with gold and silver than it has been with other commodities. But passing over all this catalogue of objections, let me only urge that, as a practical measure, proposed to a country like England, bimetalism will be objectionable, because it is an alteration of a system rooted in our habits, to which we have become accustomed as the air we breathe, and which we have acquired with much cost and effort after long experience of many bad systems. Even if the other advantages of bimetalism very much outweighed those of the opposite system—and the exact contrary is the case—would not the mere trouble of alteration be an overwhelming disadvantage? The old authorities on English currency might be invoked to bring even stronger arguments. The emphatic protests of Locke and others against *any* alteration of a standard once chosen, as necessarily involving injustice and a violation of contracts, are not to be forgotten, though it is not necessary to our argument here to dwell upon them.

Finally it remains to be urged that bimetalism, admitting the

balance of advantages to be in its favour, and that all other objections are got over, is not practicable in any proper sense of the word. Of course theoretically any particular government adopting bimetallism, and willing to force its subjects to endure the nuisance and misery of incessant changes in their money, which always occur when bimetallism is really operative, may introduce a bimetallic law. But to have such a law is not to have the two metals actually in use, which is the object aimed at, or to obtain for a country most of the other alleged advantages of bimetallism. The advantages it procures will be for others, and sooner or later, therefore, any single country trying bimetallism will abandon it, as France has so lately done. Nations are not philanthropic to the extent of sacrificing themselves for the good of others. A group of nations trying bimetallism will experience the same results and follow the same course. The only chance for bimetallists then is the possibility of their scheme of universal bimetallism being tried. But can any one dream of such a consummation? Who is to draw the treaty? What power of persuasion will bring all countries and governments to accept this gospel? The initiative must clearly come from the great governments, those of England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, and the United States. But only a dreamer could imagine such governments agreeing on the principle, on the ratio to be fixed, and on all the subsidiary arrangements necessary; and then uniting to persuade their smaller neighbours, the dissent of almost any of whom would be fatal. So strong has this objection seemed that, for no other reason, Mr. Bagehot and other monometallists have steadily declined to discuss bimetallism. Their reluctance is surely not to be wondered at. Even if there were no other difficulty in the way of universal agreement, there is one which would probably be fatal—the risk of particular countries over-issuing paper. The Latin convention has been a practical failure as regards Italy for this reason, so that universal bimetallism to be really effective must regulate paper as well as coin issues. If it does not, the world will be no more bimetallic than it is now.

What may be urged more strongly, however, on the score of the impracticability of universal bimetallism, is the probability that great mercantile communities may have a mind of their own in the matter, and may not accept bimetallic money. It is amazing to see how the discussion is carried on, as if a Government had only to issue its fiat, and bimetallism would come into use. Enough facts have been stated in this paper to show that mercantile communities themselves exercise choice in this matter, as England did after 1696; and that bimetallic legislation would not necessarily be followed by corresponding practice. Have bimetallists then any reason to believe that England, which freely chose gold in place of silver in 1696,

would now reverse its choice, now when it is so much richer and so much more a centre of international payments than it was two centuries ago? Have they reason to believe that the Californians who rejected greenbacks would submit to take any money the legislature chose to give them; or that the New York banks would reconsider their late decision not to accept any of the silver coins which Government had just issued as full legal tender? These and other questions must be answered in the affirmative, and with conclusive facts in support of them, before bimetallism can be talked of as a practicable scheme. And no one who knows the business world of London will fancy that, as regards this country, the question would be answered in the affirmative. Leading exchange brokers and bullion dealers have bimetallist leanings; they would like if it could be introduced in any country. There is a half-notion at this moment among some merchants, especially in the Eastern trade, that as bimetallism has so much said for it, it might be tried, though it may be doubted how far this notion would stand the test of actual experiment; but so far as I can judge of City feeling in general, the attempt to force bimetallism on the mercantile and banking world of this country would produce an instant revolt. The slightest approach to "actuality" which bimetallic theories may attain, would soon bring out the real strength of the feeling or prejudice in favour of the present system which exists throughout the City.

The case against bimetallism thus appears to my mind overwhelmingly strong, and the dislike manifested towards it seems accounted for. Its boasted superiority over the single standard consists in the promise of abundant money, which it does not and cannot fulfil, and which its advocates give in a way that taints their entire argument with unsoundness; in the promise of greater steadiness in the exchanges which it will only keep in certain circumstances, while it does not really matter whether the promise is kept or not, as the exchanges in any event will usually be fairly steady; and in the promise of greater stability in the standard of value from period to period, which it may fulfil in certain circumstances, but where, again, the alleged advantage seems really immaterial. On the other hand, whether particular or universal, the system will be attended with no small inconveniences, such as incessant change of the money in use, and interference with the natural taste of communities in the choice of their money, which have formerly caused great outcries; and in England it would have the undoubted evil of altering a long established and excellent system, which is based on experience and has answered in every particular the ends of its designers. Bimetallism, moreover, is really impracticable. If one or two or even more nations try it, they do not succeed in getting the two metals in use, and it is not even conceivable that all should agree to try it. More-

over, whatever governments may say, it does not follow that great mercantile communities will be obedient, and the chance of their preferring monometallism is an element of difficulty to be reckoned with. Such a scheme does not seem entitled to any favour. As founded on the assertion of vague and indefinite evils, which cannot exist in a community possessing a sound metallic currency, as promising vague and indefinite advantages, and as utterly and hopelessly impracticable, even if it should be tried, it seems really liable to all the dislike which sober business men entertain towards flighty currency projects. Matters in its favour are not mended by the talk which I have not thought it worth while to discuss, about the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 being the result of providential arrangement. If bimetallists are sometimes reviled as lunatics, and economists like Mr. Bagehot can hardly be brought to overcome their disgust at the argument for bimetallism, so as to turn aside even to discuss it, they are surely not without excuse. Mathematicians do not stop to argue with squarers of the circle, or with reasoners that the earth is flat.

One more remark, by way of supplement. A former controversy on this subject arose out of the suggestions for an international money, which were so common ten or fifteen years ago. Those who attach great importance to the world having such a money, will regret that the case against bimetallism is so strong, as it is only in such a scheme they can at present see a way to their end. To attempt to reach it by means of the opposite system implies an extensive demonetisation of one metal or the other, which is not to be thought of at present. But the idea of an international money, in the present stage of the world's economic progress, is really premature. Nations generally are not yet so closely inter-connected as to make it worth while that all should have the same money, to which there are many other obstacles—such as over-issues of inconvertible paper—as well as the differences between gold and silver. We may well leave future generations, therefore, to deal with this question, content to do the best we can with the monetary arrangements in our power. As the need for international money increases, the means for introducing it may also be prepared, as they would be prepared, for instance, by the gradual introduction in all countries of the use of gold for large payments, the general use of silver in token coinage only, the increasing wealth of the world causing a great increase of the demand for token coinage, and the extension of economising expedients, so as to lighten the strain upon the dearer and standard metal. An international money upon a monometallic basis is thus a possibility of the future, and there is no need for precipitating matters by impracticable schemes.

ROBERT GIFFEN.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE news of what seems to be the decisive break-up of Cetewayo's main force has been received with universal satisfaction. The sentiment is not one of triumph, but of relief. It is perhaps the first time in our history that we have welcomed a victory as much for the sake of our defeated foe as to congratulate ourselves. The relief that we feel from Lord Chelmsford's success is due partly, no doubt, to our escape, if we really have escaped, out of a costly and doubtful expedition, from which nobody except rapacious colonists and the superseded High Commissioner anticipated any good results. But the relief is partly due also to a conviction that right was on the side of the enemy; that, although it might be necessary on other grounds to persevere in a way which ought never to have been begun, Cetewayo was in fact defending his country against a lawless invasion; and that so equivocal an enterprise could not be brought to too speedy an end. We may take it for granted that, with the dispersion of the military power of the Zulus, the object of the war, whatever it may have been worth, will be considered to have been fully attained. If the Boers of the Transvaal are to be conciliated by the punishment of their foes, we shall have successfully justified one piece of lawless policy by another. The colonists will no longer be able to feign their former apprehensions of a Zulu raid. They will have protected the immense gains which the taxpayers of the mother-country have had to provide for them. Sir Bartle Frere's unjust award in the boundary dispute will be carried out. There can be no impediment left to the conclusion of a peace on the most moderate terms with our unfortunate enemies. The future organization of South Africa will be for Parliament to consider; and there is good reason to hope that it will be discussed on principles diametrically opposite to those which find expression in Mr. Sprigg's speeches, and Sir Bartle Frere's rhetorical dispatches.

If we are to judge from the language of the newspapers, no event of the month, nor indeed any event for many months, has stirred the country so deeply as the death of Prince Louis Napoleon. We are assured on every hand that the nation has seen with profound concern "a circumstance of genuinely tragical interest;" the Prince's death has been spoken of as a martyrdom incurred for England; and it really seems to be seriously proposed that a monu-

ment should be erected to him in the consecrated home of our great dead. It is to be hoped that there are at least some of our countrymen who look on all this with the strongest disapproval, both as politicians of the school of expediency and as men of civilised ideas. The excited sentiment about Prince Louis Napoleon indicates a want alike of political and moral sobriety, which cannot be seen without concern. A want of political sobriety—because every demonstration on the side of a Bonaparte is a demonstration against the French Republic, and it has long been felt by men of all parties in England that our solid interests, if not our sympathies, should lead us most solicitously and most scrupulously to maintain cordial relations with the government of France. It is futile to contend that there is no intention of hostility to the Republic in this display of concern at the death of the most dangerous of the Pretenders. That may be quite true as to intention. But in such cases as this, nations have a subtlety of interpretation which does not lead them far wrong. A French politician might reasonably think that there could not have been much loyal respect for the Republic in the mind of the Prince of Wales, when—with a want of tact and good taste that is fortunately not common in his public appearances—he took occasion to say at a public gathering that, if it had pleased Providence to call the late Prince to the government of a neighbouring country, he would have made a very good ruler. Would not most Englishmen think it of the nature of an impertinence if M. Grévy or Mr. Hayes were to say of anybody that, if it were to please Providence to make him president of an English republic, he would discharge the duties of the post excellently? It would seem as if Englishmen had no imagination; as if they could not picture to themselves the way in which these displays must affect a sensitive nation like the French.

Apart from the political mischief of such untimely elegies, there is the want of moral sobriety which they betray. What are the plain facts of Prince Louis Napoleon's death? England happens to be engaged in a war which the majority of her own people, including the responsible government, believe to be unjust and unnecessary, and to have been forced upon her by the bad judgment of an insubordinate official. This foreign prince flung himself into it, with the spirit in which he would have joined a hunting-party. It was no quarrel of his nor of his country. There was no great human cause at stake, such as might well have influenced a generous imagination, and ennobled even an imprudence. He went out either for the sake of excitement, or else in order to win prestige before France as a soldier. The young prince went out, not as a subject of the government which was at war with the Zulus, but to serve private and personal purposes of his own. There was no imperative

duty ; and those who voluntarily engage in acts of war otherwise than in obedience to imperative duty, can move no lamentation in civilised minds, if they find the death which they recklessly sought to inflict upon others. We admit readily enough the force in the old sentiment, *Sunt lacrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt* ; we feel that it affects men more intensely in the case of those whose name is surrounded with imposing associations ; and sensible men would only too gladly have passed in silence over an incident about which there is nothing charitable or edifying to be said. But when natural impulses are childishly allowed to cloud the moral judgment, and to draw us away from the plain lines of sound political reason, then it is impossible not to protest against these mischievous extravagances, which both discredit the good sense of the nation, and inevitably wound the just susceptibilities of the greatest of its neighbours. There is an absence of seriousness and consideration in it all. The newspapers congratulate Englishmen on their fine display of sympathy with the bearer of a great historic name, and exalt that sympathy to extreme proportions. Then it occurs to them that this may hurt the French, and that the cue is to keep on good terms with France ; with strange levity, they instantly turn round and assure us that after all it really does not mean anything. This levity is what other nations have for long generations been accustomed to call the hypocrisy of England. It is indeed unpleasantly like hypocrisy. And it is unpleasantly like hypocrisy to exclude Byron, for instance, from Westminster Abbey, while complacently making room for a Napoleon, whose name has for ninety years been the European symbol of retrogression, fraud, lawlessness, and bloodshed.

No more important debate has been held in the House of Commons this session than that which took place Friday, July 4, on Mr. Chaplin's motion for a Royal Commission to inquire into the existing state of British agriculture. Significant by reason of the facts and figures which it elicited, the discussion was infinitely more remarkable for the opinion which it records. Hereafter it may be regarded as scarcely less momentous in its way than the most memorable of those debates which sealed the fate of Protection, or as that not less ominous battle of rhetoric and sentiment fought over Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Resolutions. It marks an episode in the history of a question deeply associated with the welfare and destiny of a people ; it indicates the dawn of a new era in the arrangement of the matters that lie at the root of a nation's prosperity. Throughout the whole of the speeches delivered upon this occasion there was audible a note that proclaimed the imminent disruption of a system

which has existed in this country from generation to generation and from century to century. Those who study the facts adduced and the arguments employed on either side can scarcely fail to perceive that the curtain is about to rise on a new act in the drama of English domestic legislation, and that it will not fall till the land laws of this country have been recast, and the political changes which must be among the results of the process are on the high-road towards accomplishment. The hour of trial has come, and the scheme of British land tenure has been found wanting. Trial, indeed, there has been before. But though some of the causes of the present crisis are ephemeral, its peculiarity is that it possesses marked elements of permanence. Bad seasons may be succeeded by good, but American agricultural industry is not likely to be followed by stagnation. Our system of agriculture is impotent to bear the strain of Transatlantic competition. That is the test which is being now applied to it, and which at last compels the recognition that we must overhaul and reconstruct the whole of our agricultural machinery.

The speech of Mr. Chaplin indirectly served to bring out this necessity into strikingly clear relief. He could not of course press his arguments to their logical conclusion, but what this conclusion is, was never for a moment doubtful. The present agricultural distress he attributed to two sets of causes, one remediable, the other irremediable. To the latter belonged the inclemency of the weather; to the former the fall of prices. Over the elements legislation can have no power prices it may help to affect. But how? Only by resorting to the machinery of protection, by arbitrarily fixing some figure below which the cost of home agricultural produce is not to fall, and consequently by taxing American imports. Yet it was not seriously pretended that a return to protective tariffs, which would mean a general increase in the cost of the necessities of life to an already overtaxed people, is at the present day possible. As was remarked by Lord Hartington and others, since protection has been abolished in this country, not only has the value of land increased by twenty-one per cent., but the condition of the agricultural labourer, as of every other class of labourer, has immensely improved. If, then, the re-introduction of a protective policy be out of the question, it follows that the two evils indicated by Mr. Chaplin are equally incurable, and that the source of some alleviation must be looked for elsewhere. Such are the steps by which we are led to the conviction that a Commission upon agriculture, whose suggestions are to pave the way to any definite result, must examine not only various methods of farming, the soil and the precise influences of foreign competition, but the far wider problems of the tenure and the cultivation of the land.

It is calculated that the tenant-farmers of England pay close upon

£70,000,000 to their landlords for rent. In other words, that is the amount which they must get out of the soil before they can realise a farthing of profit; while over and above this there are the wages of the agricultural labourer. Contrast with this condition of things what, according to a correspondent of the *Times*, now exists in Illinois. Here fields are to be obtained for two or three shillings an acre, and in this way there are produced 30,000,000 bushels of wheat—the entire yield of the English harvest—and 270,000,000 bushels of Indian corn, while more than 6,000,000 acres of fertile land have yet to be brought into cultivation. The cost of conveying the produce to Europe will, it is said, in the case of grain, soon be less than 5s. a ton, and will enable Chicago meat to be sold in Liverpool for 3½d. a pound. Even if it be supposed that the expense of transit is much higher now, there is still a sufficient margin of profit for the Transatlantic agriculturist to render him a formidable competitor to his English rival. In the face of facts like these, it is idle to talk of the disastrous consequences of bad seasons, or the immense amelioration which may be expected when certain changes have been made in the rotation of crops or in the method of drainage. These are questions which may indeed usefully engage the attention of Mr. Chaplin's Commission, but they suggest minor issues, and the inquiry will be valuable only in proportion as it includes the fundamental topics dwelt on not more by Mr. Bright than by Lord Macduff and Lord Hartington. There is no harm in enumerating the smaller utilities which such a body may effect, but the one thing certain is that whether or not the body extends its researches to the character and operation of our present system of land tenure, it is that system which will have to be reconsidered and readjusted. Mr. Chaplin, as Mr. Bright said, has in demanding an inquiry let the waters loose, and it will not be easy to find any artificial floodgate which will withstand the rush that has already begun.

The whole of the debate of July 4 may be said to have centred round two points of prime importance—first, the number of people whom the English soil can be reasonably expected to support; secondly, the manner in which the productive power and the market value of land are to be increased. It was one of the great merits of Mr. Bright's speech that he examined the entire question from a severely business-like point of view. In ordinary businesses if a man were able to pay only fifty or seventy per cent. of his liabilities, he would find it necessary to go into liquidation. In agriculture there are some cases in which the landlord volunteers a remission of his rent to something like this extent, and others in which he is compelled to accept it. This process has now been going on for

several years; how is it to be checked? One solution is that at which Mr. Chaplin hinted, and which Mr. Bentinck almost explicitly advocated, the taxation of bread stuffs from Manitoba, and meat supplies from Minnesota. The other is the destruction or modification of a great feudal monopoly under which, while there are in England 32,000,000 of consumers, two-thirds of the English soil are in the hands of less than eleven thousand owners. Thus there is another illustration afforded us of what the adoption of a protective tariff would mean—simply an addition to the imposts laid upon an overwhelming majority, in order that what is not so much a minority as the handful of a minority, may retain certain advantages and traditions. These are the facts which caused men like Lord Macduff and Lord Hartington, the heirs to immense territorial estates, to speak of the existing territorial system as doomed. Lord Macduff declared that the Commission would be useless, if it did not examine the whole question of the security of the tenants' capital invested in the soil, while he added, "One more condition was necessary to make this Royal Commission really acceptable, and that was the opening up of the whole question of transfer, distribution, settlement, and entail of land." Lord Hartington's words have been already interpreted as indicating a new programme for Liberal action. Mr. Chaplin admitted, as Mr. Bright emphasized, the fact that agriculturists are generally now in a state of actual or potential insolvency; in other words, that "the land will not now support as it has hitherto supported the three classes of farmer, landlord, and agricultural labourer." But whereas Mr. Chaplin drew from this the inference that unless the landlords are relieved, the land will go out of cultivation, seeing that, as he chose to assume, the soil can only be remuneratively cultivated so long as large estates and large farms are kept together, Lord Hartington declined to anticipate any such prospect. "I believe," he said, "that it is utterly impossible that the land of this country should go permanently out of cultivation. Suppose the worst happens, and that, as my honourable friend says, farms will be unlet, and that the agricultural labourers all emigrate; does he imagine for a moment that the surplus population of our great industrial centres, who now go out to Australia and America, would not cultivate the soil for their own subsistence? To talk about the land of this country going out of cultivation, I believe to be absolute nonsense. All that is meant is that it cannot be cultivated under the present system so as to return a profit, to every one concerned." And after this Lord Hartington went on to describe what this system is, and what are the respects in which change is required. The country is divided into large estates whose proprietors are often not

their complete masters, whose cultivators are not, and never can hope to become, their owners, but whose owners are practically condemned in perpetuity to a responsibility, from which they would often gladly escape, by the law of settlement and entail. "I do not venture," the leader of the Opposition added, "to express any confident opinion whether under our social system it would be possible by any legitimate means to create a large class of small proprietors, but it seems not wise to maintain, if you could avoid doing so, a system of law which makes the transfer of land so difficult and so expensive to small proprietors."

These words suggest the possibility of a considerable area of united action for the Liberal party in the not remote future. They have been uttered; they cannot be recalled; and if they are not wholly meaningless, they indicate an entirely new departure in contemporary politics. To make land free must assuredly be not to diminish, but to increase its value. If there is any class who will suffer, it is not the landowners, but the conveyancers. The existence of an order of peasant proprietors cannot be secured by law, but the only alternative to securing such an order need not be, as at present, prevention by law. The burden now laid upon the land is one to which it has ceased to be equal. If it is to be removed or diminished it must be by the instrumentality of those reforms which Lord Hartington advocated, and to which it remains for the Liberal party to give effect. Will the farmers recognise in what direction at such a juncture their interests manifestly lie? What it is now proposed as necessary to do, if farming is to be a profitable and possible occupation, is to accomplish in the tenure of land improvements analogous to those which have been achieved in its cultivation. In few departments of industry have there been greater advances than in the management of the soil. Farming has become a scientific profession, but the conditions on which farms are held usually savour of a survival of feudalism. Not only has the English farmer no security of tenure, but he labours under grave restrictions in the application of scientific inventions to the farm which he rents. There is a prescribed mode of cultivation that must be followed; there is the game of the landlord that must be fed. And now that the professional agriculturist is beginning to feel that the shoe pinches, and he is offered the prospect of a remedy, will the circumstance that this offer proceeds from the political party which also regards with a favourable eye the electoral emancipation of the agricultural labourer, cause the farmer to refuse the boon? The position is this. The occupation of the farmer is in a fair way for being a universal synonym for bankruptcy. He is heavily, fatally handicapped, because the land out of which he looks to make his living is handicapped. The cause

of the disadvantage under which he thus labours must be found in the laws which govern the whole of the English land system ; and these laws the leader of the Liberal party has practically declared that he will lend his efforts to recast and amend. Because incidentally these reforms may have the effect of elevating the agricultural labourer above the condition of serfage, may give him in fact the chance which, as it is, he must emigrate to secure, and because those who can alone actively carry the work of such reform would also relieve the country householder of the political disabilities from which he now suffers, will the English farmers remain so blind to their own interests as to play into the hands of the advocates of the sacred right of exclusive privilege ?

The chief remaining incidents in the course of recent parliamentary history have been treated elsewhere in this number of the Review. Among the legislative achievements of the present session, the Irish University Bill will probably not have a place. It may even be inferred from the statements made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons on July 14 that the Government have abandoned the idea of further proceeding with their measure. The truth is that there never was a chance of any Bill drawn upon such lines as that introduced by Lord Cairns being accepted by the Irish Roman Catholics, and it is incomprehensible what advantage her Majesty's Ministers should think can accrue to them from the attitude that they have adopted throughout the entire question. Just before the session began, came the negotiations between the Irish priests and the English Government. The upshot of these was that the Cabinet was declared to have abandoned its idea of attempting to legislate on the subject. Legislation, we were told by the ministerial press, was, in fact, impossible, because the Irish Roman Catholics were unreasonable. They wanted not merely a university, but endowments for their colleges, and this, as we were naturally reminded, meant endowments for their religious teaching and their Church. So the project was abandoned, and in this position matters remained till May. The O'Connor Don introduced his Bill in that month ; the first debate on the second reading took place on the 21st. It was perfectly plain that the measure would not be accepted either by the Government or the Opposition. A month later came the next important stage in this strange political history. After several hours had been occupied with a discussion of the O'Connor Don's proposals, the Home Secretary announced that her Majesty's Ministers intended to legislate on the matter themselves, and that a Bill dealing with the general question of Irish university education would be introduced by the Lord

Chancellor in the Upper House the next day. The next day arrived, and the introduction of the Bill was then postponed till the following Monday. On Monday, June 23, Lord Cairns gave a brief sketch of its exceedingly simple provisions, and it was at once perceived to be a mockery of the Irish request. But it was shrewdly suspected that the Government had not yet shown their whole hand, and that they held something substantial in reserve. This impression was confirmed by the exceedingly ambiguous answers given both by the Prime Minister and by the Lord Chancellor to certain questions asked a few days later. It was, however, only at the end of the debate on the second reading of the measure (July 8), that the Government indicated the concession which they were willing to make. They would not give a lump sum out of the Church surplus fund, or from any other quarter, to the new university, or to the colleges which might be affiliated to, or connected with it. They would not even follow the precedent of the Irish Intermediate Education Act of last year, since that would involve the direct or indirect subsidizing of denominational institutions. But they would have no objection to consider any request for voting annually a certain sum out of which to reward with scholarships, exhibitions, bursaries, and possibly fellowships, deserving and successful candidates. It would have been perfectly possible so to interpret such a promise as this, and so to manipulate the effect which might be given to it, that it should come to mean nearly the same thing as the endowment of denominational institutions, but it was hardly to be expected that the Roman Catholics should be satisfied with a vague and conditional promise on so momentous a matter. Hence, it was natural to assume that when, on the 14th July, Sir Stafford Northcote, in mentioning the list of measures which would be proceeded with, alluded to the Irish University Bill in so cold a manner, further communication had passed, if not between the Government, yet between those who were probably in the secret of the ministerial views, and the parliamentary representatives of the Irish Roman Catholics, the result being a failure to arrive at any satisfactory arrangement. On the same evening an emphatic declaration of hostility to the Bill in its existing form was made in the House of Lords by Lord Emly, who dwelt particularly on negotiations between the Irish executive and the Roman Catholic bishops. All knowledge of, and responsibility for, these negotiations were disclaimed by the Prime Minister. At the same time the Lord Chancellor intimated that if Ireland was not satisfied with what the Government had already done, and was yet not unwilling to do, it would be idle to hope for more. Lord Cairns, however, incidentally made a statement which was at once a criticism on the character of

the Irish Intermediate Education Act of last year, and an illustration of the untenable and illogical position which the Government, in consequence of the education policy carried out in England, occupy towards Ireland. Payment of colleges by result fees involves, he said, the principle of denominational endowment by the State. Now, what is true in respect of colleges must be true also of schools. Therefore it was the principle of denominational endowment which Lord Cairns had himself advocated and carried last session. But the principle has been formally recognised, and is now acted upon in England. How, then, it may be asked, can the Government justify their refusal to do for colleges in Ireland what they have already done for schools, and what they do systematically for English schools? Until some satisfactory answer is forthcoming to this question, the Government will continue to be without any reason, apart from the exigencies of political partisanship, for their refusal to grant the Irish demand. Meanwhile, the history of this question throughout the present session illustrates the danger and the impolicy of the tactics of reserve and compromise. At no stage have Ministers said a word more than was reluctantly wrung forth from them by urgently importunate querists. At every stage, instead of taking their stand upon the firm ground of an intelligible principle, they have condescended to chaffer and to bargain.

While the English Parliament has been abortively discussing a measure for securing the higher education of Irishmen, the Education Bill of M. Jules Ferry has made its way through one Chamber of the French Legislature. It is not likely to succeed in passing the Senate during the present session. The more clearly its provisions are examined, the more superfluous and mischievous are they found to be. If the principles of the measure were sound, then it would follow that the amendment proposed by M. Montjau should have been accepted, and that the teaching not only of unauthorized religious bodies, but of all religious bodies, should have been forbidden. Arbitrary and short-sighted intolerance is in truth of the essence of the measure. Granted that the religious influences of the Jesuits are as immoral as M. Paul Bert declares them to be, and that the educational text-books of the order are calculated to poison and corrupt the youthful mind, teaching that lies, thefts, and other iniquities are, under certain conditions, pardonable, or not severely punishable; what is gained by passing a law declaring that any Jesuit who is for the future found teaching shall be held to have committed a grave offence against the State? In the first place, it is perfectly certain that, however contaminating it may be, Jesuitism is not to be robbed of its influence by any punitive

measures enforced against individuals. The Jesuit priest or lay brother who is forbidden to teach in a school will pose as a martyr in the family, and any moral or physical poison which he may have secreted about him will be ten times more insidious and pernicious on that account. Secondly, the State as it is has abundant power to prevent the dissemination of the degrading doctrines contained in the books of which M. Paul Bert complains, for it is in the State that there is vested the plenary power of inspection.

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THE COMING LAND QUESTION.

THE Land Question in this country during the first half of the present century was viewed merely as a question of prices and of rents. For the quarter of a century following on the abolition of Protection it became a question of improved cultivation. But within the last dozen years it has been gradually rising in the public mind as a question of the tenure of land.

There are several reasons why this aspect should more and more engross attention. So long as the produce of the soil of England was adequate to feed its population, there was no particular reason for considering how its resources were developed. Also, when land was the chief part of the real property of the country, the maintenance of the poor fell chiefly upon it, and holders of other property were not much concerned to inquire whether different arrangements might alleviate the burden. Above all, our insularity and Conservatism led us to accept whatever system prevailed in England as the best, if not, indeed, the only one which reasonable beings could approve, and any whisper of objection was hushed down as the morbid utterance of crack-brained revolutionists.

All these conditions are now changed. The leaps and bounds with which the prosperity of the nation has recently advanced, have outstripped the very slight increase in production by the land, and the consequence is that we have now to import about half the food we eat. It naturally comes to be asked whether it is not possible that a different form of tenure might not infuse such new life into cultivation of the soil as to make it unnecessary to pay these enormous sums to the foreigner for the means of subsistence. The poor-rates, falling more heavily than before upon towns, raise the question whether pauperism might not be lessened by encouraging the independence and thrift which follow on the possibility of acquiring small properties. Our communication with foreign countries, by travel and trade, has vastly increased; we have compared the wealth

and comfort of France and America, the countries of peasant ownership, with the poverty and backwardness of the countries of large estates, and we have been staggered in the belief that absorption of whole districts by one proprietor is the system most conducive to the happiness and contentment of the majority. These reflections, mingling and reacting on each other, have brought the public mind to a stage when acquiescence in existing arrangements is no longer possible; when it is felt that *something* is in the air which must be done, and when proposals for change, more or less radical, receive consideration which at least is respectful and anxious, if not yet, perhaps, profound.

It is still, however, very necessary, in the first place, to recall that the State has the fullest possible right to fix such conditions as it thinks fit on the possession of land. Those who are disposed to view property as something sacred and inviolable, ought to remember that there are no rights of property except what the law confers. No one could preserve his property for an hour by his unaided prowess; it is the power of the State which secures him in its quiet enjoyment, and when the State uses its power it is entitled to prescribe the terms and the extent of its aid. We need not go farther back than the feudal system, to which landowners at least will not refuse to appeal, to find the doctrine of absolute State supremacy firmly asserted. The foundation of that system was the principle that all land belongs to the Sovereign, and that its use is only permitted by him to private individuals on condition of their yielding certain State services. For a long period grants of land were for life only, they were not alienable, and they reverted to the State at the grantee's death. By slow degrees the privilege of inheritance was accorded, generally subject to a heavy fine. The right of bequest came afterwards; it was in England only conceded so late as the statute of 32 Henry VIII. c. 7. The rules of law that permit the creation of trusts are equally of modern growth, and are mostly the inventions of lawyers in contravention of statutes. No less artificial is the law affecting estates in settlement and mortgages. The succession duties, varying from one to ten per cent., are an embodiment of the right of the State to resume possession in any proportion of the property which it assures to individuals.

Hardly a session passes in which Parliament does not, in some shape or other, exercise a controlling authority over these rules of property—sometimes increasing, sometimes restricting, the powers conceded to its owners, dealing without scruple with even vested interests, and using no plea except that what it does will be for the public benefit. There is, in short, no such thing as an indefeasible private right in property; its enjoyment is secured only in so far as public policy warrants, and is limited within the bounds

which from time to time are prescribed by our ideas of public advantage.

No possible change in the land system of England can then be beyond the competence of Parliament, and we are relieved from the trouble of proving that any amendment which may be proposed is legitimate, if only we are satisfied that it will be beneficial to the nation at large. Now nothing can be more obvious than that the nation at large has a right and interest in having the greatest amount of food produced by the soil which knowledge and skill are capable of educing from it. If this be done under the system of private and hereditary ownership, the nation may be content. But if any existing habits or laws prevent it from being done, the nation is not merely entitled, but is bound, to remove the impediment, no matter what individual inconvenience may be caused by the change. Ownership of land is a trust granted by the nation for its general benefit, and the trustees must clearly be enabled and compelled to fulfil the condition of the grant. As in feudal times they were bound to set so many men-at-arms in battle array for the national defence, so now they are bound to produce food for so many citizens as their land can fairly maintain. It is for their own profit, for they are paid for the food. But if profit be not sufficient motive, compulsion must be resorted to, and artificial hindrances must be abolished to let natural laws have their course.

No one can pretend that this implied trust is fully executed by the landowners of England. A small proportion do execute it, the majority do not. Those among themselves who are most competent to judge, those practical farmers whose opinion is decisive, declare that production of food in this country might in round numbers be doubled if greater skill and capital were employed in the business, and if it were not subjected to restraints which are fostered by legislation. For to obtain the full production of which the land is capable, it must in parts be drained, in parts laid out in suitable divisions and enclosures, in parts relieved from the destruction of game, almost everywhere more heavily manured, and almost everywhere furnished with more suitable buildings for the rearing and feeding of stock. Leaving out of view in the present paper the question of the game laws, it will be seen that every one of these necessary improvements demands the outlay of capital and the employment of skill. And the question is, What hinders capital and skill from being thus employed?

The hindrances are the following:—Firstly, the existence of estates so large as to be beyond the power of satisfactory supervision by the owner in person. The limit of useful ownership might indeed not unreasonably be drawn at the line of profitable management by an owner farming in person, and it might very reasonably be urged

that ownership and occupation ought not to be allowed to be severed. But without proceeding to that point at present, it is unquestionable that an estate so large as to need superintendence by agents cannot be deemed in the best position for cultivation. Land agents are, indeed, as a rule, very respectable men and well qualified for their duty, and if they were themselves the owners, they would probably make excellent landlords. But not unfrequently they are mere lawyers, or other persons who have no real knowledge of what farming needs, and their functions are limited to drawing the rents and staving off any claim on the landlord for outlay. On the other hand, those who really understand what ought to be done, are hampered by the necessity of obtaining the sanction of perhaps an absent, or indifferent, or impecunious landlord before it can be executed. Lastly, very large estates mean, as a rule, a very large income, which makes the owner careless whether the full capabilities of the land are developed or not; he is quite willing to earn the character of an easy landlord by leaving the farms in the hands of hereditary tenants at inadequate rents, provided they do not grumble about hares and pheasants, vote as he wishes at election times, and pay him a somewhat reverential submission as the great man of the neighbourhood.

Secondly, the owner, either of a large or small estate, is often so tied up by settlements and other conditions, that it is not in his power, or is not his interest, to do what is right. He is tenant for life only, and the estate may at his death pass to a son who has mortally offended him, or to a distant relative whom he has never seen. In either case his inclination will lead him rather to deteriorate than to improve the land. Even if in neither of these categories, he may have a family of younger children to provide for, and as he cannot divide the property he must starve it in order to pay for insurances on his life. But suppose none of these very common cases to occur, he is hampered at every turn by legal difficulties. He cannot even borrow to improve the estate without putting in motion a train of legal machinery which may cost him thirty per cent. of the sum he wishes to raise.¹ Under such circumstances it is plain that a landowner will do most wisely by doing the least possible in the way of improvements. He will best consult his own interest by letting things slide, exacting rack rents for the term of his own enjoyment, careless whether the land deteriorates, the tenants become bankrupt, or the labourers are paupers. Now the laws of inheritance are generally defended by the argument that they make it the interest of the owner to increase the value of the estate. Here we find that the law which permits entails

(1) Not to be suspected of exaggerating, the writer of this paper may say that he has, under even favourable circumstances, personally experienced this fact during the current year.

and settlements, comes in to make his interest in general precisely the opposite. Confiscation by the State would be less detrimental to cultivation of the soil than compulsory succession is.

Lastly, the burden of incumbrances on the land prevents a very large number of landlords from developing its capabilities. These burdens may be debts contracted by their ancestors or themselves, or they may arise from provisions made for previous generations of children. Whatever the source, the effect is to disable the owner. He is burdened with payment of a rent charge which makes him virtually a mere tenant, while he has on his hands the responsibility and reputation of an absolute proprietor. The balance of income remaining to him is absorbed in maintaining that fictitious standing. He has a house proportioned to the gross value of the estate, not to his net receipts; he must keep an establishment corresponding to his house; his position in the county is determined by his acreage; his mode of living, his charities, his provisions for his own family, are all expected to be in proportion to what his possessions seem to be. True, it is generally known that a man is more or less incumbered, but there is a perpetual temptation, too strong for any but exceptional humanity to resist, to act up to appearances instead of to realities. Nor does the incumbrancer, who is the real landlord, share in the least degree the obligation of the nominal landlord. Whatever happens, the incumbrancer draws his fixed income from the estate and gives nothing back to the estate. It is the nominal landlord who must meet, out of his own pocket, all losses by bad tenants or bad seasons, and the harder the times, the more he is expected to be generous. In such circumstances it is impossible that he can lay out capital in improving the productiveness of the land. He simply does not have the means. The mortgagee, who has the income, has not the management. Under this divided system, it results that neither does anything, till happily at last foreclosure becomes inevitable, and the estate passes into new hands to commence a new life.

It may quite well happen that every one of these causes of bad management and defective culture are combined. There may be—there are—vast properties, managed by incompetent agents for a spendthrift landlord, who, himself heavily burdened, has for his heir some one whom he detests. Or two or three of these contingencies may occur, or one only may be in operation; but one alone, no matter which, is sufficient to make an estate comparatively unproductive. And every one of these causes is the creation of our own legislation. Our national laws encourage the concentration of property, facilitate the imposing of burdens, enforce settlements and entails, impose legal fines on the alienation of unfettered estates, or on the improvement of those which are not allowed to be alienated.

The remedies proposed for these mischiefs vary in degree according

to the energy of reformers. The most moderate are content with a simplification of conveyancing. The next would modify or abolish the law of settlements. Some would abolish primogeniture. The most daring would introduce the French law of succession by equal division.

All these reforms would do more or less towards meeting the necessities of the case; but some would do very little, while others would do harm along with good. There would be no difficulty in simplifying conveyancing. A mere conveyance on sale may be made as short and as cheap as a transfer of stock, for the only difference is in identification, and it is needless to identify unless in the cases in which there is dispute. But the saving of cost would only enure to the benefit of the vendor; for at present the purchaser, especially of small parcels, computes the cost of the conveyance as an addition to the price, and he would be ready to pay a higher price if he had less to pay to the lawyer. This remedy would therefore be of little avail in promoting the division or improvement of land. Abolition of entails, of trusts, and settlements, would be of much more material benefit. It would give liberty of improvement to those who at present have not liberty, and a motive for improvement to those who at present have none. It would do this at no cost but that of interfering with expectations which are not legitimate, because they exist in certain families without any reason, and they do not exist in all. This, however, would of itself avail nothing to break up large estates, or to furnish with funds an overburdened owner. Finally, the introduction of a fixed rule of equal division among children would operate to subdivide only where there is a family of more than one, and would be liable to come into play as frequently when the estate is already too small as where it is too large. Furthermore, it would introduce all the moral evils of entails. It would oust parents of their natural right of judging what is best for each of their children. It would make the whole family subject to the temptations which at present assail only the single heir of a settled estate—the temptation of filial indifference, of early extravagance, and of anticipating the father's death by post-obits.

At the same time I fully admit that children have certain rights, if the right of succession be recognised at all. They have the right to reasonable maintenance and start in life. This was recognised in Rome, as it is in Scotland to this day, by the institution of the "*legitima pars liberorum*," which is, speaking generally, a third part of the deceased's personal estate, to be divided equally among the younger children, and which the father cannot deprive them of without substituting an equivalent. I do not know any reason why this moderate ratio of provision should not be introduced in England, or why it should not be extended to apply also to land in the United

Kingdom. It seems to offer a fair compromise of the advantages of allowing scope for parental discretion, on the one hand, and of securing children against parental caprice, on the other.

Thus far, then, might reform in these commonly suggested lines beneficially go. But though these reforms—simplification of conveyancing, abolition of settlements, fixed allocation of a share to younger children—were adopted, there would still remain the one great pregnant evil, the want of capital to deal with the land so as to develop its full capacity of production. This is a disadvantage attaching alike to large and small estates, to fettered and unfettered inheritance. It mainly depends on the fact that most landowners are in debt, either to outside creditors or to their own families. Hence the charges on the estate diminish the net income so far as to make it inadequate to maintain the owner in the position of an apparently unincumbered proprietor, and at the same time to execute the improvements which the progress of time makes necessary.

This great disadvantage was recognised by Sir Robert Peel, at the time of the repeal of the Corn Law. To meet it, he made a grant of some millions from the Imperial Treasury for advances to enable landowners to make permanent improvements, the interest on such loans being fixed at a rate which would repay the capital in twenty-five years. At once the whole sum was taken up by the landowners of Scotland. A further grant was afterwards made, of which English landowners were roused to secure a portion. The action of Government has been since superseded by the institution of Lands Improvement Companies, whose advances, when certified by a Government official to have been expended on beneficial purposes, enjoy a priority over all other incumbrances. That these expedients have been of great utility cannot be denied, but their advantage is limited by the cost and cumbrousness of the machinery required. Neither Government nor any private company will lend money except on certainty of repayment; to attain that certainty, prior mortgages must be postponed; to judge whether these can properly be postponed, demands official inspection, with its attendant delay and trouble. Nor will a landlord already burdened assume more debt, unless satisfied that his tenants will pay the additional interest, and it is not every tenant who will consent to pay a rate of interest which includes reimbursement of the capital, and thus involves a gift to the landlord.

Such a method is therefore at best cumbrous, costly, and inadequate. The true remedy for imperfect farming must be found in some other method of obtaining capital for its improvement. There is only one method, and this is that landowners should be freed from incumbrances. And to do this there is only one way, and that is that land should not be permitted to be a legal security for a debt. It is not meant that land should not, like other property, be liable

to be seized and sold for the owner's debts, but it is meant that it should not be capable of being legally affected as security for one special debt, to the exclusion of the owner's general creditors. In other words, mortgages should no longer be valid.

The effect of this rule would be, as regards the future, that a landowner desiring to raise money could do so only on his general credit, or by sale of a portion of his property. The former resource would be occasionally available, just as it is to a merchant. Banks would probably discount a bill of a landowner, whose presumed credit was fairly good, but it would be only for temporary advances, and no one would readily lend to a landowner who was suspected of being seriously indebted. Sale of a sufficient portion of the estate to yield the sum required would therefore be the usual method of raising funds. As regards existing mortgages, it would be proper to make their validity cease at various dates, so as not to bring too much land into the market at once. This could be accomplished by enacting that the power of the mortgagee to foreclose should expire at a certain number of years after the date of the mortgage, or by other arrangements which will readily suggest themselves. The rule would apply equally to family provisions, and the result would be that in a moderately short period all the land in the United Kingdom would be held free from incumbrances.

There would, in this change of the law, be no pecuniary loss or hardship to any one. Mortgagees would be paid off, and children receive the capital of their portions, as they may now at any time. Annuitants would be transferred to the security of Government or of insurance companies. Reversionary interests charged on land would, it is assumed, be no longer permitted, as land itself would be relieved from reversionary settlements. The landowner himself would actually gain in pocket by being compelled to sell in order to pay his debts. This apparent anomaly arises from the fact that land brings a much higher price in the market than the rate of interest it yields would warrant. A brief exposition of the causes and extent of this phenomenon may be useful to those to whom it is not familiar.

Land in this country, and more or less in all countries, carries with it something more than mere security or commercial profit as an investment. That something is the mental satisfaction or pleasure which its ownership involves. Large estates bring social consideration, which if artificial is no less valuable. Moderate estates bring many rural enjoyments, and even the smallest properties gratify the instinctive desire to sit on one's own land, to have a fixed inalienable residence, where every improvement is for one's own advantage, and they appeal to the elements of hope and vanity which make a man always sanguine that he can draw profit where another could not. Again, one who already owns land is always ready to give an extra

price for an adjoining piece, to round off a corner or exclude a rival. On the other hand few who have not had actual experience take into account in purchasing the full amount of outlay which land involves, since these are to a considerable extent occasional, in repairs of buildings, and in keeping up roads, bridges, fences, drains, and ornamental features. All these circumstances combine to make the average price of land so high that the net return from the purchase money is on an average little over 2 per cent. It may be increased by further judicious outlay, but we are at present speaking only of the rate of interest on unimproved properties as they are offered for sale. A mortgagee, however, having no subsidiary enjoyments, lends only on condition of making 4 to 5 per cent. on his money. Hence it is always for the pecuniary advantage of a landowner to sell instead of to mortgage. He will get for the sale of a small portion of his estate as much as will pay off a mortgage that absorbs the rent yielded by a much larger portion.

To make this clear by an example, let us suppose an estate of £1,000 a year rental, mortgaged to the extent of £10,000. On this there will be usually £450 a year to be paid as interest, leaving the owner only £550 net rental, but subject to all requisite deductions for rates, repairs, and maintenance of the whole property. These cannot be taken at much less than 20 per cent. of the gross rental, or £200, and consequently there remains only £350 as the actual income from the whole property available to the owner. But now let us suppose him to pay off the mortgage by sale of a portion of the estate. As land brings a price of at least thirty years' rental, the whole estate is worth £30,000, and by selling one-third the mortgage will be cleared off. The gross rental from the remainder will be £660, the deductions for maintenance £132, so that the net income will now be £528, as against £350 in the days of the mortgage. Such are the results on a moderately burdened estate, and they would be still more strikingly in favour of sale instead of mortgage in cases where the amount of the mortgages is larger.

If it should cause surprise that, in spite of the obvious profit of selling, owners should still cling to their heavily burdened acres, account must again be taken of some very marked tendencies (or foibles) of human nature. There is family pride, which brooks not the idea of descending to an apparently lower stage of importance; and the sentiment of ancestry which repudiates the notion of diminishing a long-descended inheritance. Sometimes there may be the more legitimate desire to hold on the property for the benefit of an heir who will be less incumbered. Economic arguments are silenced in presence of considerations such as these, and a man endures the privations and anxieties of an insufficient income, rather than seek the relief of freedom from debt and the advantage of augmented receipts which would accrue from sale. That the law should compel a sale

would therefore, it must be admitted, be often felt to be a sentimental hardship, even though unquestionably a pecuniary gain.

Had we to consider the landowner only, we might, indeed, still allow him to exercise his own option between these alternatives. But we have to consider the land, and the interest in it which the nation has, and which is paramount to that of the immediate owner. It has been already shown that it is impossible for an incumbered owner to make the land produce what it is capable of yielding if capital were applied to cultivation. The question, therefore, now is whether prohibition of the power to mortgage, leading to the necessity of sale, would furnish the capital required for this object.

It would, in this way. Returning to our instance of an estate of £1,000 gross rental (the arguments being quite as applicable to one of £100 or of £10,000 rental), burdened to the extent of say one-third of its selling value, we have seen that the net income available to the owner is no more than £350 a year. But on this he is expected to maintain the state and appearance proper to an income of three times as much. He is tempted to this by all surrounding influences, by all the motives, in fact, which induce him to hold the estate at all. But it is obvious that in this struggle he is forced to screw every penny he can out of his tenants for his private expenses, and he is utterly unable to aid them to improve their farms. He must, on the contrary, cut down to the lowest possible point his outlay in mere repairs, and he cannot possibly go to the expense of such costly improvements as draining and erecting new farm buildings. But if he is compelled to sell, and pay his mortgage, we have seen that at once his free income springs up from £350 to £628. This is, however, not all. Henceforth he will have an estate not of the nominal value of £1,000, but of the nominal value of £666 a year. Every one of his neighbours will know the difference, and he will not be expected to live beyond his known means. He may, perhaps, continue to be extravagant, if such is his nature. But, at least, he will be freed from the temptation—so strong in men and women both—of vying in his establishment and mode of life with others of presumed equal, but really greater, means than his own. Besides this, the saving he can effect in personal outlay will go much farther in executing necessary improvements on only two-thirds of his former acreage. It is reasonable to expect that in very many cases these influences will enable landowners to lay out on their estates what is really needed for their better cultivation, and what will repay itself in higher rents. While the portion which has been sold off, passing into the hands of an unincumbered owner, will equally be subject to the course of improvement which its mortgagor could never have effected.

It has been observed that portions for children and jointures to wives would fall under the same rule, and that the capital sum

necessary to provide for them would have to be raised by sale if the personal estate were insufficient. But otherwise the rule against charging the land would not interfere with the usual family arrangements. A landowner's widow and children would be secured in the same way as a merchant's or a professional man's family—that is, by intervention of a trust to hold personal funds for the purposes intended.

But the new rule would at once sweep away all the intricate technicalities of conveyancing, and make titles to land really simple, secure, and easy of transfer. A title without mortgages, without terms of years, without remainders vested or contingent, would be similar to the title to a ship—the register would show the true and sole owner, an entry of a new name in the register would effect a transfer, and no one could disturb the possessor whose title was thus evidenced. This new safety would alone add to the selling value of the estate.

A further beneficial result of the suggested rule would be that overgrown estates would, in many instances, be at once broken up, and portions brought into the market. Wherever there is debt at present, a sale of some part would be inevitable. An extravagant owner would be no longer a curse to the community, by holding vast tracts of land in a state of suspended animation. His extravagance would be rather the immediate means by which more industrious men would enter into possession. But there is a greater chance of extravagance being checked before destitution is reached, if it could be fed only by sale instead of by the more insidious process of mortgaging.

The land would, however, be brought to sale in parcels of every variety of size and value. Since there would be no compulsory partition into definite shares, but only an indirect compulsion to sell, the land for sale would be divided into such lots as would bring the best price, from being most convenient to purchasers. Hence there would be openings for every variety of investor, from the peasant cultivator to the capitalist. None, however, would be able to buy with borrowed money, and a wholesome restraint would thus be placed on the cupidity which buys beyond its legitimate means. Every purchaser would start free from debt, simply because no one would give him credit. His remaining free would be insured by the same principle. So, at last, we should have a proprietary free to do the best they can with the land, unhampered by either legal or social obligations, and honestly the full owners of all that they seem to possess.

It will, perhaps, be suggested that these arguments run counter to the principles which led to the institution of Land Credit Banks, and which elsewhere have induced statesmen to foster the acquisition of land by the peasantry by giving facility of mortgage. But it may

very well happen that a social reform may at times be of such paramount importance as to deserve encouragement by methods which economically are hurtful. It may also be that even an economic evil may be so great as to deserve remedy at the cost of an economic blunder of less consequence. To abolish feudal serfdom, and to give to the actual cultivators an interest in the land, are objects so vital as to have justified in Germany, France, and Ireland, the permission to acquire property by aid of mortgage. But in Great Britain at this moment there are no social mischiefs demanding unsound remedies. There is abundance of realised capital ready to be invested in land. The main question for the investors is, how they shall make the best profits; for the nation it is, how they can grow the most food. No one who is competent to judge can for a moment hesitate in his reply to both these questions. Most profit will be made, and most food grown, by those who put the largest amount of capital per acre into the business of farming. It is the extra capital which brings the highest percentage, by bringing an increase of production above the average. Now the landowner who is burdened with debt cannot put in even an average capital. Whether he be peasant or peer, owner of an acre or of a county, the agricultural dogma is unvarying,—he who cannot spend must lose. And the countries which have been cited yield a confirmation of this truth. There are immense social advantages in the peasant proprietorships of Germany and France, and in matters which do not demand capital (*e.g.* poultry and dairy management) they are ahead of our practice. But in total produce from the soil they are fifty per cent. below our average, simply because they are, in general, burdened with debt, or otherwise have not the capital necessary for high farming.

The conditions of the contract between the landlord and the tenant farmer, so much debated at the present day, are not touched upon in these pages, because we are dealing with conditions which must precede any contract. Before a tenant's capital can be invested at all, the landlord's capital must be laid out in the permanent improvements which are necessary to adapt the land for cultivation and for breeding or feeding stock. If it is suggested that the tenant may find capital for these improvements provided he is assured of being repaid, the answer is that this would both limit tenancy to men possessed of double capital, and that it would make landlords more than ever helpless by being more than ever in debt. Nor must it be forgotten that no legislative regulation of contracts can compel contracts to be entered into; and if landowners find that distasteful conditions must accompany the letting of land they will decline to let it at all, but will cultivate it themselves (however badly) with the help of bailiffs. What is really wanted from legislation is only that restraints and burdens which legislation has

created should be removed. The landlord and the tenant will then meet on equal terms to make their bargain, on such conditions as may be most for their mutual advantage. The landlord will have capital for permanent improvements, and the tenant will have capital for higher culture.

But this condition precedent of agricultural progress, and the investment of capital by the landowner, is most of all hindered by the legislation which fosters that human weakness, that earth-hunger which among every race urges men to "add field to field," and to "call their lands by their own name." It was repressed among the Jews by the institution of the Jubilee, which, every fifty years, restored free to its original owner land that had been sold or mortgaged. The remedy which would adequately meet it now is the declaration by the nation that the soil from which we draw our subsistence shall not be liable to be pawned. For pawned it is, though its possession be not parted with, when its capacity to yield its increase is put under control of another. The whole matter reduces itself to the simple proposition that he who cannot do justice to the land should not hold it. That a mortgagor cannot do justice to it, is expressed by the fact that he has mortgaged it.

Under the existing system of English or Scottish law there is hardly such a person as an absolute owner of land. There are, in the English technical phrase, estates carved out of it, belonging to different persons for different interests almost without end. There is the tenant for life, and the remainder man, vested or contingent; there are trustees of settlements, and of terms of years; there are mortgagees, who hold the legal estate, and mortgagors, who have the equity of redemption; and fresh subdivisions and complications of all these rights are possible and frequent. Each one of these estates is a drag upon the rest; often they signify rival and hostile interests. The individual who is called in irony the landlord, is confronted at every turn by some one with legal rights that override his own. He is, as the Scottish lawyers expressively call it, "under the fetters" of restraints imposed by past generations. No one less than he can do what he likes with his own, for his privileges are limited to keeping out his mortgagees by handing them his rents, and keeping out his heirs by continuing to live. The land itself, shred out by legal subtleties into this variety of properties, fails to perform its natural function of yielding food for man. Those who have an interest in improving it have not the power, those who have the power have not the interest. The evil can be removed only by returning to the simplicity of our forefathers, by making the full property in land accompany its possession, and by prohibiting the creation of rights whose existence annuls the first right of all—the right of the people to be fed.

J. BOYD KINNAR.

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY.

NOTHING is more remarkable than the change which has come over the study of psychology in England within the last fifty years. A comparison between the last published work of Mr. George Henry Lewes, and the opening chapters of the sixth book of Mill's *Logic*, is quite sufficient to establish the reality of the change. It is not so very long ago that Stuart Mill died, Mr. Lewes's death is still fresh upon our minds, and yet the difference in psychological standpoint, and the divergent answers given to the problems with which mental science deals, amount, if not to an absolute revolution, at all events to a development which almost initiates a new order of things. It is true that Stuart Mill's main originality did not lie within the province of psychology: he repeated, with only a few unimportant differences of detail, James Mill's system of the human mind; but in works like the *Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy*, and in the notes on his father's *Analysis*, his position in this department of science was indicated with sufficient clearness. Comparing these indications with what we know of the modern psychology, it is hardly too much to say that the difference between Mr. Mill and Mr. Lewes is fully as great as that which a philosophical historian finds between the systems of Hume and Kant. Whereas Mr. Mill treats throughout of Experience as though it meant the proceeds and results of *individual* acquaintance with cosmical facts, Mr. Lewes explains it in a larger sense as the inheritance of the whole human race. To the former "mental phenomena do not admit of being deduced from the physiological laws of our nervous organization," to the latter "a neural process or an organic state is the physical correlate of a mental state." The earlier philosopher never seemed entirely to understand the immense importance of evolution and development in mental science, the later is never weary of impressing upon his reader the progressive influence exercised upon the human mind by such facts as the social medium in which men live, and the laws of heredity as explaining so-called mental forms and innate ideas.

The causes of this change may be summed up in one word—the study of biology. It is biology which has brought about the recognition of the "organism" as one of the elements of psychological research. It is biology which has introduced into the text-books of Mr. Bain and Mr. Herbert Spencer such terms as "nerve" and "tissue," "organ" and "cell," "neural tremor" and "muscular reaction." It is biology, again, which has suggested, if not initiated,

the application of the law of development to the phenomena of the human mind. The impulse to this movement came partly from Germany. Those successors of Kant who developed his philosophy on the lines of experimental research—as opposed to men like Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, who were the main expounders of that which is called Idealism—paved the way for a great scientific movement, of which in one way the result was Comte, in another Bain and Spencer. Mr. Lewes himself is much more the disciple of Fechner, Lotze, and Wundt, than he is of John Stuart Mill.

It would be paradoxical to assert that the antagonistic school of the Idealists helped in bringing about the change in psychological science, and yet indications may be found of the force of their continuous criticism. To Stuart Mill Kant was as a book sealed. Whether owing to imperfect opportunities for acquaintance, or to a constitutional distaste for German philosophy, Mill's system is entirely untouched by Kantian ideas. Kant's view of experience, of the *a priori* element in all perception and thought, of how the world came to be for intelligence a world at all, remained for the English philosopher either mysteries or idiosyncrasies, explicable solely by the "false metaphysical method in the chains of which all Germany was bound." By Mill the relations of sense and thought were conceived much as Hume and Locke conceived them. There was the outside thing or object which we only know as "the permanent possibility of sensation;" there was the sense-impression, which was lively, immediate, bearing in itself the evidence of its clearness and truth; then there came the idea, or thought, or conception abstracted from sense-impressions, the result of associations set up among the intimations of sense. Thus, thought was a sort of transformed sensation, and sense-impressions, as acted upon by laws of association (Mill's "mental chymistry"), explained all the furniture of the mind. But there were obvious difficulties in this position. What could be said of those fixed and permanent points of view, those stable relations, as another school calls them, which seem to exist in all men's minds alike, and of which Time, Space, and Cause are the most obvious and wonted examples? Could they be adequately explained as in each man's case produced during his brief span of three score and five years by the constant and regular influx of his individual experience? Could it be in any sense true to speak of each man's mind at the outset of his experience as a *tabula rasa*? The Kantists had declared that that was impossible; that all knowledge grew indeed out of experience, but was not all due to experience; that there were some *a priori* conditions of knowledge, some fixed relations which, because thought brought them to the constitution of experience, prevented thought itself from being the mere result of experience. Biological science, in its turn, had something to say to Mill's view of

knowledge. Is it true that every man starts on the career of knowledge with precisely the same advantages and disadvantages? Do organic antecedents go for nothing? Does the physiological mechanism of the human body, the result as it is of the gradual evolution of humanity, go for nothing? Is it of no consequence to a man in his intellectual or in his social life whether his fathers have eaten sour grapes or not? Can it not be true also that as a man passes on to his child his own inherited aptitudes, his temper, and his moral disposition, so also he transmits certain "forms of thought"—such as Time and Space—which he has not made for himself any more than his son will make them for himself, but which are the crystallized results of experience throughout the whole line of human life? To speak of each man as acquiring for himself his own knowledge and experience by sensible contact with the world outside him, is to give no intelligible explanation of the difference in modes of thought between a Shakespeare and an Æschylus, a Laplace and a Democritus, still less between a Goethe and a Carib.

Thus the Idealists with their *a priori* conditions on the one side, and the Biologists with their developed organism on the other, sapped the foundations of the so-called sensationalist school. Henceforward the philosophy of experience, which erewhile had been carried on by Locke and Hume and Mill, must no longer be sensationalism and individualism, but the experiential philosophy of men like Spencer and Lewes. Historical development and the study of physiology must be recognised as the prolegomena to psychology. The close connection between psychical and physical states must be clearly avowed, and the laws of heredity given all their importance in evolving the consciousness of each individual.

It is of course the strictly scientific lines of research which have chiefly influenced Mr. Lewes. There is nothing he dislikes so much as metaphysics, unless it be dogmatic theology. And, indeed, if by Idealism is meant the vague, nebulous Spiritualism of men like Victor Cousin, Maine de Biran, and Jouffroy, there is nothing which is more utterly distasteful to an acute and scientific thinker like Mr. Lewes. "Le moi," "l'œil interne," and the rest of them, the semi-theological conception of the soul as an extraneous principle put into the body to govern it, the idea of Self as a spiritual substance, whereas the body is a material substance, are crudities of thought which are invariably treated with the scorn they doubtless deserve. But Mr. Lewes was far too deep and comprehensive a thinker not to know that the followers of Kant were not metaphysicians and Idealists in this sense of the terms; and his careful exposition of Kant himself in the *History of Philosophy*, served as an effective contrast to the treatment which French eclecticism received at his hands. It was not to be expected that his psychological principles would be constructed without a due regard for, or at least a careful study of, those

systems which were most opposed to his general position as a philosopher.

To the student of philosophical history, to one who marks the various currents of antagonistic thought as they approach and recede and react upon each other, there are two points of considerable importance in Mr. Lewes's last work, which, if his wish had been to reconcile opposing tendencies, might have been construed as attempts at a compromise, as bases for a future reconciliation between materialism and idealism in psychology.¹ The first of these is Mr. Lewes's view of the relation between objective and subjective; the second is his peculiar conception of "the general mind," as a sort of formula for the collective action of the social medium. Extreme materialism, laying an exclusive stress on the fact of life being a function of the material organism, treats the phenomena of mental life as results of the activity of the nervous organization. Heat is a mode of motion: thought is a mode of neural tremor. It is not easy to express clearly Mr. Lewes's position in this matter, but it is obvious that if by such a materialism as this is meant the view that thoughts and ideas are the effects, of which nervous currents are the causes, he will not accept the doctrine. "Who that had ever looked upon the pulpy mass of brain substance, and the nervous cords connecting it with the organs, could resist the shock of incredulity on hearing that all he knew of passion, intellect, and will was nothing more than molecular change in this pulpy mass? Who that had ever seen a nerve-cell could be patient on being told that thought was a property of such cells, as gravitation was a property of matter?" (p. 74.) Nor will Mr. Lewes for a moment allow that particular functions can be with any exactness localised in particular portions of the nervous system. "I can never read without a smile," he says on p. 115, "the confident statements which credit certain nerve-cells with the power of transforming impressions into sensations, and other cells with the power of transforming these sensations into ideas, which assign Volition to one centre, Sensation to another, Perception to a third, and Emotion to a fourth." And again: "Much of what passes for physiological explanation of psychological processes is simply the translation of those processes in terms of hypothetical physiology" (p. 114). What, then, is the relation between modes of consciousness, like volitions, perceptions, and emotions, and objective facts like nerve-cells, fibres, and centres? The latter may be said to be the biological conditions of the former (p. 6), but this must not be understood to mean *pre*-conditions; they may even be said to be the cause of the subjective manifestations, only we must remember that cause and effect are not two different things, but really one phenomenon (p. 24). Objec-

(1) I use with great reluctance the unqualified terms "idealism" and "materialism," but there are no other which are at once so convenient and so expressive.

tive and subjective are, in fact, like the concave and convex sides of an arc; viewed on the one side, they are objective facts, viewed on the other, they are subjective processes.

Does this mean that the phenomena are at bottom the same, though divisible into these different aspects, so that the subjective laws we ascertain by introspection actually *are* the objective laws we gain by experiment and observation? If so, the dream of the Idealist might after all be true, that his thought *is* the universe; while the Materialist might derive his satisfaction also from the thought that objective laws, gained by induction and experiment, exhaust the whole content of Consciousness. But the question still remains, and obstinately presses for an answer, Which comes first in genetical order? Is it Mind creating for itself an intelligible universe? Or is it the universe with its laws of development gradually evolving Thought as its last and crowning product? Neither school will be satisfied with the assertion that they are both right and both wrong; that, in reality, objective and subjective are two versions of the same original, two aspects of the same phenomenon: for the natural question succeeds, what then is this underlying or original phenomenon? Is it Thought, or is it Matter? The Unknowable of Mr. Spencer, or the Synthetic Consciousness of German idealism?

The last question brings us face to face with the most difficult problem which Philosophy has to solve, and which is the most effective touchstone of the opposing psychologies. "The conquest of modern speculation," as Mr. Lewes himself assures us, "is that our world arises in consciousness;" or, in other words, that all we know of objective facts is, and can be, only expressed in terms derived from our subjective feelings and ideas.¹ If we limited ourselves to this expression, we should be logically driven to the Idealist position, that it is only in virtue of our thought that there exists for us an intelligible world. But then, on the other side, scientific men have traced for us the gradual development of matter from its rude beginnings in protoplasm up to that human intelligence, which crowns the many-chambered, slowly-built edifice. According to this view, it is intelligence which arises in, or is derived, from the world of things, not the world which arises in, or is constructed by intelligence. It is this fundamental contradiction between two principles, each of which stands on a basis seemingly irrefragable, which the philosopher has to solve as best he may. It is the difficulty of solution that explains most of those systems which are called ontological; for instance, that strange conception of Schopenhauer, in his *Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. The fundamental reality with

(1) "Even those philosophers who believe that the substance of the mind is not in any way allied to the substance of objects, have still to admit that mental and physical phenomena are only accessible to us through Feeling: the divisions, therefore, which we establish remain from first to last divisions of feelings" (p. 88).

him is Will, which begets the world with all its developing gradations of life, and begets too the intelligence or consciousness, as its latest birth, whose task it is to understand or represent to itself the world. On which of the two sides of the antithesis, objective or subjective, does Mr. Lewes take his stand? Does he believe in the fullest sense that the world arises in consciousness? or that consciousness is the final development of the world? There can be no real doubt. As a man of science, as a student of physics and biology, as a distinguished exponent of the English experiential school, as an uncompromising opponent of metaphysics or metempirics in every shape, he must range himself with the materialists. And, indeed, where Mr. Lewes's concern is not so much with the refinements of psychological definition, he gives no uncertain sound. Just as Mr. Spencer, in his ontological moods, talks of an underlying substratum of the Unknowable, so Mr. Lewes, in his *Problems of Life and Mind*, refers to "a larger circle" which is objective, and which includes "the two lesser circles" that we divide into objective and subjective. It is this larger circle which is the veritably objective; which is the parent of things, the essential reality (however incapable of comprehension); and it is the successive differentiations and developments of this which produce the manifold forms of the world we know, and the diverse phenomena of that intelligence of which we are conscious. This is the true materialistic position, with whatever refinement of exposition it may be set forth, and it is sufficient to fix definitely Mr. Lewes's opinions on the matter. Even in the *Psychology* itself, there are sentences which affirm the same thing. "The real cause" of a sensation is that which we term the "objective aspect" (p. 49). "Mental phenomena are functions of the organism" (p. 74). "The organism is a part of Nature, and is swept along in the great current of natural forces" (p. 103). And the whole of Mr. Lewes's Objective Analysis, treating of the mode in which consciousness comes as the last term in a series of which organism and external medium are some of the integers, can bear no other interpretation than that which believes Thought itself to be an ultimate development of Matter. As against such language, therefore, as "objective and subjective being the concave and convex sides of an arc," and "our world arising in consciousness," we must set Mr. Lewes's belief in "the larger circle," which includes at once objective and subjective, a circle which is not in any way constituted by our thought, but is itself the parent and source of all life, whether conscious or unconscious.

When we turn to the other noticeable feature in Mr. Lewes's *Psychology*, doubts at first assail us, similar to those we experienced with regard to subjective and objective. Those who are familiar with Mr. Lewes's earlier works are aware of the importance which he

sets upon the Psychological Medium, which amounts to the collective experience of the individual, and the Social Medium, which corresponds to the collective experience of the race. In the present work "the General Mind" is called the product of the Social Medium, and in the influence of the General Mind, and the necessity of estimating its effects in any study of psychology, Mr. Lewes himself sees the novelty of his own conception of the science. It is by this conception that Mr. Lewes effectually divorces himself from the current materialism. "There is," he says (p. 78), "a final step to be taken for the constitution of the science. The biological conception is defective in so far as it treats only of the individual organism, and only of the organism in its relation to the External Medium. For Animal Psychology this would suffice; for Human Psychology it is manifestly insufficient. Man is a social animal—the unit of a collective life—and to isolate him from Society is almost as great a limitation of the scope of Psychology as to isolate him from Nature. To seek the whole data of our science in neural processes on the one hand, and revelations of Introspection on the other, is to leave inexplicable the many and profound differences which distinguish man from the animals, and these differences can be shown to depend on the operation of the Social Factor, *which transforms perceptions into conceptions, and sensations into sentiments.*"

It is, then, the General Mind, the product of the Social Medium, which has to do with the transformation of perceptions¹ into conceptions. Apart from the context in which they are found, some of Mr. Lewes's expressions might almost seem to have emanated from the school of Idealism. What is this General Mind? It is "the collective consciousness," "*the human mind, not a mind;*" it is an "ideal mind," it is that in virtue of which we can say that "Thought belongs essentially to Humanity." It is not simply "an addition," it is "a factor, which permeates the whole composition of the (individual) mind" (pp. 159—161). "The (psychological) data which have been studied apart, must be reconstructed by a synthesis before we reach an explanation" (p. 76). Have we here the Synthetic Consciousness of which the school of Hegelians make such capital? Are we to conceive of this general mind as the activity of impersonal thought, bringing conceptions and forms and categories to the inert mass of feeling—"the manifold," as Kant has it—rendering experience into a human, intelligible experience, constituting (in the full sense of the term) the world in which we live as an intelligible world, a world which we can understand and make our own? Or is it a generalised expression for the experience of mankind—"the residual store of experiences common to all"—developed by the gradual processes of cosmic evolution? Is it a factor, or a product? The difficulty of grasping Mr. Lewes's conception lies in the

fact that it is both factor and product. "This mighty impersonality is at once the product and the factor of social evolution" (p. 80). Just as in the infancy of nations man forms the state, while in their maturity the state forms the man, so it is with the collective experience of the race fashioning the experience of the individual; and the significant warning is added that we must not accept it a *res completa*, as a metaphysical abstraction, "it is a World-process, not a Soul of the World." However much, then, at first sight the General Mind might seem to be a conception Idealistic in its import, it is clear that Mr. Lewes did not mean it to appear in this light. To him it was an extension of the Comtist doctrine of an impersonal Humanity. It may, indeed, serve in the future as a possible ground for reconciliation between Idealist and Materialist; possibly, Mr. Lewes himself may have wished it to represent a *rapprochement* between the school of neural tremors and the school of synthetic consciousness; but, as it stands, it is clearly meant to be of significance only to him who accepts the doctrine of Evolution as fully applicable to the highest forms of human intelligence.

The doctrine itself, if we examine its bearings, brings us to one of the capital points of divergence between Idealism and Materialism. The battle of the psychologies rages fiercest round the so-called Forms of Mind. Kant's analysis of experience seemed to reveal certain archetypal forms of intelligence, which were presupposed in all possible human knowledge, which were given *to* experience, and not abstracted *from* experience. To say as much as this seemed to the opposing school a revival of the doctrine of Innate Ideas, clothed in a clever but superficial disguise. It involved the impossibility of explaining knowledge without the assumption of certain innate activities of thought, which, if true, would be fatal not only to such sensationalism as that of Hume and Mill, but also to any material evolution of human intelligence, whether professed by a Darwin or a Herbert Spencer. What, then, was the answer of the Evolutionists? Simply that the so-called mental forms were themselves the product of evolution. That which could explain the gradual birth of Humanity out of Ascidiæ, could also explain the genesis of certain mental capacities and aptitudes out of the accumulated experiences of generations of men. Thus the Kantian forms might, indeed, be *a priori* to any given individual, but they were none the less *a posteriori* to the race. Or, as Mr. Lewes might perhaps put it, Humanity begets the Social Medium, the Social Medium begets the General Mind, and the General Mind involves certain inherited capacities of thought.

Here, then, in one paramount instance, we have the bitter root of difference. To the Idealist experience is only intelligible on the presupposition of a synthetic consciousness with certain forms of activity. To the Materialist the whole result is explicable by a

progressive, sensible contact with things, evolution explaining even the mental forms. Experience is one thing to the Idealist, another to the Materialist. Hence the criticism of Mr. Lewes on Kant is that he confused a question of *Psychogenesis*, or the growth of intelligence, with a question of *Psycho-statics* (if the expression may be allowed), that is, an analysis of the *developed* human mind. "He starts with the developed products, and never pauses to investigate their production, physiological or psychological" (p. 171). The Idealist, however, refuses to acknowledge his mistake. It is to no purpose to say that experience can evolve intelligence, until we clearly see what this implies. In the first place, it implies that a man can inherit from his ancestors not only constitutional peculiarities of disposition and temper—which is tolerably certain—but also modes of thinking, fixed forms of knowledge, which is by no means so clear or so well attested. But even granting this, there are yet further difficulties. What is meant by the human intelligence acquiring certain forms of thought from experience, unless the forms of thought were already implicit in experience? If men have the forms or aptitudes already in their minds, they can apply them to their successive experiences; but how can experience itself, coming in one shape to one man and in another to another, in a mass of sensations, of which one is gone before another comes, generate out of itself the forms *which are to make it an intelligible experience*? No science, as Mr. Lewes says, can be constructed out of data furnished by observation of the phenomena as they pass; and in the same way, says the Idealist, no intelligible experience can be constructed out of data furnished by sensations as they pass. To become experience, sensations must be lifted out of the state of flux and transitoriness, which is their normal condition, and made fixed and permanent by a mental activity, manifesting itself in relations and forms. Only by becoming fixed can sensations become known; only by becoming subject to mental relations can sensations become fixed; only, therefore, by a presupposed mental activity can sense-experience become an intelligible experience.

The question of *Psychogenesis*, as opposed to *Psycho-statics*, of the dynamical conditions of mind as opposed to the statical conditions, is one which threatens to become the *rexata questio* of future psychology. It is one which is not to be answered by phrases or abstractions, whether the abstraction be synthetic consciousness or a General Mind, but only by a rigorous analysis of mental states, conducted, as Mr. Lewes says, both by Observation and Introspection, studied as well in the laboratory of a man's own intelligence as in the wider teachings of Social and Historical Evolution. It is only indicated here, not with any view to disparage one answer in comparison with the other, but merely to bring into clearer light the future problems of the Psychologist so far as they are affected by Mr.

Lewes's new work. In it we have discovered two new and striking conceptions, both of which have at first sight a tendency to reduce the interval, which lies between "the step-by-step progression of Science" and "the large and incoherent leaps of Metaphysics." To say that Objective and Subjective are "two versions of the same original," that the antithesis between Physis and Esthesis is "a logical artifice, not a psychical reality," seems at first sight to be an admission that both subject and object are only to be understood in relation to each other, as alike constituted by the synthetic and differentiating activity of Thought. To say that the General Mind "transforms perceptions into conceptions," that Psychology has to explain "the normal reactions of an ideal mind," reads almost like a sentence of Kant in the pages of *The Physical Basis of Mind*. In each case the approximations—if approximations they may be called—serve possibly to disguise the interval, but in reality leave it as profoundly marked as before. As before, the old problem arises, Is Mind to be explained from the side of Matter, or Matter to be explained from the side of Mind? On the one side we have the assured and incontrovertible progress of Science, passing over the chasm between objective neural tremors and subjective conscious processes, just as it passes over the logical interval between Heat and Motion. On the other, we may paraphrase the words of Mr. Lewes: "Although there is an intelligible expression of Matter and Motion in terms of *Thought*, there is no such intelligible expression of *Thought* in terms of Matter and Motion."

If, leaving aside these subtleties of metaphysical discussion, we confine ourselves to broad, general issues, and ask to which side will tend the future speculations of English Psychology, the answer is hardly doubtful. For many reasons it seems likely that the ultimate victory in England will rest with the side which lays its stress on Science and Experience. It is ordinarily supposed, indeed, that the so-called Spiritualistic hypothesis has a strong ally in the religious feelings of the community; but even were such the case, the strength of the religious forces is gradually decreasing, and the alliance itself is not one which is especially valuable. On the other side are ranged far stronger forces,—the inherited aptitudes of the English temper in philosophy, the possession of such progenitors as Hume and Locke and Hobbes, the constitutional English dislike of subtlety and its preference for that which affords solid and tangible results. And if this be so, it becomes a matter of some importance to adapt to the newer standpoint some of those practical studies and disciplines which have hitherto been modelled on the older lines. There is little doubt, for instance, that the science of Education has been hitherto based on something like the Platonic idea of the soul, as a separate and special substance in authority over the body. And the science of Ethics, too, has undoubtedly some of the old Spiritualistic Adam

about it, with its insistence on ideal duty and authoritative conscience and categorical imperatives. Conceptions such as these must either disappear, or be vitally transformed in the crucible of experimental Ethics.

With regard to Education, the probable difference will be that whereas the traditional teaching begins with the culture of the imagination and ends with the logical appreciation of facts, the procedure will in the future have to be reversed. When Professor Huxley said, holding in his hands a lump of chalk, that he would rather know all about the chalk, than have by heart the histories and literature of Greece and Rome, the expression was significant of the educational future. In one sense of the words, it was little better than a paradox—almost a dangerous one; in another it was a profound truth, if it meant that the study of Physics trains the mind in methods of sounder and more practical value than the customary tincture of Classics. If Truth be better than Culture, then the studies which produce the habits of logical caution, of weighing evidence and analysing complex facts, are better for man than those which act powerfully on the perceptive, imaginative faculties and leave the logical alone. Apart from sentimental objections, educational methods in the future seem likely to be better than those of the past, which undoubtedly were at times crudely empirical and wildly spiritualistic. We may at the same time, if we will, deplore certain elements of value and delight which were bound up with the older discipline. But the importance is obvious of having a rational and verifiable basis for Education, rather than one which is unverifiable.

The case stands somewhat differently with Ethics. It is a question if Ethics can survive at all as an independent science, if the psychological assumptions of the materialists be realised. For if Conscience be, as Dr. Maudsley assures us, only a function of the physical organization, it is more than ever difficult to see whence will be derived the power of ethical sanctions. Either the doctrine itself must be held as an esoteric one, and then we must frankly avow the necessity of two sorts of Ethics, one for the initiated and one for the vulgar, or else the ordinary sanctions must be reinstated by the stress laid on the subjective aspects of objective organic facts. Here again, however, compensating advantages are to be found. It is much to get rid of superstition; it is much to be quit of the notions of Hell and Devil; possibly it is of still greater ethical value to know that sin is never remediable, that Nature never forgives. In all these matters, to look for all the advantages on the one side and all the drawbacks on the other, is unreasonable and absurdly unhistorical. Progress is not continuous and rectilinear development: it is a tide made up of several divergent currents, a vast system of action and reaction, systole and diastole. And the end is not yet.

WILLIAM L. COURTNEY.

GERMAN POLITICS.

THE recent developments in German home affairs have not engaged the attention of the English public to the extent that they seem to deserve. This is the more surprising since their first concrete result, the overthrow of the old commercial policy of the Empire, narrowly concerns the interests, if not the feelings, of England, as of every other country, and is probably to be explained by the bewilderment that must accompany any effort to understand a parliamentary system, where such momentous schemes are forced through with the swiftness of military tactics. In six months from the day when he first announced his new programme, or in about the time which Moltke required for the defeat of France, Prince Bismarck planted Germany at the head of the protectionist movement in Europe. But even this result, deplorable as it is in itself, and startling as the manner appears in which it was reached, may not prove to be the one most worthy of permanent consideration. The Liberals of Germany assert, and many circumstances seem to confirm the assertion, that political reaction is marching fraternally side by side with economical reaction; and since a movement like this would in the present crisis be directed not so much against existing laws as against the existing process or machinery of legislation, the whole question of constitutional government is once more abruptly opened.

If this alarm, which is no doubt sincere, should also prove to be just, the English people would owe it the most sympathetic respect. The experiment of parliamentary institutions in Germany was hailed with peculiar satisfaction and confidence—a rational satisfaction and a discriminating confidence—as one made under the most favourable conditions, and offering the fairest chances of success. As one after another the German states shuffled off the dull and ugly garb of absolutism, in which they had crawled for centuries, and soared vigorously aloft under the impulse of free institutions, it was generally felt that their flight was sure as well as bold, that their wings were strong as well as fair; and prophecy gave them a different fate from that of French liberty, which after every fitful and reckless trial had lost its self-command and fluttered to the ground. They had enjoyed a regular organic development, unbroken by artificial changes; in the monarchical principle they had the necessary conservative factor; their sober good sense was an assurance of social stability; the high standard of general culture, and the respect paid to special acquirements, seemed to promise

a healthy equilibrium between the force of democracy and the force of aristocracy ; and in respect to the Empire itself the federal system, finally restored after many trials to a firm and yet elastic basis, invited favourable parallels with the United States and Switzerland. Opinions differed, of course, about the value of these considerations, but at least one conclusion was reached in common by observers of the most opposite schools of thought, from the most sanguine to the most sceptical. It was held almost as a self-evident truth that German constitutionalism would never fall through any excess of the democratic element. The opposite danger was more freely admitted ; but the notion that the German people, with all the restraining forces which were found in their character, in the structure of their society, in their institutions, could ever lapse into anarchy, or take refuge from anarchy in the arms of a Cæsar, was everywhere rejected with derision. Has this confidence quite justified itself during the trials of the immediate past ? The Prussian constitution has endured for barely a generation, that of the Empire but a third as long ; and yet events have already revealed dangers, of which the imagination long refused to form a picture. The worst of these is the tendency on the part of universal suffrage to prostrate itself at the feet of a single man.

It is not easy to defend or explain within the limits of a brief article a conclusion drawn like this from a long series of political phenomena ; but a review of the late session, and a comparison of the new situation with the old, will afford a supply of novel and suggestive facts, and furnish the reader at least one condition for the intelligent exercise of his own judgment.

The present Imperial Diet was elected on no other issue, and, directly, at least, for no other purpose than the support of the Government in the campaign against Socialism ; and its physiognomy does not much differ from that of its predecessors. The Clericals and Conservatives have a few seats more, the Liberals a few seats less ; but otherwise the distribution and the relation of parties are unchanged. Leaving out of account, therefore, those minor divisions, in the creation of which German ingenuity likes to divert itself, the Diet may be resolved into the usual three characteristic divisions—the Liberals, the Conservatives, and the Clericals—practically equal in strength. The union of two of these at any time alone makes a majority possible ; and the complexion of the union was long determined chiefly by the Liberals. When they acted with the Conservatives the majority was favourable to the Government, and this, which was formerly the most frequent combination, passed the Army Bill, the Judicial Acts, and all the great organic measures of the past decade. If, on the other hand, they opposed the Government, they were reinforced by the Clericals and all the

stragglers, and the Right was placed in a minority. Thus the Liberals oscillated from one side to the other, supporting the Chancellor more or less willingly on essential questions, but often showing insubordination, and sometimes breaking out into open revolt, when the occasion was not critical, or when some smaller minister tried the work of coercion. On the one side they had the Conservatives, whose obedience was implicit; on the other the Clericals, who were in violent opposition, and were treated as little better than outlaws by all their colleagues. The Social Democrats alone met them on terms of equality. Even at the opening of the last session the other parties, while wrangling among themselves about the officers of the House, agreed from the first that the Ultramontanes, as a faction hostile to society, should have no share of the spoils.

It is not to be supposed, indeed, that the National Liberals ever fell into any serious delusion about Bismarck's personal feelings and opinions, or ever claimed him in a party sense as one of themselves. His daily conduct and his past career refuted such an assumption. But it is not necessary for a statesman to identify himself by name with a particular party in order to become the depository and representative of a class of political principles, or the agent of a general policy, for a consistent devotion to which he may be held to account by his countrymen. He may be the leader in some patriotic movement, which unites various factions in its support; he may be the responsible guide in a series of connected reforms on the wisdom of which a number of parliamentary groups are agreed; or he may be allied with the moderate elements from different parts of the House in a mere policy of preservation, hostile alike to radical and to reactionary adventures. In either or any of these cases he will properly refuse to circumscribe his own powers, and imperil the general cause, by a formal adhesion to one alone of the sects that make up the majority. This is not the highest type of parliamentary government, because it is not the most efficient, but it is one that often occurs in history. Pitt came to power the last time under conditions somewhat like these, when he proposed to unite all patriotic parties for the struggle against Napoleon. Similar tactics were forced upon M. Thiers when the territory had to be redeemed, the finances put into order, the army reorganised, with the aid of an Assembly rent into a dozen rival factions. And to imagine Pitt openly deserting his tried allies on the eve of Trafalgar, and joining the most unscrupulous clique amongst his foes, for the sake of some adventurous scheme, or Thiers provoking a rupture with the Left Centre so long as a single German soldier remained on the soil of France, is hardly more absurd than to praise Prince Bismarck for the readiness with which, in the interest of a new and doubtful plan, he discarded the National Liberal party and put in its place the

party of Herr Windthorst and the Vatican. For his position was singularly like that of the two great men who have been taken as examples, and where it differs the difference is not in his favour. The special tasks on which Pitt and Thiers were engaged were simple and clear. They could not be called political except in a very broad sense; and so long as they were faithfully performed, left room for the greatest contrasts of opinion on all the lesser details of public policy. But the mission which formerly united Bismarck and the Liberals was something more than this; was complex, not simple; political as well as patriotic. It involved a unity of action, and implies a harmony of opinion upon all those great measures of construction and organisation which were required after 1870 for the security and the success of the new imperial system.

In regard to the subjects of legislation, and to the spirit in which they should be treated, there seems to have been from the first a tacit if not a formal understanding. The currency was to be reformed on a rational system, with due respect for vested rights, and the rejection of all crude ideas. The army was to be raised to the highest state of efficiency consistent with the claims of civil freedom. Justice was to be made uniform for the whole empire, and cautiously improved rather than radically changed. The press was to receive a larger freedom, but a freedom which should stop far short of licence. The authority of the State was to be asserted against the Church, but without shaking the bases of religious belief. In all the other measures the same happy mean between rash innovation and timid conservatism, between the folly of iconoclasts and the folly of antiquaries, seems to have been desired alike by Prince Bismarck and by the greater part of his working majority. It must appear, therefore, strictly correct to say that the conduct of such reforms, under the guidance of such a spirit, was equivalent to the adoption of a systematic policy, and through that to the acceptance of a distinct body of political doctrine. Until very recent times this view could be proclaimed without dissent from any side. And when to the measures themselves, and to the uniform moderation with which they were to be tempered, is added the common tendency which they followed, and the common object which they had in view, an avowed tendency toward centralization, with the object of rendering the Empire independent of the separate states—a programme is created, the acceptance of which binds a consistent statesman as rigorously as if he had subscribed to the narrow creed of a single party. Without joining a sect one may embrace a religion, and give moral pledges of fidelity to its essential principles.

By the end of the session a year ago the scheme agreed on between the Chancellor and his allies had, with one important exception, been successfully carried out. The currency, the army, the banking

system, the institutions of justice, all had been consolidated and reformed, but the finances of the Empire still shambled painfully along on the insufficient limbs which they had received in 1871. The revenues that had been surrendered to the Federal treasury furnished only a part of its necessary income, the deficiency being made up each year by assessments upon the states. The payment of these assessments, or contributions, was indeed obligatory. They were voted by the Diet, and the Federal Council could levy execution upon any member of the confederation which should refuse or neglect to furnish its quota. But aside from the fact that such coercion would have been difficult in the case of any very general resistance, and would, when employed, severely wrench the entire political machine; aside, too, from the fact that since each state was privileged to raise its quota in its own way, the power of taxation was really lodged elsewhere than with the Empire,—the mere existence of such a system was a reminder of the reserved rights of particularism, and a derisive commentary on the impotence of the central authority. The real unionists had always regarded it as a hasty device, to be superseded at the first opportunity. Over this question it was long felt that the decisive battle between centralization and state sovereignty would have to be fought; the position of parties was sharply defined; the Liberals were for the fiscal independence of the Empire; the Clericals defended the actual system as a safeguard of the federal principle; the Conservatives were sure to follow Prince Bismarck, and the Prince was committed by his record and his profession to the unionist view.

The contemplated reform was confined by the Imperial Charter itself to narrow limits. The existing taxes could be increased, and some new ones could be imposed; but the method of indirect imposts was a practical necessity, and the search for the articles which promised, or seemed to promise, the best return, ended in an early decision. Coffee, or in the current jargon, the poor man's breakfast; petroleum, or his evening lamp; tobacco, or his pipe; tea, spirits, and some few other products, mostly necessities; from these it was almost unanimously agreed that the revenues of the empire must be derived, and it long seemed as if the question were only as to the time when the reforms should be introduced. At last even this uncertainty was removed by the information that the desired bill would be brought in during the session of 1879.

But in December last, during the unguarded and unsuspecting quiet of the holiday season, Varzin sprung a rare surprise upon the world. The Chancellor had become a Protectionist, and as the habit of his nature leads him to convert his opinions with all possible celerity into facts, a comprehensive, energetic, and determined campaign was at once begun against the tariff system of the Empire and all the traditions of the Zollverein.

There had been much speculation about the course of reflection which produced this illustrious convert, but hitherto without result. The Prince himself has not thrown any light upon the subject, and no second Busch has pictured him poring over the works of Carey, or spicing his table-talk with epigrams against the Cobden Club. But it may safely be assumed that he reached the truth in his own way and by his own efforts. He has little respect for authority, thinks out questions for himself, errs sometimes in the result, like all fallible beings, but when he has once formed a conclusion, whether sound or unsound, holds it with the tenacity and the dogmatism that in such men commonly attend the fruits of personal inquiry into a new subject. Accordingly he has shown much more enthusiasm for his new opinions than he ever did for the rival creed of former days. The late tariff system, he would doubtless explain, was accepted by him as part of a general scheme of public policy, and without that degree of special knowledge which would warrant him in being either very hostile or very friendly to it; but the resolute views which he now holds issue from prolonged and conscientious study. He was a free trader from indifference; he is a protectionist from conviction. But the theory behind which certain fellow converts among the deputies try to shelter themselves, that the country itself was clamorous for a change, and that the new tariff only satisfies an imperative popular demand, will not bear a minute examination in the light of facts. There had been nothing like an organized protectionist movement. Some of the iron manufacturers were dissatisfied with the tariff for reasons of natural selfishness; a petty squad among the farmers were in favour of corn duties; and one or two deputies, whom Prince Bismarck would have called theorists a few years ago, were in the habit of attacking free trade in annual speeches to which nobody listened. This was, however, the full extent of the so-called agitation. A protectionist party, as such, never existed, and there was no evidence up to the time of the Chancellor's manifesto that any large proportion of the people demanded a change, or indeed had seriously occupied themselves with the matter at all. The cause was created by Bismarck alone. His brain conjured it forth, and he must take the responsibility for all its consequences.

That the Free Trade tariff of the Zollverein was one of the essential articles in the general programme of conservation and progress which united Prince Bismarck and his Liberal allies, and that according to correct parliamentary usage he ought to have discarded it only after a previous agreement with them, cannot be open to serious denial. But he took no account whatever of them or of their legitimate claims. Having worked out a new tariff theory to his own satisfaction—and we are not now concerned with the question whether this theory was good or bad—he issued his prospectus, pub-

lished his call for recruits, and did not even give the Liberals that decent priority which tried soldiers have a right to expect. For this elevated indifference to the laws of political consistency, to the obligation of party ties, to the common requirements of parliamentary life, the nineteenth century has discovered a convenient term. It is one of the first characteristics of a system of statesmanship which moralists are inclined to condemn. But when the progress of this purely personal enterprise is critically examined in its various stages, additional and even more startling points of comparison become plainly visible. No attempt was made to convince the educated and thinking classes, but, on the contrary, their superior claim to be heard with authority was treated, not indeed openly by the Prince himself so much as by the journals and speakers known to be in his confidence, with contempt and derision, until the conflict nearly reduced itself to one between the peasants and the professors, in which the former, with the aid of universal suffrage, were sure of victory. It is true that German Cæsarism is of a more subtle and delicate texture than the French article. The Reichstag was not dissolved at the point of the bayonet, which was indeed unnecessary, but a plébiscite was nevertheless taken in an indirect fashion, and in the hope that the response would furnish the means for an effective pressure upon the deputies.

Prince Bismarck needs of course no certificate of character. It seems almost presumptuous even to say that his sincerity and his patriotic intentions in the tariff measures are quite above suspicion; that some errors, both of form and of substance, may be pardoned to a man of his splendid achievements; and that a candid person will shun the company of those ready critics who condemn unexamined everything which he proposes. But correct intentions and an illustrious record are no pledge of infallibility, and do not dispense from the stern laws of political prudence. A man who has reached Prince Bismarck's eminence is in some respects even more prone to error than a statesman who is just beginning his career. If a long series of triumphs has not of itself taught him an extravagant belief in his own judgment, he is likely to be surrounded by busy friends, who ply his mental processes with calculated flattery, and thus stimulate the production of unripe, unsound, and unwholesome fruit. The Chancellor is not more, but probably less, open to this influence than some other great men of history. He is made of robust material, despises the manner of the stage and the applause of the pit, and is a penetrating judge of human nature in all its forms. On the other hand, his temper, his success, and his position have combined to give his mind a bold and sweeping impetuosity, not always productive of safe ideas, and rarely found in younger politicians cautiously feeling their way to power. His plans deserve the special respect,

but not the abject submission of the country or the country's parliament.

A deliberate and judicial study of the proposed innovation, independent of its illustrious author, is, however, what the country never gave itself the time and never showed an inclination to make. Addresses of adhesion began to pour in almost before the ink had dried on the Chancellor's pronunciamiento. It was therefore early evident that the scheme was accepted on his recommendation, or, in other words, that the great majority of the people submitted blindly to the economical guidance of a statesman who had hitherto distinguished himself only as the first diplomatist of Europe, and not long before had often confessed his ignorance of finance and all kindred subjects. Of the existence of such a majority there can be, I conceive, no reasonable doubt. A formal division was, of course, not taken, and a mathematical opinion cannot be pronounced; but all the indirect evidence was in favour of the Chancellor, and if the Diet had proved insubordinate, he could have dissolved with perfect confidence in the result.

Happily, or unhappily, such an extreme measure was not required, since the Diet hastened to adjust its views to those of the country. It surpassed even the electors themselves in the facility of its capitulation. The Government submitted a composite scheme, duties for protection being inseparably coupled with duties for revenue; so that according to all the laws of consistency, Protectionists who were not also Unionists, and Unionists who were not also Protectionists, ought to have joined hands in opposition, and made any sweeping change impossible. But the disposition of parties in the House, and the unscrupulousness of at least one of them, came to the relief of the Prince. The Conservatives, although including the agricultural Protectionists in their ranks, were until lately regarded as staunch Free Traders, but taking economical reaction as the entering wedge of political reaction they hastened to embrace the new project; while the Ultramontanes, coming mostly from industrial districts, were prepared to support the Government after certain constitutional concessions, in which their peculiar views should be expressed. Both parties were fired by hostility to the Liberals, and the Liberals, being in general Free Traders but Unionists, were not a little embarrassed by the dilemma submitted to them. Ought they to accept Protection for the sake of the Imperial revenues, or to sacrifice one of their favourite aims through devotion to Free Trade? On this dilemma the party went to pieces. All the other leading groups voted with closed ranks for or against; but the National Liberals halted and hesitated, debated in secret council, and wrangled in the newspapers, until seeing the impossibility of united action they left the whole question, with characteristic indecision, to the conscience of each member. In the meantime, however, a new and graver issue

had been raised by the ingenuity of Herr Windthorst. The original humiliation demanded by Bismarck himself might in the end have been accepted by the greater part of the Liberals; but the Clerical leader, wishing apparently to secure for his own party and the Conservatives the exclusive right, or at least all the profits, of apostasy, and to keep the Left out of the new coalition, brought in his constitutional proviso, which, by reserving to the states the whole excess of the future Imperial revenues above a fixed maximum, completely changed the fiscal character of the tariff scheme, and reaffirmed the particularist or separatist principle in a singularly odious form. The Diet lost the control which it had formerly enjoyed over the *pro rata* contribution, and obtained no voice in the disposition of the surplus which the new system was expected to yield. The surprise of the Liberals was intense beyond description. For a decade the Clericals, being in opposition, had declaimed about the rights of parliament; for more than a decade the Chancellor and the Liberals had been tearing down one after another the bulwarks of feudal privilege and ecclesiastical pretension. And now a strange combination between the Government, the Conservatives, and the Ultramontanes was about to vote away the chief function of the Diet, to condemn the beneficent reforms of the past, and in one reckless session to reverse the entire Imperial policy.

Yet even a potion thus compounded, into which each of the allies had put his special ingredient of bitterness, was not so unpalatable that a few of the Liberals did not finally accept it. Some of them were indeed Protectionists, and honestly relished everything except the political clause. But there was a small minority who, if true to their own principles, would have rebelled against nearly every feature of the bill; who were once uncompromising Free Traders, and were now invited to draw a commercial barrier around all the frontiers of the Empire; who had been leaders in the great cause of unity and consolidation, and were bound to resist any proposal to sacrifice even the smallest part of what had been so painfully acquired; who had been the foremost champions in the battle against Ultramontanism, and were little fitted by feeling or experience for a league with the churchmen of the Centre; and who nevertheless paid Prince Bismarck the ultimate compliment of submitting to this triple degradation, with unblushing faces, and before the eyes of all their countrymen.

A typical man of this class is Heinrich von Treitschke, the orator, professor, and historian. Almost a stranger to the English people in general; he cannot be quite unknown to any scholar who has looked into the first volume, recently published, of his national history; he has discovered a glowing vigour, an epigrammatic force, and a skill in graphic narration, which all the canons of German

style condemn, and of which the language itself had been supposed incapable. As a history in the technical sense not even flattery can praise the work. It is rather a political brochure, audaciously expanded, or to be expanded, into some four thousand pages, and is made intolerable to all readers who are not Prussians by its cynical and flippant treatment of foreign statesmen. But Treitschke, who resembles Burke in the burning strength of his convictions, holds also party relations not unlike those into which Burke declined toward the end of his life. The one was swept away from his old associates by his hatred of the French Revolution; the other, by a patriotic yet fanatical theory of Prussia's mission in the Empire. If this were all, indeed, the professor would not be exactly a monster. Every Prussian who is not a renegade, and who desires unity at all, is compelled alike by political reason and by filial respect to accept in some form or degree the hegemony of his native state, and according to his means to make that hegemony real and efficient. But in Treitschke, who is only an adopted Prussian, this theory is a passion as well as a conviction, and gives an irresistible bias to every word or act. Now *delenda est Carthago* may be a useful cry when the systematic encouragement of a national hatred is necessary to nerve a people for an inevitable conflict. The "Sire! Remember the Athenians" of the Persian king kept alive the bitter memories of Marathon. But to make the permanent policy of a great and complex commonwealth repose on the sounding formula of an hour, or even on the most elevated aspiration which, having once been realised, has lost its practical value, is the characteristic of a bigot or a dreamer, not of a serious statesman. Professor Treitschke's bigotry in this matter is intellectual, not temperamental, and his visions rest on a gross material basis. He is the poet of national selfishness; the rhapsodist of mere physical achievement; the laureate of the happy union between the soldier and the statesman. He writes with such grace, fire, and vigour, with such a show of lofty and commanding patriotism, with such cogent perspicuity, with so adroit and effective a use of ethical forces, with such a fervent zeal for his cause, with such a romantic freedom from selfish personal motives, that the coarse and unfeeling arrogance, the essential cruelty of his political creed, are only perceived after a leisurely and careful examination. He is, in short, the founder of a school in distinction from a party—a school which is a special favourite of the rising generation, and which threatens to have even more influence in the future than it enjoys to-day.

The members of this school, like the master himself, are men of wit and culture, and command the public attention through the press, the platform, and the chairs of the universities. Like him too they are sincerely indifferent to their own fortunes, and thus

acquire an undue credit with people who fail to reflect that virtue and wisdom, frankness and sagacity, are not always found united in the same person ; while a certain tone of philosophical and scientific liberality, a fierce hatred of intolerance in school or church, foster the delusion that their political views are equally free from prejudice and passion, that their political aims are no less lofty, generous, and beneficent. They are thus enabled to teach with impunity the most subtle and dangerous maxims of absolutism. The chief tenet of their creed being that Germany must be strong, they easily associate external strength with internal despotism ; and from this original fallacy to the acceptance of a dictator or a Cæsar, the passage is never difficult. That the dictator in this case happens to be a Bismarck does not affect the principle. The vice of Cæsarism is not that it selects incompetent men—which in fact it seldom does—but that it selects them by a false method, under the influence of popular frenzy, or from base motives of expected profit, at the cost of national dignity and self-respect, or, at best, in the terror of some public crisis, which invites brief expedients of relief, but leaves them as settled institutions of State. In the course of time the difference between the upright patriots who accept such expedients in a spirit of mistaken duty, and the adventurers who pursue only their own advantage, grows sensibly less ; a process of assimilation reduces them to a common level of profligacy. What was once a reluctant acquiescence becomes a positive and hearty support, which, although it may still clothe its reasons in more decorous forms, is but little less corrupt and dissolute than the zeal of the original favourites. This is the process which seems to be taking place in Germany at the present time. The race of scholars and thinkers who carry over into active life the broad, manly, and invigorating results of liberal culture, in whom the great heroes of antique freedom and the noble martyrs of modern progress still arouse respect and excite emulation, is apparently passing away ; and in the rival school, under the sway of the new enlightenment, a sordid and offensive passion for mere national aggrandisement is taught as the highest patriotism. The doctrines of these philosophers do not even end with Bismarck, although they just now rally about his name and person, but are intended for permanent circulation through all the vicissitudes of cabinets and diets. Bismarck is only the best available instrument for the practical conduct of the scheme. They recognise in him the man of iron will, of approved courage, of far-reaching sagacity, of a character which inspires respect at home and fear abroad, and they have no reluctance to endow him with the most sweeping prerogatives ; but their bounty will be no less reckless, their homage no less complete, if the successor of Bismarck prove to be equally worthy of his mission.

The members of this sect who are deputies have generally sat and acted hitherto with the National Liberal group. A variety of influences drew them thither—the habits and associations of earlier days, when they were devoted to freedom as well as union; the example of that platonic regard which Bismarck himself long professed for the Left; hatred of the Clericals, who could be effectually assailed only from that side of the House; and the belief that too close relations with the Conservatives would throw suspicion upon their plans, offend the academic youth, and alienate the electors at the polls. Their policy in this false connection was, therefore, governed by those maxims of vulgar convenience which underlie their whole political system. It is an advantage for upright and honourable politics that this scandal has now been terminated, that the Imperialists will be forced to look elsewhere for a parliamentary domicile, and that the remaining group, once relieved of this seditious element, will have the opportunity for a more vigorous and outspoken policy. If the schism had taken place earlier, the advantage would have been even greater. For it must be remembered that the party, even when controlled by the more orthodox and advanced members, has never been radical in its views or violent in its methods; that people did not put up their shutters when Bamberger harangued the House, nor hide their treasures when Forckenbeck resumed his place with the leaders; but that the actual policy was always moderate and usually harmonious. The difference between the two wings was rather one of theory than of practice; they reasoned separately, but they acted together. The one set accepted the decrees of Bismarck with enthusiasm in obedience to their own views of government, the other yielded under protest and against their better judgment. If Treitschke showed too much contempt for general ideas and noble aspirations, Lasker often sacrificed, or seemed to sacrifice, practical aims to a fondness for subtle refinements and sonorous declamation. But since the latter was a more active and influential leader and a better representative of the tone, the temper, the character of the Liberals, his faults, like his virtues, may fairly be ascribed to the whole party. Schiller has an admirable essay on the naïve in poetry,—a favourite topic with German authors. If he were alive to-day he would find in the National Liberals a splendid illustration of naiveté in politics. They are too innocent, too pure, too honest; too full of confidence in human nature; too fond of unctuous phrases; too much inclined to be satisfied with the enunciation of political truths while neglecting the means of carrying them into effect; too prodigal of present opportunities through a blind dependence on the future; too childlike and credulous; too meek, patient, and forgiving; too ignorant of the stern realities of parliamentary warfare, and of that

great rule of civic prudence which Demosthenes gave to the world. For the elevated purity of its motives the party deserves universal respect, but they would not be corrupted by a slight admixture of political discernment. When great interests are put in question, even fatuity becomes a vice. Of two courses, one. The party might openly have proclaimed themselves supporters *sans phrase* of Bismarck, and the world would have found the choice, if not praiseworthy, at least easy to understand, and susceptible of a certain defence. Or they might have been inflexibly true to their opinions, spurning every offer of compromise, which would have been both consistent and commendable. But to profess Liberal principles in the mass while voting them away in detail, to reason from abstract general propositions while blindly supporting a personal policy, to argue with Lasker and Bennigsen while acting with Treitschke and Gneist—such a policy, whether due to weakness, to timidity, to inexperience, to ambition, to false cunning, or to actual depravity, could not fail to have a deplorable effect upon the tone of public life, and to be overtaken in the end by a bitter retribution. That this disaster may prove to be an ultimate benefit to the country is not the merit but the good fortune of the Liberals.

The history of the late session offers, therefore, but little to commend. Even the purification of their ranks by the Liberals, the recovery of their freedom of action, and the opportunity of a more spirited and fearless course, will not much change the complexion of public affairs in the immediate future—will not intimidate Bismarck, or shake the purpose of his allies. The next few years belong to the statesman who knew his own mind, who had a well-ascertained plan of action, and carried it triumphantly through while the Liberals were balancing and posturing before the public. In Germany, as elsewhere, people respect talent, decision, and audacity. They like these qualities at any time; but when they see them united in a Bismarck, the author of nearly everything that makes their condition in Europe tolerable, the spectacle is as novel to their political experience as it is fatal to their political virtue.

For the moment, therefore, the vigour of German constitutional freedom is paralysed by the authority of a single great man, and by the influence of theories which centre about his name or reflect his views of government. The fame of Bismarck, the rhetoric of Treitschke, the sophisms of protection, are forces which the Liberals will find it hard to meet in the open field. But the Government have even another ally, a passive one, it is true, yet not the less efficient, in what may be called the political *ennui* of the country. I believe I do not mistake the phenomena of public feeling in Germany; I have observed them for a considerable time and with no little care. It seems to me that the frequent parliaments and the

copious legislation of the past few years have brought the Germans to that stage of exhaustion where disgust and nausea are easily aroused, and that a reaction is setting in, which may seriously impair the utility, if not change the outward form, of the Diet. A symptom like this is reported even from America, where the people breathe a sigh of relief at the end of every session. In Germany the feeling is less intense, and is rather negative than positive. The diets are not regarded as dangerous, otherwise they would be abolished at once; but merely as superfluous, since they have only to accept the measures prepared for them by a superior intelligence. If they were hostile to Bismarck they would be enemies of the State, but since they only form his chorus, they are burdens upon the people. This is the alternative with which the easy-going, good-natured, dull country Philistines puzzle their brains when they find their newspaper full of debates, or when their member comes down for his annual speech; to them its logic is faultless. But it is a question whether its appearance at so early a date was foreseen even by the Prince himself. It will be recollected that he once declared, in the course of the late session, that he established parliamentary institutions with the Empire not because he had any original fancy for them, but because he thought them advisable in the circumstances; and that if a despotism had seemed to promise better, he would have recommended that with equal readiness. The declaration has been condemned as cynical, and cynical in one sense it unquestionably was, though highly sagacious in another. But did not Bismarck, while correctly interpreting the popular impulses of the time, ascribe to them a force and an endurance which they have not subsequently shown themselves to possess? There can be but one reason why the Prince thought a popular representation advisable, namely, because it was a *popular* representation—because it expressed the voice of the country in its own affairs; and some concession in this particular was thought to be indispensable. He was not the man to see in the deputies of universal suffrage the selected wisdom of the country. For him they were not the *meliores et optimi terræ*, whose counsel would be conducive to ripe and salutary legislation, or anything except a mob of barristers and country squires, destitute of political training, and altogether too fond of talking. But he never expected that the electors, or any considerable number of them, would eventually learn to share this unflattering view. That under the influence of Bismarck's prestige the people would suffer themselves to be deceived as to the real authority of the Reichstag, as to its actual weight in the politics of the Empire, was not so violent a supposition; but that they would become careless even of the forms of parliamentary control, and would repudiate even the fiction that the laws are the utterance of their will—this

hypothesis would have affronted every law of probability. And yet in what other way shall be explained the grave and ominous apathy which has settled over the country? It may not be very deep or very solid. The passions called forth by the recent session, and the sharp contrasts promised at the coming election, may pierce and dispel it, and re-awaken a watchful public spirit. But at present there are few signs of such a revival. The country is acquiescent even beyond Bismarck's own demands; and stigmatizes as "pessimism" every attempt to rouse it from its stupor, to anticipate the schemes of reaction, to save the vigour, energy, and independence of the parliamentary system.

Hope for the future must, therefore, be sought, if at all, less in the firmness of the Liberal voters than in the moderation of the Chancellor and his colleagues. But do appearances invite even that form of confidence? The programme for the next session is not yet completely known, and perhaps not completely formed, so that it would be premature to speculate on or from it. But the first article, like an advance guard, has already appeared on the field, and intrenched itself with an air of cold defiance in the face of the Diet and of public opinion. The adoption of biennial sessions and biennial budgets may evidently in some circumstances be a wise measure of practical relief. Several of the American States have introduced the system, and it is not reported that civil or political freedom has suffered, while certain other interests have decidedly gained by the change. A plan to extend the normal duration of a legislature may be innocuous if made at the right time and in the right spirit; but as in English history there was a memorable crisis when the liberties of the country required more, not less, frequent meetings of Parliament, and another when they seemed to depend on more, not less, frequent elections, so in Germany the present hour is not one in which the Diet can safely give up any further privilege, or one in which an attack upon those privileges by the Government can be ascribed to friendly solicitude or real affection. A session which opens with the Gag Law, though but as a project, and ends with the Franckenstein proviso, formally incorporated into the Tariff Act, has already humbled the Diet sufficiently before the world. To exact further sacrifices is heartless and wicked cruelty. But while no doubt remains that the new scheme will be strenuously pressed by the Government, it is scarcely less probable that the Diet will meet it with prompt hospitality, and that the country will even approve the motives which inspired its presentation. It is, however, not from the Empire, but from Prussia; not from Bismarck as Chancellor, but from Bismarck as Minister-President, that reaction will first demand a programme. What a long array of errors must here be repaired! The educational and ecclesiastical measures of

Dr. Falk, whose transcendent merits failed to save him from ignominious dismissal, the series of administrative reforms, which even Eulenburg refused to interrupt, and all the liberal features that have been engrafted upon institutions and arrangements of State, are notoriously obnoxious to the new Ministers, and will have a conspicuous place in the forthcoming plan of action. Without the consent of the House of Deputies, of course, no laws can be actually repealed, and the present House is far more Liberal than the Reichstag. But in September or October new elections will be held, of which the issue is highly uncertain. It can only be predicted that the Left will gain no constituencies, and that any disturbance of the centre of gravity will be at least not unfavourable to the Government. But reaction need not wait for the Diet. A Prussian Minister has a broad field of action, and to an extent unknown elsewhere, except in Russia, can create a "policy" by purely executive measures. Many of Dr. Falk's educational reforms were effected in this way; and although the Diet happened to be in sympathy with him, there is nothing to prevent their repeal by a minister to whom the Diet is irreconcilably hostile. It is probable, therefore, that the tendency and the aims of the new Ministers will first be revealed in administrative acts, and that the measures which require the aid of legislation will be more cautiously approached.

In conclusion, however, the gravest reflection suggested to me by the recent course and the present posture of affairs concerns not so much the policy which will henceforth be pursued under Bismarck, as the situation in which Germany will find itself after him. The fortunes of the Empire have always depended on him to an extent which a distant observer can hardly comprehend. In the future he will stand absolutely alone, for he has not only alienated the great Liberal party, which commands after him the highest political talent of the country, has not only dismissed one after another the great Ministers Delbruck, Camphausen, Falk, and put in their places a trio of insignificant clerks blindly and slavishly devoted to himself, but he has even been the indirect means of driving into retirement the only man whom independent opinion had fixed upon as his eventual successor. One can understand the reluctance of the Germans to part with Bismarck. One can understand and heartily commend the forbearance with which they treat his faults, especially since they have zealously striven to make their institutions solid and permanent. But institutions are worthless without men to work them; and there is something appalling in the neglect, whether from carelessness or despair, to make any provision for the inevitable crisis that must arise when Bismarck is no more. The system which has just been adopted, aggravates the crime because it isolates the Prince still more from all possible successors.

• HERBERT TUTTLE.

MAXIMS OF WISDOM.

SENECA in his later years was fond of the sentiment that all the sages, Aristotle, Zeno, Theophrastus, and Chrysippus, had bidden their disciples enter public life, and none of them had entered it himself. And as he wished to retire himself, he found it easy to conclude that the sages were not serious, or at least that they only meant their precept to apply to an ideal, imaginary state of things; that very likely public life was the true sphere for a wise man when his virtues were useful to others and did not expose him to danger, just as a wise man might well go to sea if there were no storms or sunken rocks. It might seem singular that men who are not remarkable for success in the management of temporal affairs should undertake to advise others in the conduct of life. When Mr. Emerson published a volume of essays on that subject, he laughed in his preface at his own presumption, because his garden would have been a wilderness if admiring neighbours had not kept it in order for him. This was better than Confucius and Mencius, who both stood too much upon their dignity to keep long in office anywhere, and yet were quite sure that the pettiest prince who would make them, or a philosopher much inferior to them, prime minister with full powers, would be rewarded by being placed at the head of the empire. At the present day that empire is governed by functionaries who gain their positions by passing examinations in the doctrines of those unsuccessful politicians, or buying certificates that they have passed them. Apparently the chiefs of a peculiarly simple and practical society convinced themselves that people who practise the art of success cannot be expected to teach the theory.

We hear, indeed, of wise men who were able to teach their wisdom, but they flourished commonly before the rise of literature. Lælius and Coruncanius and Cato the Elder were wise, and walked daily in the forum, to be consulted not merely as to how to manage a lawsuit, but as to whether to buy a farm, or how to marry a daughter; and King Solomon in all his glory sat upon his throne and spake three thousand proverbs. But few of the proverbs of King Solomon would have reached us, if it had not been for the men of Hezekiah, King of Judah, who copied them out. Lælius and Coruncanius left their fame to be transmitted by tradition to the days of Cicero, with whom it would have died a natural death, unless his patriotism had led him to exalt them above the seven wise men of Greece (who also are known chiefly by some short proverbs not very astonishing nowadays). Cato the Elder, though he wrote a book on farming that seems

to have been quite as instructive for the period as the maxims of Poor Richard, was remembered for his exemplary life, which gave him so much legitimate food for his vanity, and for his success in decrying the nobility, rather than for his book.

Perhaps the essays of Bacon and the sayings of Goethe might be cited as really great books of practical wisdom, written by men who had attained large practical success. But even these seem like exceptions that prove the rule. Bacon was always easily discouraged in his practical career, and his final conviction was that he was "fitter to hold a book than to play a part"! Goethe let his practical functions drop when he had made sure of the consideration which was more readily paid to the titular privy councillor of Weimar than to the first poet of Germany; and the court theatre of Weimar did not thrive in a material sense under his direction. One might almost say that the nature of both was so large that they were able to act what, in most, stays at the point of idle castle building. Bacon imagined he was acquiring a position which would enable him to get research endowed, and the indispensable encyclopædia compiled; Goethe, in all things more fortunate, imagined that he was exemplifying on a safe and limited scale the practical application of ideal wisdom. Still, although Bacon and Goethe were probably intended by nature to study the world rather than to act in it, they gained a sort of success by forcing their vast theoretical ability to bear practical fruit. There are other men, like Antiphon and Raleigh and Machiavelli and Maitland of Lethington, who would have succeeded much better if they had not been too clever. They owe their failure among their contemporaries to the perverse insight which gives them a false reputation with posterity. Guicciardini was a thriving and successful politician, and regarded Machiavelli as a reckless, violent young man, who could not keep from compromising himself, both in his books and in his conduct. But north of the Alps Machiavelli's cynical effrontery, which left right and wrong wholly out of political calculations, has always passed for the profoundest cunning. A man who is fairly on a level with his contemporaries in practical things, is able to astonish them by being ahead of the age in matters of speculation, although, unless the speculation is touched with some contagious passion, it simply loosens a man's hold upon life. Lethington took a positive view of politics in a theological age, and his reward was to be beheaded, after drifting into the service of Queen Mary, when she in turn had thrown herself into her last part as a confessor, soon to be a martyr, for Catholicism. Raleigh was a man of splendid ability. All his life he passed for one of the greatest Englishmen, at a time when great Englishmen were many. Yet he never attained to be more than the Captain of the Queen's Guards and the planter of Virginia, which, directly at any rate, brought

little profit though much glory. Perhaps Bacon was thinking of him and Essex when he said that it was a common error to value intimate access to princes, and the reputation of popularity, for their own sake, since both are dangerous, and, unless skilfully handled to further ends, bring nothing but barren envy.

If men who have a reputation for wisdom are seldom wise for themselves, it is almost the same with nations. The Hindus have never had a civilisation to boast of, but their books of practical prudence, founded upon various applications of the beast epic, have started from Persia, and gone the tour of the civilised world. Mediæval Germany was not highly civilised compared with France or Italy, but the German fable of Reynard the Fox passed from one land to another in the Middle Age as the best allegory of the seamy side of things. In the later Middle Age, when the seamy side of things was most prominent, it was the German story of Tyl Owl Glass that travelled, while the admirable farce of Patelin stayed at home. Again, when we pass from the wisdom of chap-books to the wisdom of proverbs, it is still the same thing. No country in the world is richer in wise proverbs than Spain, which bought two generations of supremacy at the price of three centuries of exhaustion. Israel was wise in literature; and now that it has been dispersed among the nations and scattered among the countries, it has become wise in conduct too; but when the people dwelt in their own land, their own wise men condemned their folly. And since then the Hebrew intellect has added little to the theory of conduct, though it has excelled in applying it.

The most striking thing about the Hebrew books of wisdom is their magnificent persistent optimism. There is not a trace to be found in them of the problem which vexes the soul of psalmist and prophet, the apparent prosperity of the wicked. We might read the Proverbs, and the Book of Wisdom, and the Son of Sirach, and even the Preacher for ever, without suspecting that the plain way to success is to be sceptical and cynical, unscrupulous and hard. Instead, we always find the fool and the ungodly coupled together when the ungodly is mentioned at all. In the Book of Wisdom it is just admitted that the wicked are able to persecute the righteous, but they are forced to confess themselves fools at last, though they have a plausible theory of their behaviour. "Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no remedy. . . . We are born at all adventure, and we shall be hereafter as though we had never been; for the breath in our nostrils is as smoke and a little spark is the moving of our heart, which being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air, and our name shall be forgotten in time, and no man shall have our works in remembrance, and our life shall pass away

as the trace of a cloud. . . . Come on, therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present." In the opinion of the writer, they are abandoned to this musical sophistry as a punishment for their discontent; for the Lord "will be found of them that tempt Him not, and sheweth himself unto such as do not distrust Him; for forward thoughts separate from God: . . . for wisdom is a loving spirit, and will not acquit a blasphemer of his thoughts." But the difficulty only arises late. One might say that it was a criticism of the cynical behaviour to which the pessimism of the Preacher might lead a soft, base nature. In the earlier books it is taken for granted that all serious and intelligent people will naturally respect what is respectable. The great difficulty in the path of the aspirant is simply his own laziness and frivolity, not the complexity of outward conditions, not the possibilities of anarchical success. It is from this point of view that we must explain the starting point, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: a good understanding have all they that do thereafter." The novice has to be turned to attention and effort by religion, and this done, he will probably go straight. There is always the feeling that wilfulness is wrong and perilous. "There is a way that seemeth right to a man, but the end thereof is the way of death. . . . A wise man feareth and departeth from evil, but the fool rageth and is confident." There is practically no doubt that if a man can get to work in a proper spirit, he will succeed well enough: "In all labour there is profit." "The hand of the diligent shall be made fat, but the talk of the lips tendeth to penury." "The crown of the wise is their riches." And, again, "Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men." There are not many safety-valves, like "Better a little with the fear of the Lord, than great treasure and trouble therewith;" "The wealth of the sinner is laid up for the just;" "Wealth gotten by vanity shall diminish, but he that gathereth by labour shall increase."

But the wise seem not careful to answer in such matters; they uniformly treat wisdom as its own best reward, and folly as its own worst punishment. For once that they say "Shame shall be the promotion of fools," they say many times, "The foolishness of fools is folly." "The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way; but the folly of fools is deceit." Moral distinctions seem still to have something of the freshness of novelty; it is a pleasure to dwell upon them and to view them in their simplest form. There is nothing in the Proverbs anywhere that goes deeper than "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." At the same time there is no *abandon* or enthusiasm about the Hebrew code of conduct. We meet again and again with maxims like, "He

that hateth suretyship is sure ; ” “ So long as thou doest good unto thyself, men will speak good of thee ; ” although there is a clear sense, too, that cheating and stinginess never pay in the long-run. “ There is that withholdeth more than is need, but it tendeth to poverty ; ” “ There is a sore disease that I have seen under the sun, and it is common among men ; riches kept by the owners thereof to their hurt ; such riches perish through evil travail. ”

But the economical situation was not far enough advanced to make honest riches common ; diligence and temper and discretion, keeping out of quarrels and out of poverty and debt, is really the practical object for a wise man. This makes it the more surprising that the general conception of wisdom should be so exalted. It is a complete contrast and converse to Goethe's aphorism that Napoleon was cynical and positive in speech, because he lived and acted wholly in the idea. This was the reason of his impatient contempt for ideologues, who talked and theorised where they were not able to act. Of course Napoleon had a right to be angry with men who were intruding into what they had not seen, and paid his own tribute to idealism, as Goethe observes, at St. Helena. But still the immense earnestness of the Hebrews on one side of their subject is curious when we consider what a modest view they took of the other. The Hebrew wise man has not the prestige of a hero of Plutarch or of Dr. Smiles, to say nothing of St. Anthony, or even of Diogenes. But while they refrain from speaking highly of themselves or their life, they cannot speak highly enough of wisdom.

“ Counsel is mine and sound wisdom : I am understanding and have strength. By me kings reign, and princes decree justice. By me princes rule and nobles, all the judges of the earth. I love them that love me ; and those that seek me early shall find me. Riches and honour are with me ; durable riches and righteousness. ” There are critics who think all this magnificence an afterthought, and assure us that the introduction to Proverbs is much the latest part of the book. But let us hear the Son of Sirach :—

“ Wisdom shall praise herself, and shall glory in the midst of her people. In the congregation of the Most High shall she open her mouth, and triumph before her judges. I came out of the mouth of the Most High, and covered the earth as a cloud. I dwelt in high places, and my throne is in a cloudy pillar. I alone compassed the circuit of the heaven and walked in the bottom of the deep. ”

The same man wrote, without any apparent sense of incongruity, “ If thou hast been forced to eat, arise, go forth, vomit, and thou shalt have rest. . . . Cocker thy child and he shall make thee afraid : play with him and he will bring thee to heaviness : bow down his neck while he is young, and beat him on the sides while he is a child,

lest he wax stubborn and be disobedient unto thee, and so bring sorrow upon thy heart."

The Son of Sirach is exceedingly full upon all questions of manners and prudence—the management of servants, of women, of property, of expense, of acquaintance, and throughout the tone is of cheerful, shrewd good-nature, and modesty in dealing with others, and of deep inward complacency for himself.

In one thing he is an illiberal thinker; he does not think that it is everybody's business to be wise; there is only not a physical distinction drawn between the righteous and sinners. There is much less exhortation to the sinful than in Proverbs, and much more observation of their propensities. Besides there is a broad line between the cultivated and the uncultivated, which does not coincide with the line between the rich and the poor, but with the line between leisure and handicraft. "The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise." Then after enumerating the social services of husbandmen, carpenters, carvers, smiths, and potters, "all these trust in their hands, and every one is wise in his work. Without these cannot a city be inhabited, and they shall not dwell where they will, or go up and down; they shall not be sought for in public councils, nor sit high in the congregations; they shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment; they cannot declare justice and judgment, and they shall not be found where parables are spoken. But they will maintain the state of the world, and their desire is in the work of their craft." At first sight this seems a glaring contradiction of the experience of Athens, which the Son of Sirach might have known, and the experience of Florence, which he could not know; and it is hardly an answer that Antioch and Alexandria were greater cities, and that he was of the same mind as Plato and Aristotle, whom he would have thought wiser than Thucydides. In fact the quickness of wit and versatility of resource that are glorified in the speech of Pericles have only a very remote connection with a steady grasp on fixed principles, and a methodical application of a definite system of rules. And these have to be taught and learnt at leisure; and these were what the Son of Sirach meant by wisdom. The shrewd inconstancy of the clever democrats who never adhered to unsuccessful leaders or policies would have shocked him; if he had read the debate over the fate of Melos, or even Mytilene, he would have said, "The knowledge of wickedness is not wisdom, neither at any time the counsel of sinners prudence." Not that he was a rigorist by any means. "He that hath understanding, will please great men." "He that pleaseth great men, shall get pardon for iniquity."

On one side his ideal is a courtier like Commynes, always discreet enough to be valued and respected by superiors less wise than himself; on the other side it is a sage like the Brahmin who declined a piece of Sanskrit taskwork the Indian Government pressed him to undertake, on the ground that it was beneath his dignity; and when the authorities hinted at his poverty, replied that he had a hundred a year, and could live as he wanted on fifty. Or if this is a trifle too egotistic a picture, we may turn to the sublime old age of Mencius when he had found that to be ruler of the empire was not one of the three things in which the superior man delights, and that drawing to himself all the most intelligent persons of the empire, and being able to teach and nourish them was. In general, Hebrew wisdom does not pique itself upon consistency; it is only careful to hold fast the foundation of self-control, self-respect and reverence, and then feels a certain pleasure in accumulating aphorisms on both sides of any question; there is no discussion, but plenty of materials for it, and one feels that if much of the Son of Sirach's teaching is secondhand, he is like Horace—"Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri." In another way too Horace is like him. That charming poet never quite decided between the rival charms of the life of a courtier and the life of a hermit. He might have been secretary to Augustus, and after all he felt that it was the crown of his life to have been the friend of the best men of his day, and he valued their worth all the more for their high station. We cannot say that he was mercenary; one of the wisest things in his life in his own judgment was his resolution to take nothing from Mæcenas but one poor little farm; and when Mæcenas grew troublesome and querulous, he could parade his independence without offence. There can be no doubt that the sort of success in life that Horace or Prosper Mérimée gained, is the sort of success which it is easiest for a clever and amiable man to gain by planning for it. There is a certain degree of cynicism inseparable from the idea of planning one's life at all; it implies that one has no constraining impulses, no absorbing ties, which would distract a man from his own prospects and his own character. And this cynicism is itself rather a recommendation to people who have got to the top of the tree, and have a little inclination to look down upon everything; and it is rather an obstacle to attaining purely practical independent success. A deliberate inquiry into the question what to do, and how to do it, is very apt to lead to the question whether anything is quite worth doing, and there are few records of any large practical success in business or war, or politics, or art, without an imperative consistent craving to do some definite thing. There is no sounder rule for the practical man than Cromwell's—One never goes so far as when one does not know where one is going; or the counsel which was given

to Dante in Paradise to follow his star. And so one notices in all the great men of action a certain vein of personal non-rational belief, even when they sat as loose to contemporary orthodoxy as Cæsar. And this does not perceptibly impair the soundness of their practical judgment. The late A. T. Stewart was never seduced into bolstering up unsound connections, because he had persuaded himself that luck depended upon having the same orangewoman's stall outside his place of business.

It is not every talent that is attractive: Virgil, for instance, was too absorbed in his work to be intimate in Mæcenas' circle, where Horace hints that they laughed a little at him behind his back, and the obstreperous self-assertion of Propertius did him no good. Horace's philosophy of life is a philosophy for the use of dependants who wish to retain their self-possession and self-respect, and therefore must be ready to resume their independence. They must not let themselves fall into the attitude of competing beggars for the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table: if they want anything, the way to get it is not to ask for it. Perhaps Horace had got all he wanted for himself so long, that it was easy for him to look at things too much from the patron's point of view; he knew which kind of dependant a patron would like and approve, but patrons are sometimes like the public at large and put off what they approve with chill praise. If we were to count up dependants who have thriven best, we should find that they commonly understood how to be troublesome as well as how to be useful, and were cleverer or, at any rate, more energetic than their patrons. And even Horace does not think the patron will necessarily be of a higher nature: he expects the patron to correct his dependant for the faults he allows in himself. But the dependant must ~~never drift into disputes with his~~ patron about trifles, or assert his own tastes against his; the only point where it is worth while to make a stand is in defence of a friend or one's own introducing. Another very important principle is not to expect too much. There was a certain Iccius who was collector of the estates of Agrippa, in Sicily, and had a library of Greek philosophy, and once was rash enough to think of making his fortune by joining the Arabian expedition. Horace is very firm with him, and tells him that his place as Agrippa's collector is all that he ought to wish for. It is important to settle down as soon as possible to tranquil enjoyment, and not leave life till one is old.

This is one of the most marked contrasts between the moral philosophy of Horace and the Son of Sirach. The latter holds, to be sure, that it is well to remember the latter end as a reason for enjoying the good things of this life, but he does not apply the thought to the young. According to him youth is the time of moral discipline and self-conquest; his motto for the young is, "He that departeth from plea-

suers crowneth his life.”¹ Horace’s is, “Hither bid them bring the wine and perfume, and the flowers of the dear rose that fadeth soon, while we have goods and youth to give us leave.” According to Horace, who anticipates herein the general judgment of the uninstructed common sense of Christendom, the time for moral discipline is old age. He was not exactly the inventor of the theory; it was anticipated in a saying of Hesiod, “Work for the young, and counsel for them of ripe age, and prayers for the old;” but he is almost the first to formulate it in Roman society. Catullus believes in amusing himself when he is young, but he does not believe in reforming when he is old.* And Horace is perfectly serious about reforming; he has the same objection to hoary vice as the Son of Sirach, and his last words bid those who are unable to mend to leave the world betimes—

“Lest youth that wears
Its motley better, kick thee down the stairs.”

Not that he recommends young men to neglect themselves; he thinks that sedulous watchfulness, self-examination, and good resolutions are all very appropriate remedies for the faults which are not pleasant to commit. And after all this is the largest class of faults; it is only wine and love in which Horace preaches self-indulgence; waste, and spite, and bad temper, and castle-building, and ambition, and worry, do no good, and should be checked at once; every one should try from the first to find out his proper place in the world, and keep to it without fidgeting himself by comparisons with the lot of others. According to Horace this last was the prevailing folly of his contemporaries; according to Loyola it was the great temptation of penitents in his day to think that they would have attained salvation more easily in some other vocation.

Horace was almost the last student who mastered the art of life as a liberal art in antiquity. Phædrus, with all his shrewdness and *bonhomie*, is servile; and Cato the Grammarian, popular as he was in the Middle Ages, reminds modern readers too strongly of copy-books. His advice savours too much of his virtuous intentions and too little of real observation of life. It is clear from Ammianus Marcellinus, and other writers of the fourth century, that observers of life had been driven to study what was lucky rather than what was prudent; because their general experience had convinced them that such luck as was then in the world told for a good deal, while such prudence as there was told for very little. In the Middle Ages prudence regains something of its proper powers, but it is a prolix, and so to say a lavish prudence: the mediæval wise man almost seems to have no other distinction than that he is a man of medita-

(1) “Rejoice, young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth,” is one of the many audacities of the Preacher.

tion and of maxims. He talks about it, and about it, and there is always some sense in his talk ; but there is a feeling, never more conspicuous than in the Italy of the fifteenth century, that a great many wise men speak without thinking in order to gain time to think without speaking. Commynes is on the very verge of passing out of the Middle Ages into modern times, or at all events into the time of the Renaissance, and his judgment is almost always right. We can see that nearly all that he condemns is foolish, nearly all that he approves is wise ; and yet, though his judgments are often elaborate enough, we feel as if they were superficial ; he never tells us why the enterprises of Louis XI. were in themselves more feasible than those of Charles the Bold ; he only impresses us with his own strong conviction that somehow or other the rash cunning of the one was safer than the rash obstinacy of the other.

When we come to Bacon we feel that we have left the Middle Ages and even the Renaissance behind : yet we have not come to the modern world either. We might say that he has not advanced to it ; we might say he has not come down to it. There is a great deal in Harvey's criticism on the first part of the *Novum Organum*, that the Lord Chancellor wrote on natural philosophy like a Lord Chancellor, and in King James's criticism that he was not philosopher enough himself to understand his discourses on law. Bacon's greatness of mind showed itself in always being perceptibly above his business : instead of doing what was possible at the moment, he was always planning some larger task to be taken in hand when he could count upon suitable collaboration.

He was content with nothing short of an exhaustive theory of success in private and public life, with a preliminary treatise on the formation of character, which he called the *Georgics of the mind*. He was too magnificently hopeful to inquire whether there was not something impossible in a science which had been left undiscovered so long, though its subject was so close to human interest, and forced itself upon human observation. The Greeks had already discussed the question whether virtue was teachable, and Aristotle had summed up the controversy by the decision that only students who were well grounded in the practice of morals could profit by instruction in the theory. It did not occur to him that any thing was needed for the preliminary training beyond diligence and consistency on the part of parents and guardians. This really carries us after all as far as it is easy or safe to go. Conduct is much more an affair of habit than of inclination, and of impulse than of calculation : people do what has to be done without stopping to think if they like it, or protest that they wish they had not got to do it, and do it all the same, though perhaps a little the worse. Their activity, what there is of it, works itself out so far as circumstances permit in any wholesome or unwholesome

direction it may have taken, without much reflection upon the question whether it is ideally worth while to do as they are doing. If a man's occupation provides him with what he has come to think necessities, or he is provided with these by something else than work, he pursues it quite contentedly, although it is of very little use to the world, and although he may not be succeeding in it.

The knowledge which is really useful to us—more useful than the knowledge of what a disinterested, public-spirited spectator will praise us for, more useful than the knowledge of the probable consequences of our actions to ourselves and others, more useful than the knowledge of our own capacity—is different from all these, it is the knowledge of other men, how far they are likely to further or hinder us in doing what we already tend to do. This will help us to choose among our tendencies. We need to know which of them we shall be able to impose if we are strong, in which we shall have sympathy if we are gregarious, in which we shall be protected if we are feeble, in which we shall be left unmolested if we are insignificant. All other knowledge, especially self-knowledge, is only profitable to check us if we are going to ruin, and to paralyse us if we were going to do pretty well. "He that regardeth the wind shall not sow, and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap." "A man," as Goethe says, "must overrate himself a little, perhaps more than a little (if he thinks of himself at all), if he is to come up to all the expectations entertained of him." The valuable self-knowledge is negative rather than positive. A man must not think he can do what he cannot, he must not think what he can do impossible: but the prolonged contemplation which is needed to bring any man to a clear sense of his powers and their limits is a drag on activity for the time, and issues in either despondency or an overweening confidence, which at first is often a valuable weapon, and ends by becoming a snare. "They measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves among themselves, have not attained unto righteousness."

Now Bacon had made his way by no spontaneous fitness for high place, but by diligently studying himself and all the people who he hoped would help him. When he was first in Parliament he seems to have offended his colleagues by what would nowadays be called viewiness, and when he had established his parliamentary position he compromised his career at Court by a futile display of independence, intended to show that he had parliamentary influence with which it would be well to reckon. The consequences of this miscalculation involved him in another. Essex thought him ill-used, as he was, and Bacon long looked to Essex to push his fortunes, and had at last the misfortune of making his peace with the Court at the expense of his patron, upon whom he had bestowed

much good advice, so useless that he naturally took credit afterwards for having given him much more which he had carefully prepared and found it hopeless to deliver at the time. Even when he had placed his wonderful powers of plausible and persuasive statement at the disposition of the Government to convince the public that a sufficiently seditious *pronunciamiento* against the ministry was really high treason against Queen Elizabeth, his progress was slow compared with his abilities. He constantly saw duller men promoted over his head, and was disappointed of promotion which he expected so confidently as to put his men into new clothes, whereupon when the post in question (the headship of the Court of Wards and Liveries) was finally filled up, a wag remarked that Sir Walter had the Wards and Sir Francis had the Liveries. He was driven very much against his will to try what detraction would do for him, and when at last his perseverance was rewarded, he soon lost the favour of Buckingham by not backing Coke against his wife and daughter as strongly as Buckingham wished, and was made the scapegoat of the general corruption when the Parliament met, for whose assembly he prepared so hopefully.

Bacon was entirely unsoured. The only bitter things he says anywhere are that the shortest ways to rise are commonly the foulest, and that it is imprudent to do too much good service at first and leave nothing to do by-and-bye, and that a man who will be useful in any laborious business like the law, will seldom have time and opportunity to forward his own fortunes. All his wisdom is cheerful. He holds that a rising man ought to be open to attract the confidence of those who have something useful to tell, as well as secret, to attract the confidence of those who have something important to conceal. If he thinks it important for a man to take stock of his powers and opportunities, his shortcomings and hindrances, he is careful to add that it is well to overrate the former a little and to underrate the latter. He has a poor opinion of all unworthy success, and thinks such an one has punishment enough in his character. And it is not really inconsistent with this that he distinguishes repeatedly between the man who is wise for the public and the man who is wise for himself; for a man may render great services to the public, and yet his career may be a failure as a whole even from the public point of view. Bacon's *Architect of Fortune* makes it his first business, no doubt, to get high place and to keep it all his life; but then, if a man has the higher wisdom to serve the State, it is all the better that he should have the lower to serve himself. Lord Palmerston, for instance, was more valuable to the public in proportion to his abilities than Lord Chatham; Pitt was more valuable in proportion to his abilities than Burke. And after all the balance is not uneven. There is an admirable story in the

appendix to Bacon's collection of anecdotes, how one courtier, after Bacon's fall, said, "My Lord St. Alban had a pretty turning wit and could speak well; but he wanted that profound judgment and solidity of a statesman that my Lord of Middlesex hath" (Middlesex was the man to whom Buckingham made Bacon give up York House after his impeachment. Like Bacon, he fell into disgrace because he could not resist questionable gains). Said a courtier who stood by, "Sir, I wonder you will disparage your judgment so much as to offer to make any parallel betwixt these two. I'll tell you what: when these two men shall be recorded in our chronicles to after ages, men will wonder how my Lord St. Alban could fall; and they will wonder how my Lord of Middlesex could rise."

Next to this in Rowley's commonplace book comes a saying of another stamp: "There was one who was wont to say that he thought every man fit for every place," which is the rough draught of an elaborate anecdote about Queen Elizabeth comparing herself to Diogenes looking for a man with his lantern; whereupon Bacon compared her to the Madonna turning the scale in favour of a sinner on the last day with her rosary—the moral being that princes' favour either finds men worthy, or makes them so. It is the converse to the Greek proverb that office shows what a man is, and not a particularly creditable contrast to the vigorous Hebrew protest against the exaltation of the mean man.

Goethe throughout attaches himself to solid fact in a way as remarkable in a poet as Napoleon's dislike for ideology, considering his romantic career. Another remarkable characteristic is the entire absence of all exclusiveness: his world is not the world of a court or of a cultured class; it includes the Hydriote shipowners, who, he thought, gave their sons the best education in the world by simply taking them round with them in their voyages, to see and to learn and make themselves as useful as they can. "As they have what they earn, they are interested from the first in trade and barter and booty, and so grow up to be the most excellent mariners, the cleverest traffickers, and the most adventurous pirates. Such a mass is really capable of putting forth heroes who can grapple the deadly fireship with their own hands to the flagship of the enemy." He has no ambition to enforce such a many-sided culture as his own. "When we meet cultured men we find that there is only one manifestation of the primal being, or at most a few of which they are receptive, and that is enough." . . . "It does a musician no harm to ignore a sculptor, and *vice versa*." "Painting, sculpture, and acting stand together in the closest relations, but an artist called to practise one of the three must be on his guard against letting the others mislead him: the sculptor may be misled by the painter, and the painter by the actor (this is a pro-

phetic criticism of Maclise), and all three may so perplex one another that no one is able to stand firm on his own feet."

Goethe does not draw the line where Bacon wants to draw it, between the court and the city, or where the Son of Sirach draws it, between men of letters and men of business; in theory, at any rate, his man of culture is not a monopolist; the perfection he describes, the advice he gives, are for the ordinary workaday world. His theory of duty is to do the day's work; and doing one's duty is his theory of the way one should take to find out what is in us. "Self-knowledge is never to be got by reflection, only by action." He is as far as possible from demanding the construction of a brand new science of conduct like Bacon. "Everything sensible has been thought of already, and all we have to do is to think of it over again." He has no faith in the best machinery. "The special genuine good that we do, commonly gets done *clam, vi, et precario*"—privily, forcibly, or by beggary, the three conditions which vitiate the value of possession as a title at law. He treats all truth and success as something momentary. "The manifestation of the idea as that of beauty is as fleeting as the manifestation of the sublime, the ingenious, the amusing, the ridiculous."—"The important thing in the world is not knowledge of men, but just to have one's wits better in hand than the man with whom one has to do."—"Making mistakes is a capital thing when one is young, only one must not let the mistakes slip in with one as one passes into old age."—"The importance of the most innocent sayings and doings grows with every year, and whenever I see any one about me any time, I always try to make him observe what is the difference between being straightforward and being confiding and being indiscreet; or rather that there is no distinction, only an easy transition from what is quite unobjectionable to what is very mischievous, which has to be noticed or rather to be felt."—"Microscopes and telescopes only serve to perplex the pure human sensation."—"Whoever contents himself with pure experience and acts thereafter has truth enough, and in that way a child just growing up is wise."—"Nothing that happens is so unreasonable but common sense or accident might have righted it; nothing so reasonable but want of sense or accident might have made it turn out wrong."—"Any one who demands too much, anybody who takes pleasure in perversity, has himself to thank for his perplexity."

Much of this naturalism is upon the borders of fatalism, and the resistance to fatalism is not the recognition of responsibility, but the inculcation of endeavour in some definite rational direction. In the whole course of Goethe's reflections and maxims the absence of the element of authority is very remarkable. His ideal teacher would be a man who could carry his pupils round the world, and show them

everything just at its best; and as this is impossible, he would be content with a teacher who would enable his pupils to appreciate the best that came in their way. If a wise and able man wishes to teach his own knowledge and skill, he can only let his light shine, do what he can, say what he thinks. "Men are strange creatures; they will bear no constraint to their good, and they will bear coercion to their hurt." He thinks Lessing was quite right to make one of his characters say, "No one must must," though he adds the supplementary remarks of an ingenious intelligent man who says, "If a man will, he must;" and a really cultivated man who says, "If a man understands, he is willing."—"If I understand my relation to myself and my circumstances, the expression of my belief I call truth, and that is my truth; if anybody else understands his relation to himself and his circumstances, that is his truth; and so there may be as many truths as there are people in the world, and yet every truth is the same."—"As I grow older I keep silence on many things. I do not wish to mislead people, and am well content when they enjoy what offends me."—"Whoever puts up with my faults is my superior."—"Voluntary dependence is the most beautiful thing in the world, and how is that possible without love?"—"A state of things which produces a daily renewed sense of oppression cannot possibly be the right one." Here we have the explanation. In Goethe's youth, the hereditary authoritative tradition under which he grew up was in the main unfruitful; he had to find out for himself all that he thought worth knowing or doing; he had to learn to appreciate the past for himself, and he did not see that the generation which was growing up under the influence of the critical philosophy and the French Revolution, would be more tractable; and the framework of German society was not in a state to inspire reverence, though Goethe consistently preached and practised patience, which is doubtless most favourable to the development of the individual, while revolutionary methods produce more tangible results for the community.

Another observation suggested by the same situation is that "Laws are always made by men of full age; the young and women have to obey; men are for the rule, women and the young for the exception." "The battle between the old, the established, the persistent, and development, growth, transformation, is always the same. Every order at last issues in pedantry, and people upset one to get quit of the other; and some time passes before people become aware that order must be re-established. Classicism and romanticism, craftguilds and the freedom of industry, maintenance and breaking-up of landed estates, it is always the same conflict which always ends by begetting a new conflict. It follows that the best wisdom of governments would be to moderate it, so that it might be balanced

without the overthrow of either side ; but this is not given to men, it seems not to be the will of God."

This comes after a very bitter saying, "All men as they become free give effect to their faults ; the strong in exaggeration, the weak in negligence."—"Weak men are often of a revolutionary way of thinking ; they suppose they would be comfortable if it were not for the Government, and don't feel their incapacity to govern themselves or others."—"All that gives us intellectual liberty without giving us self-control, is corrupting." In one thing Goethe agrees with the ordinary respectability of the eighteenth century, in the enormous value that he puts on the diligent employment of time ; he even speculates on the possibility of putting by the time which passes unemployed for future use, as the only conceivable excuse for the way most people saunter time away. He does not condescend to notice the real justification that they have not vitality enough to live to purpose for more than a very small part of the twenty-four hours : and generally this part becomes smaller as routine does less to direct the employment of time ; as Goethe says himself, "every artist is lazy." That is the reason why Philistines despise artists ; Goethe recognises their self-complacency without being surprised or much offended. He would be glad to think them stupid and harmless ; but sometimes they take it into their heads to be ingenious and profound. "The most astonishing things are said when people who are not really productive are resolved to say something remarkable." Sometimes, and this is much worse, they try to be energetic. "There is nothing more terrible than activity without intelligence." This in his eyes is the one unpardonable sin ; the irregularities of a genius like Byron seem very venial in comparison ; he does not exactly extenuate his errors and misfortunes, but he sets them down to his difficulties in understanding himself and his epoch. He does not demand good sense from genius, for though none have rated good sense higher, he regards it as something which cannot be learnt by trying ; it comes from fellowship with the human race as a whole, and of course the fellowship in which common sense is assimilated is not facilitated by superiority. "The one thing to be demanded of genius is the love of truth." "Love of truth shows itself in this, that one is able to find and praise good everywhere."

On long life Goethe had a better right to speak than most, and he used it sparingly. The Hebrew praises of long life do not seem to be the work of old men, but rather of men who hoped to live to be old. Goethe speaks mostly in a tone of irony : "It is an ancient forester who stumbles over the tree that he has planted."—"People spare the old as they spare children."—"The old man loses the best right of manhood, the right to be judged by his peers." The difficulty of the old on which Goethe dwells largely for him, is peculiar

to men like himself, who wish to go on learning as they grow old. Then, of course, every achievement becomes the preface to a new task, and tasks multiply as strength fails; but the general rule is, that the old, if they keep their place in the world at all, are to be numbered among its blind forces; they dispense themselves increasingly from understanding the tendencies of the new generations whom they still control. Their action is still important enough to be studied, perhaps beneficent enough to be cherished; but it is mechanical, beyond their own guidance or that of others, and it generally seems happier and safer when they are content to flit like gracious shadows through the evening sunshine.

After all has been said, even Goethe cannot maintain a tone of triumph. "A man of action is concerned to do right; it need not trouble him if what is right is done." "When a man builds for the future, there are many evil eyes upon him; if he will work for the moment, let him sacrifice first to fortune." If he says once, "Only do your own part right, and the rest will do itself," this must be taken subject to the saying, that the spirit of the world quoted to Di-psychus, "Whom God deludes is well deluded." It is a good thing that all men, especially those whom it most concerns, will give little weight to the observation, "The multitude cannot do without men of worth, and yet men of worth are always a burden to the multitude," and will repose upon the promise, "Every worthy, active man should deserve and expect the grace of the great, the favour of the powerful, the help of the good and active, the good-will of the many, the love of one or two."

G. A. SIMCOX.

PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN CHINA.

CONSIDERING the great commercial and more recent political importance of China to Great Britain, and the immense British interests bound inseparably up with the problem of China's near future, the apathy displayed in regard to Chinese affairs generally is altogether as inexplicable as it is mistaken. But a few years ago, when China was still so far off, and while as yet Russian outposts had not overshadowed the frontiers either of that empire or of ours, there was some excuse for this indifference towards the political and social conditions of an exclusive and apparently unapproachable people, content to sell us tea and silk, and to take our piece goods and opium with the minimum of communication possible. Now, however, all that is changed; steam and increased commercial interests have brought England and China closer together, and signs are not wanting that the latter, at no very remote date, is destined to fill an important place among the nations of the world. At this moment China is watching anxiously the steady advance of Russia; but now—no longer, as of old, to be so easily coerced into territorial concessions—she is looking round on all sides to discover the best means of protecting herself, while avoiding at the same time the hateful contingency of war. She sees two issues from the difficulty, both fraught with more or less danger—an alliance with Russia, her dreaded enemy, whom she mistrusts and would continue to mistrust as an ally, but which might avert the catastrophe for a time; or an alliance with England, whom she does trust, but which she fears would involve her in the very complications she is so anxious to escape. It is not too much to say that the direction of China into one or other of these issues lies entirely with ourselves. That question, however, is not to be the subject of the present paper, which has been written with a view to place before the English reader a succinct account of the present state of commercial, social, and religious affairs in the Chinese Empire.

Commercial.—It is necessary to premise that values are given in *taels*, a tael being, strictly speaking, a Chinese ounce-weight of silver, and here reckoned as equal to 5s. 11½d., or a halfpenny short of 6s. The Chinese coin nothing but *cash*, which should be of copper, but are actually of a much baser composition, and are cast with a square hole in the middle for convenience in stringing and carrying a large quantity. A Mexican dollar may be worth from 1,000 to 1,300 of these *cash*, more or less, according to the fluctuations of exchange, i.e. about twenty of them would go to an English penny.

The total value of foreign trade with China for 1878 was *Taels* 137,976,206, against *T.* 140,678,918 for 1877, or a decrease of nearly three million *taels*. The highest point hitherto gained was *T.* 151,120,086 in 1876. The total for 1878 is made up of—

Imports	Taels.
Exports	Taels.
	70,804,027
	67,172,179
	137,976,206

upon which the Chinese Government levied a total revenue of *T.* 12,483,988,¹ or in round numbers £4,000,000, being an increase of about £1,000,000 since 1866. Of the above total foreign trade Great Britain monopolised a large share, the chief participators standing for the following amounts:—

	Imports from	Exports to	Total
	Taels.	Taels.	Taels.
Great Britain	14,951,715	27,609,843	42,561,558
Hong Kong ²	27,444,636	14,979,101	42,423,737
India	21,077,099	374,251	21,451,350
Continent of Europe	826,128	8,461,304	9,287,432
United States	2,253,148	6,576,125	8,829,273
Japan	4,050,558	1,682,718	5,733,276
Other Countries	200,743	7,488,837	7,689,580
Total	70,804,027	67,172,179	137,976,206

Among imports (net total *T.* 70,804,027) opium stands pre-eminently first with a total of 72,424 *piculs*,³ value *T.* 32,262,957,⁴ against 70,179 *piculs*, value *T.* 30,287,812, imported in 1877. Cotton goods come next with a value of *T.* 16,029,231, against *T.* 18,800,232 for 1877. Woollens stand for *T.* 4,875,594, being a slight improvement on the total for 1877. Metals show a total value of *T.* 4,178,376, and Sundries *T.* 13,291,409, both being decreases from the totals of the previous year. The grand total is made up by *T.* 166,460 for miscellaneous piece goods, which is about *T.* 40,000 in excess of the total for 1877.

Exports (net total *T.* 67,172,179) may be disposed of under four general headings, viz. (1) tea, (2) silk, (3) sugar, and (4) sundries. The total quantity of tea exported from China in 1878 amounted to

(1) Inclusive of tonnage and transit dues, as well as import, export, and coast trade duties.

(2) Imports from Hong Kong into China come originally from Great Britain, America, India, the Straits. Being a British colony it would be fair in some senses to include its trade in that of Great Britain.

(3) A *picul* has been fixed by treaty at 133½ lbs.

(4) The import of opium in 1850, while it was still a contraband article of trade, was estimated at a value of from 20,000,000 to 26,000,000 dollars.

1,898,956 *piculs*, valued at T. 32,013,184,¹ against 1,909,088 *piculs* for 1877, valued at T. 33,332,387. Of silk, 89,147 *piculs*, valued at T. 25,126,204; and of sugar, 585,247 *piculs*, valued at T. 1,864,756, were similarly shipped for foreign countries. The above three items thus cover about 59 of the 67 millions of taels at which the export trade may be roughly set down, leaving a balance of 8 millions for sundries, such as drugs, earthenware, raw cotton, fire crackers, grass cloth, dried fruits, paper, straw braid, skins, &c., &c. Fans were exported to the number of 6,513,443; but the value of these only reached T. 51,420, or about a halfpenny apiece. Of the grand total (1,898,956 *piculs*) of tea exported, the immense proportion of 1,059,151 *piculs*² went to Great Britain, besides 174,868 *piculs* to Hong Kong, and smaller quantities to India and the Straits. The overland trade to Russia and Siberia stands for 275,400 *piculs*, chiefly brick tea; and the United States took 227,988 *piculs*, just half of which was green tea. Great Britain will thus be seen to have monopolised more than half of the entire tea trade, and to have imported four times as much as any other country in the world. This fact brings us conveniently on to the question of shipping. In 1878, there were 20,928 *entries and clearances* of foreign vessels at the various treaty ports of China, from which the reader will of course understand that the total given must be divided by 2, and that it includes all movements of vessels from port to port on the China coast, as well as the direct trade with foreign countries. Compared with 1877, the shipping shows as follows:—

Vessels.	1877.	Tonnage.	Vessels	1878.	Tonnage.
18,807	=	11,983,591	20,928	=	13,446,394

Of these totals, we find British shipping appearing for a large share; viz. 9,973 vessels at a tonnage of 7,439,373, or 931 more entries and clearances, at about 1,000,000 more tons, than in 1877. The next place is filled by Chinese shipping, i.e. vessels of foreign type, owned by Chinese and sailing under the Chinese flag, with a total of 5,168 entries and clearances, at a tonnage of 4,256,678. To these last must be added a junk trade of 1,692 at 120,679 tons, such junks being built and owned by Chinese, but sailing under special license, and paying their duties like foreign vessels. The grand total of say 20,000 entries and clearances has thus been relieved of more than 16,000 of its component parts, and we are prepared to deal with smaller numbers, such as the German total of 1,983 entries and clearances, at a tonnage of 743,457. These amounts, however, are a considerable improvement on those for 1877, which showed 1,376

(1) Say an average value of 9d. per lb. The export of 1860 was estimated at 85,000,000 lbs., or about one-third of the amount for 1878.

(2) Valued at T. 17,000,000. The total value of the exports from China in British ships in 1848 was valued at only 13,800,442 dollars.

entries and clearances, at a tonnage of only 496,908. The United States appear for 1,018 vessels entries and clearances, at a tonnage of 341,942, and the insignificant balance is divided among no less than ten nationalities. The shipping of the United States has indeed fallen off since she stood, in 1873, for 5,001 entries and clearances, at a tonnage of 3,483,203,¹ against 6,955 British vessels, with a tonnage of 3,645,557. It may be as well to add that the grand total of 20,928 entries and clearances for 1878 has to be divided between steamers and sailing vessels, there having been 14,200 entries and clearances of the former, at a tonnage of 11,726,915, against only 6,728 of the latter, at a tonnage of 1,719,479; for, inasmuch as German and American shipping is chiefly confined to sailing vessels, we here find the cause of the immense preponderance of British shipping interests which will appear more markedly under the head of percentages.

The transit trade for 1878 may be disposed of in a few words. To cover foreign goods from treaty ports to places in the interior of China, at an *ad valorem* duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., no further amounts to be levied on the way, applications were made for 52,857 transit passes, covering merchandise valued at T. 9,657,984. Leaving out of the question 9,297 of these passes applied for by Chinese, of the remainder Great Britain took 32,905, covering merchandise valued at T. 6,340,375. The United States stands next for 9,537 passes, or T. 1,233,417 worth of goods. Germany, France, Denmark, Spain, Sweden and Norway, and Japan, shared the small balance. To bring goods from the interior of China to treaty ports, only 935 passes were applied for, covering merchandise valued at T. 1,461,548. Of these passes, Great Britain took 418, Russia 310, and Spain 139; the value of the goods covered being in a nearly corresponding ratio. Of the transit dues accruing from this trade to the Chinese Government, Great Britain paid just about three-fifths.

And here it may be mentioned that of the total customs revenue (from all sources) of T. 12,483,988, Great Britain handed over to China no less a sum than T. 8,469,704. Of the remainder, T. 1,927,929 has to be subtracted on account of sums paid by Chinese merchants availing themselves of the foreign custom house; after which, *sed longo intervallo*, comes Germany with a total of only T. 852,939, followed by France with T. 533,594, America with T. 281,234, and Japan with T. 136,133. The remainder is divided among six treaty and several non-treaty powers.

To sum up. Supposing there had been 100 trips of all kinds of vessels engaged in the coast and foreign trade of China for 1878,

(1) Since then a large fleet of river steamers has been transferred from the American to the Chinese flag. "The plain fact is, that, as a whole, our commerce with China is less satisfactory and less profitable than it was twenty years ago, and there is no sign of any marked improvement."—A. A. Hayes, in the *International Review* for April, 1879.

then British ships would have monopolised $47\frac{1}{2}\%$ of those trips, Chinese-owned ships of foreign build and licensed junks $32\frac{1}{2}\%$, German ships $9\frac{1}{10}\%$, American $4\frac{1}{2}\%$, Spanish ships $2\frac{1}{10}\%$, the balance being shared by no less than eight nationalities. But the full measure of British supremacy in the China trade will be best brought out by the following tabular view of percentages belonging to the various competing countries in the several departments under which commercial transactions may be ranged :—

	Tonnage.		Trade.			Duties Paid.
	No. of Trips.	Total Tonnage.	Foreign.	Coast.	Transit.	
British	47.65	55.33	74.03	45.26	61.89	67.84
American	4.86	2.54	2.34	2.75	11.39	2.25
German	9.47	5.53	4.40	5.68	1.03	6.83
French	0.83	1.19	10.42	0.39	0.10	1.27
Dutch	0.26	0.21	0.55	0.09	—	0.71
Danish	0.72	0.68	0.34	0.56	—	0.15
Spanish	2.17	0.55	0.31	0.60	2.42	0.55
Swedish and Norwegian }	0.25	0.22	0.15	0.04	0.11	0.08
Russian	0.09	0.05	2.27	0.04	5.16	0.29
Belgian	0.01	0.03	—	—	—	0.01
Japanese	0.60	0.92	4.14	—	—	1.09
Non-Treaty Powers	0.31	0.19	0.25	0.09	—	0.18
Chinese	32.78	32.56	0.80	44.51	17.81	15.15
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

And now, if the reader will permit a general jumbling up of British ships, value of trade, and the duties pocketed by the Chinese Government, the following practical result will be found deducible from such a process. The interest of Great Britain in the China trade, foreign and coast, taken in conjunction with the interest of the Chinese Government in the presence of Great Britain as a competing nationality, amounts to the enormous percentage of 58.66! Next on the list stand Chinese merchants with a percentage of 23.99, thus leaving the insignificant percentage of 17.35 to be divided amongst ten nationalities, irrespective of non-treaty powers. In the face of these figures it would seem difficult to understand the complaints of British merchants and shipmasters as to depression in the China trade. What these complaints really mean is, not that foreign trade with China shows any tendency to decrease, or that British merchants no longer take the British lion's share, but that brisk competition prevails, the arena being far more crowded than of old, and large profits more difficult to realise. Instead of directing their gaze steadily and perseveringly upon the future, some of our merchants are too fond of turning round to reflect on the days when

a few years in China brought always a competency, and sometimes a fortune. They are apt to forget that life at an average treaty port is now very enjoyable, for those who understand the art of enjoyment, as compared with the good old times gone by, when residents laboured under innumerable galling restrictions, besides an absence of society and want of regular communication with the Western world. As things are at present, most of the open ports are furnished with every conceivable appliance for making leisure hours pass pleasantly away; and they are inhabited, moreover, by a body of mercantile men who for culture and refinement could hardly be matched, still less compared with the typical business man who drags out a dull dog-in-a-wheel sort of existence on a season ticket between the City of London and his suburban villa. Money is doubtless a glorious possession, and much might be endured in a rapidly rewarded pursuit of it; but the China merchant would do well to dismiss from his mind all hope of emulating the pioneers of commerce in the Middle Kingdom—

“For theirs were the quickly made fortunes of yore,
And ours to regret, but renew them no more.”

Political.—The relations of China with England were doubtless much improved by the war which terminated with the capture of Peking in 1860; but of late years these relations have been gradually placed on a far more satisfactory basis, and that without any further coercive efforts on our part. The Chinese have long since made up their minds to yield to the force of circumstances, and permit the once hateful barbarian to aid in replenishing the exhausted coffers of their imperial exchequer. There has been, however, no disorderly rout, but a slow and decorous retreat as their vantage ground has been conceded inch by inch. One of the numerous offensive terms formerly applied to foreigners was tabooed in the Treaty of Tientsin; and it was further enjoined therein that British consular officers should be “treated with due respect by the Chinese authorities.” For some time the mandarins interpreted this clause in a sense somewhat inconsistent with British dignity, and many recriminations ensued. At the present moment conventional ceremony is the order of the day; “side gates” are never alluded to even by the highest Chinese officials, and the objectionable phraseology of a few years ago has been swept out of sight for ever. Even the more ornate language of written and colloquial Chinese is now employed in communicating with the foreigner, since he has been found capable of understanding the terms and appreciating the civility. This result is partly due to the great impulse given to the study of “Mandarin”—the official language of China—by the publication in 1868 of a practical elementary handbook of that dialect. Previous

to that date a student of Chinese was shut up in a room with a teacher and a Morrison's Dictionary, and left to hammer out what he could on any system he chose to adopt. Now he has an excellent *point de départ*, and a safe guide for at any rate the first twelve months. The Chinese language has been made, and most rightly, more or less a *sine quâ non* for the members of our consular staff; and for some time the idea prevailed that successful students would be proportionately rewarded. This, however, has recently given place to the less stimulating belief that a mere qualifying knowledge is all that is sufficient to secure promotion according to seniority. Meanwhile, Americans are finding out that an acquaintance with the Chinese language is the first requisite and most important qualification of a consul in China. A recent number of the *Boston Advertiser* says, "Our consulates are by appointments made solely on political grounds; the consul is made such at once, though he may know nothing of China beyond having a vague idea that it is a country with a lot of people in it, most of whom are coolies, and the rest probably mandarins. . . . A further blot on our consular service lies in the quality of its interpreters."

The average English consular officer of to-day is far ahead, as an interpreter of Chinese, of the average interpreter of twenty years ago; but he is still very far from what he might be if a study of the language were an ever-present necessity to him throughout his official career in the East. As things are now, a three years' studentship will enable any man of ordinary ability to get through his office translations *with the aid of a teacher*; and when that point is gained, many a junior consular officer betakes himself to some more congenial pursuit. Such a standard is a low one, and it would never do for us to lag behind in the acquisition of this valuable key. Our interests in China have been shown to be ten times that of any other nationality; the prestige of Great Britain has always been paramount, and her consular staff must continue to be, as it always has been, the most efficient. Among the foreign consulates at the various treaty ports, that of Great Britain is everywhere regarded by the officials and people of China as *the* consulate. It is the oldest established, its *personnel* is larger, and its business more extensive. Its influence is on the side of right and justice, and is not bartered for money—a fact it would have been needless to mention except in comparison with the following passage from the above-quoted *Boston Advertiser*: "Consult any man, American or not, who has spent a little time at any one of the southern ports, and ask him of the state of things there. He will tell you that the American eagle is there unblushingly sold; that the American flag is made to cover the grossest frauds; that the great American name is dragged into cases in which an American never had an interest."

Still China is apparently on the best possible terms with the United States, and since the Presidential veto upon the bill for restricting the immigration of Chinese into the latter country, is likely to continue so to be. English is the foreign language *par excellence* which the Chinese are now striving to cultivate, and America, for various reasons, monopolises a large proportion of the students who are sent abroad to acquire that knowledge.

Russia has always been much feared by China. She is known to them as a powerful nation and a near neighbour, with an irresistible tendency to annex. Only the other day there was an article in a Chinese newspaper in Hong Kong in which the writer said, "Russia seized Ili under the pretence of protecting her merchants. She made a distinct promise to restore it, thinking that China would not be able to receive it back for many years to come. . . . Russia is very far-seeing and cunning. . . . Whatever new agreement China may make with Russia, she must be sure to exercise all possible care and forethought in the matter." And quite recently a pamphlet has been published in Chinese entitled, *Outlines of Russian History*, and said to be a translation of the article on Russia in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in which the translator, after tracing the history of that empire from A.D. 861, and giving comparative tables of area, population, and so forth, winds up with the following denunciatory paragraph :—

"The chief object which Russia has ever had in contemplation has been the appropriation of the territory of neighbouring States. At present, she finds to her west England, France, Germany, and Austria, all watching like tigers, and in no mood to permit any one to appropriate their territory. Consequently, she is unable to move in this direction. And on the south, at any attempt of hers to annex, she is met at once by the resistance of England; so that here again she is unable to carry out her plans as she would wish. The only point at which she can hope to effect anything is on her eastern frontier, at the north-western boundary of our Middle Kingdom. And it is much to be feared that unless early precautions be adopted, when the matter comes to a head we shall have great difficulty in protecting ourselves there. Russian policy is indeed treacherous and unfathomable. If they come against us with the panoply of war, we shall know what measures to take; but if with specious ceremonies and fair words, then it is to be feared that we shall not discover their real intent. Such at any rate is my (the author's) opinion: I know not whether the reader will agree with me or not."—Quoted from the *Shanghai Courier*, 8th April, 1879.

France occupies at present an unimportant position in Chinese affairs, except in so far as regards the support she extends to a large number of Catholic missionaries scattered all over the empire. That these missionaries in their turn support converts to their own form of Christianity will be seen later on, while the fact that the higher dignitaries of the Romish Church in China arrogate to themselves titles and functions wholly incompatible in Chinese eyes with the profession of religion, has combined to make their presence and

growing influence in the country doubly hateful to the majority of the Chinese people.

The sudden rise of Germany since 1870 to prominence as a European power, consequent upon her victorious efforts in the Franco-Prussian war, astonished China very much, and for a brief interval German diplomacy carried everything before it; but the Chinese are beginning to find out that Germany could hardly be an agent of much good or of much evil in respect of China, and the result is a gradual subsidence of her influence to a more natural level. Her merchants run their houses of business, and her ship-owners their vessels, at a cheaper rate than we do; yet it is only in the local carrying trade that they can pretend to compete with us, and then only in that portion of it which belongs to sailing vessels, now of daily decreasing importance.

The proximity of Spain in the Philippine Islands gives her a certain position which she would not otherwise occupy; but emigration to her more distant colonies is still looked upon with distrust.

Japan was regarded, shortly after her opening to trade, to Christianity, to foreign clothes, and to European civilisation generally, as a harebrained little State, which had lost all control over itself, and would ultimately be absorbed by some greedy Western power, probably England or France. But since she beat China on the Formosa question, and began to assert her suzerainty over the Loo-choo Islands, she has been considered more mischievous than mad; and many a Chinese general would gladly lead an expedition to exterminate these former feudatories, but for the risk of ignominious failure and the well-known disinclination of the Chinese to take the initiative in war. Besides, the latter know that the Japanese have two ironclads, and that they themselves have none. And the iron-clad is a creature of modern birth, the aggressive nature of which they have not yet had a chance to gauge.

Portugal, the pioneer of all nations to China and the Far East, is still a non-treaty power. Her occupation of Macao as a Portuguese colony, in spite of all China's remonstrances and claims to the soil, precludes any chance of a treaty being exchanged and ratified between the two nations until the question at issue has been more definitely disposed of.

In Central Asia China is occupied in gathering lost provinces into her fold, and is eagerly desirous of maintaining the integrity of her old frontier line. An alliance with England would give her that confidence in her cause and in herself, which no quantity nor calibre of guns can supply, while in a properly organized Anglo-Chinese contingent would be found the materials of which a new and more effective Great Wall should be made. "It is discipline, and not

numbers," said the famous Chinese statesman, Kuan Chung, nearly seven centuries before the birth of Christ, "that makes an army strong; it is *morale*, and not brute force." And if we provided the discipline and *morale*, as we did in the days of the Taipings, and China the numbers, as she could do readily and up to an almost incredible figure, the result would be an army unsurpassed for fighting qualities in the history of the world.

China's relations with other Powers call for no remarks; but in her political relations with ourselves there are one or two points which demand especial notice. The first is the still-vexed opium question, the statistics of which do not show that the society which is still agitating for the suppression of the trade has accomplished anything so far. For the past four years the quantity imported into China in foreign vessels has steadily increased, 1878 showing an import of considerably over 1,000,000 *lbs.* more than 1875. And besides the grand total of 72,424 *piculs*, valued at *T.* 32,262,957, given in the commercial section as the import of opium into China for 1878, there is yet an immense quantity which finds its way from Hong Kong to the mainland in native vessels. This has been estimated in the present instance at no less than 22,475 *piculs*, valued at 13,305,200 *Mex. dols.*, subject to a small deduction for the quantity consumed in Hong Kong, and for a certain amount forwarded to California for the use of the Chinese there, the latter of which was estimated for 1878 at a value of 532,955 *Mex. dols.* The fact is that all the opium imported into China reaches it through Hong Kong; and the total import into Hong Kong for 1878 being 94,899 *piculs*, valued at 56,205,698 *Mex. dols.*, while the total import into all the treaty ports in foreign vessels is only what has been stated above, there remains a large balance to be accounted for, of which California and Hong Kong together only take an infinitesimal part. The belief that the Chinese Government looks to us to interfere in the opium traffic, or would welcome any attempts on our part to put a stop to the trade, may really be set aside by all dispassionate inquirers. There are doubtless a few Chinese officials in high places who are enthusiastic on the subject. Even were the legitimate trade restricted, prohibited, stopped, or what not, opium would be imported into China all the same, and fortunes would be made by a few desperadoes running the blockade which are now distributed over a large number of hard-working Parsees and others, who carry on their business in the light of day.¹ The consumption of opium in China may be compared with that of alcoholic liquor in England, except that its use is not nearly so widespread, nor the annual sum-total of its consequences so fatal

(1) To say nothing of the stimulus that would thereby be given to the cultivation of native-grown opium, which is even now increasing year by year.

to the Chinese nation, as the use and abuse of strong drinks among ourselves. In proof of the former, it is sufficient to take the total import of the past year, say 10,000,000 *lbs.*, and see what proportion that allows *per annum* for each male adult in the empire.¹ Barely enough to cure his toothaches! But smoking is not absolutely confined to men, and a considerable quantity is further consumed medicinally to relieve various forms of enteric disease. The population of China was fixed by the official census of 1813 at no less than 360,279,897, exclusive of Formosa, Lob Nor, Turfan, &c., for which about another one and a half millions were allowed; and as it takes about one ounce of opium *per diem* to satisfy a really inveterate debauchee, the reader will find that, at the present increasing rate of importation, centuries may pass away before the deleterious effects of opium upon the Chinese nation need become a burning question to the Chinese Government.

With regard to the "Hong Kong Blockade," for which a provision was made in the Chefoo Agreement of 1876, relative to the appointment of a commission, this term may be explained as follows. Around the island of Hong Kong, a British colony and a free port, the Chinese have drawn a cordon, to protect themselves, as they allege, from loss of revenue entailed by serious smuggling operations carried on in junks clearing from Hong Kong under the Chinese flag. At certain points they have established customs stations where they examine all junks leaving Hong Kong, and such as are found to be carrying goods not declared on the manifest, are confiscated with the whole cargo. Junks which try to slip these stations are chased by well-manned, heavily armed steam cruisers, and if captured (often with loss of life on both sides) the vessel and cargo are confiscated, while the junkmen, it is said, lose their heads on the execution ground at Canton. Much of the large balance of opium which, after its arrival in Hong Kong, is not subsequently to be accounted for, is believed by the Chinese to be smuggled into the Canton market;² and as the Hoppo, or Superintendent of Customs, derives his income from the surplus customs revenue which remains

(1) Before a committee of the House of Commons which was formed some years back to take evidence on matters connected with Indian finance, Sir Rutherford Alcock stated, as a medical man, that "sixpennyworth of opium would not do any Chinaman any harm;" whereupon a calculation was made, showing that, at the rate of sixpennyworth per man per day, the entire quantities of annually imported and home-grown opium put together would only suffice for three millions of smokers in a nation which the lowest estimate places at one hundred times that number. But, as we all know that there are those amongst the Chinese who, like our own worst drunkards, take a great deal more than is good for them, and pay the penalty in loss of health and early death, either the number of opium smokers must be greatly reduced, or there must be many who indulge in a far less quantity than sixpennyworth per day.

(2) Not to mention other articles of commerce, especially salt, which is contraband, being a monopoly of the Chinese Government, but as regards which no less than nine-tenths of the quantity supplied to the Canton market are said to be smuggled.

after paying all expenses of administration and the enormous squeezes by which, in the first instance, he purchases his appointment, and later on his reappointment, it is with him a matter of vital importance that such practices should be stopped. Besides having spies in Hong Kong to give warning of the departure of junks and the nature of the cargoes carried, there are grave reasons for a belief (amounting to a certainty) that the emissaries of the Hoppo have actually employed persons to smuggle small quantities of goods on such junks, so that when overhauled the irregularity may be discovered, and both vessel and cargo confiscated.

The extra-territoriality clause, under which all jurisdiction over British subjects in China is vested in the British Consul, has not yet begun to gall Chinese, as it has Japanese, national pride. The present state of law and its administration in China preclude the possibility of subjecting British defendants, civil or criminal, to the decisions of a Chinese judge; as plaintiffs and prosecutors they have, of course, to submit, since all Chinese defendants are naturally tried by their own authorities. Nothing would more conduce to international harmony at the treaty ports of China than the establishment of mixed courts. The question was not omitted from the Chefoo Agreement of 1876, but no steps have hitherto been taken to secure the consummation of this or some similar scheme.

The system of merchant consuls, so offensive to the Chinese because so antagonistic to their own classification of rulers and ruled, has always been more or less adopted by other nationalities whose interests in the China trade do not justify the full and efficient staff kept up by the British Government. With the Chinese an official is a different creature from the masses over whom he is set in authority. He has distinguished himself from the crowd, first by his literary, and secondly by his administrative ability, while a merchant is popularly supposed to grovel in the lowest intellectual stratum, occupied only with his abacus and with debasing calculations of profit and loss. The easy and familiar, not to say equal, terms upon which British officials and British merchants mingle in social life, present a problem to the Chinese which seems to them quite as inconvenient as it is extraordinary. On the other hand, there is a gradually growing grievance against the British Government in particular, which seems likely to be a cause of much trouble between the two countries in future, unless early steps are taken to meet the difficulties that are even now beginning to make themselves felt. These complications arise from the return of Chinese emigrants who have been naturalised as British subjects in our colonies in the Straits; and still more, from the arrival of the descendants of early emigrants, whose parents were born in a British colony, and who are themselves as much citizens of the British Empire as natives of

London or Liverpool. Naturalised British subjects of Chinese origin, who return to the land of their forefathers, resume their former nationality so soon as they put foot on Chinese soil ; but, on the strength of their naturalisation certificate, the British Consul would not hesitate to address a gentle remonstrance to the Chinese authorities if such individuals were subjected to any unusual or outrageous course of injustice or oppression. The consulate, in fact, watches over their interests as far as it can, without committing the British Government to a downright policy of protection. With the other class matters are on an entirely different footing. The latter, as *bona fide* British subjects, register themselves at the consulate upon their arrival in China, and carry on their commercial operations on precisely the same footing as ordinary British merchants, with the additional advantage of a knowledge of the local dialect, sometimes of Mandarin, and free social intercourse with the natives of the place. In fact, in every point except nominal nationality and the immunity they enjoy from Chinese jurisdiction, these men are to all intents and purposes Chinamen. An attempt was once made to insist upon their adopting European costume to distinguish them from Chinese subjects, but beyond foreign boots and wideawake hats this regulation has been very loosely complied with. It has recently been suggested that they should be compelled to cut off the tail, a badge of conquest which was imposed by the present Manchu rulers upon the people of China when the empire first passed under their sway about two hundred and thirty years ago. It is more than doubtful, however, whether these Anglo-Chinese subjects would submit to such a test. They understand full well the value of their rights and privileges in China as British subjects ; but many of them are thoroughly Chinese at heart, and have adopted few English habits and customs beyond that of smoking cigars. As a rule, they go off upon arrival to worship at their ancestral tombs, and the mandarins allege that their names appear in the lists of population kept at the district magistrate's office, though whether such be or be not the case it is quite impossible to say. Under any circumstances, their mixed and variable character as British subjects and Chinese citizens is justly obnoxious to the authorities in China, and it would seem but fair to them, as well as consistent with our own dignity, to devise some plan by which a sharp line of demarcation might be drawn between those who are entitled, and those who are not entitled, to the protection of the British flag.

Social.—The annexed table gives a close estimate of the number of foreigners scattered over the treaty ports of China, together with the number of mercantile houses at present engaged in the various phases of trade. It may be advisable to add that the large European population of Hong Kong is not included, since many persons seem

quite unable to grasp the idea that Hong Kong is a British colony, and has nothing whatever to do with the statistics of the Chinese Empire. Those 3,814 foreigners are brought into every-day

Nationality.	No. of Firms.	No. of Residents.
British	220	1,953
American	35	420
German	49	384
French	9	224
Dutch	1	24
Danish	2	69
Spanish	1	163
Swedish and Norwegian . . .	1	35
Russian	17	55
Austrian	1	38
Belgian	—	10
Italian	—	17
Japanese	9	81
Non-Treaty Powers	6	341
Total	351	3,814

contact with near about five millions of natives of all classes ; and yet, from a social point of view, no separation could be more complete than that which divides these two sets of human beings. The foreigners congregate, as far as possible, at some pleasant site where they build themselves European houses of a slightly modified form ; they eat, drink, and sleep precisely as they would in their own countries, importing stores and wines and furniture of all kinds, until, except for a largely increased luxuriousness of living and the climate, which imperatively calls for such indulgence, there is little left to distinguish the new life from the old. Most of the ports can boast a good club, with an English library of more or less pretension, the best English papers and periodicals, theatre, racquet-court, bowling-alleys, &c., and it is towards these and similar *foci* that the rays of foreign society in China converge. As to anything like social intercourse with the inhabitants of the country, the thing is quite unknown, even in the faintest sense of the term. The servants of the house are of course Chinese, and so are the “compradores,” or intermediaries, of trade between foreign and native merchants, who would, as a rule, be mutually unintelligible but for the pidgin-English of these go-betweens ; consular officials visit and are visited in a routine sort of way by the local authorities, and are occasionally the guests of some progressive or politic mandarin ; but here the social relations of our four thousand foreigners with the five million Chinese begin and end. A few, very few, of the latter are now to be found who have received a good English education, either in

England or America, and these are received on terms of equality by the small minority of foreigners who have conquered the almost invincible prejudice against all things Chinese. A very much larger number have got so far as to speak, read, and write English well enough for most of the practical purposes of life; and this class is encouraged to increase by the prizes held out in the customs service, and by the numerous other channels open and opening for the employment of such talent. These English-speaking Chinese, of no matter what stage of proficiency, are, however, mere excrescences upon the parent stem.

The Chinese world has often been broadly divided into official and non-official, but a subtler and a more accurate division, especially for the consideration of social relationships, would be three-fold, as follows: (1) Mandarins; (2) Literati;¹ and (3) Working Classes. Of these, the first section represents all that is most brilliant in point of literary culture and administrative ability in an empire with an area equal to that of the whole continent of Europe. Its members, individually and collectively, have always been opposed to the presence of foreigners in China—in earlier days, from the fear of some deep-laid political scheme for the appropriation of their territory,² now because of the ruthlessness with which the government of China, its scandals and its abuses, are shown up in local foreign newspapers, or in Chinese newspapers guarded by some foreign flag; because, also, of oft-recurring cases of interference in the course of Chinese justice, and because of a protecting ægis thrown over a large body of Chinese subjects in European employ, from the compradore to the convert to Christianity. The mandarins know very little about us, and they would prefer to hear still less.

The *literati* represent the unemployed scholarship of China—unemployed through deserved failure, or merely bad luck, at the great public competitions, or, in exceptional cases, through a disinclination to enter upon an official career. Their feelings towards foreigners can be better imagined than described. They hate us with a fierceness which cannot be expressed in words, and they excite the masses to deeds of violence against us by the well-directed poison of pen and tongue.

The “working classes” is a comprehensive term; it begins with the sleek and well-fed *te maa-chin* (tea merchant) to end only with the poor leprous beggar and other outcasts who stand beyond the pale. These have no causes for complaint against the foreigner, real or con-

(1) The term “literati” is to be taken in its popular signification, all mandarins being, of course, *literati* as far as education goes.

(2) “Wherever they go they spy around with a view to seize on other people’s territory. There was Singapore, which was originally a Malay country; the red-haired barbarians went there to trade, and by-and-by seized it for an emporium of their own.” —*Memorial to the Emperor Tung Ching*, in 1732, by *Lan Lu-chou*.

cealed, though even they know he is only a barbarian after all, and not to be compared, either morally or mentally, with the meanest denizen of the Middle Kingdom. The tea merchant, in combination with his brother dealers, gets rich upon the prices paid him for his leaf by the foreign merchant in competition with his brother buyers; innkeepers receive double rates for the filthy accommodation they provide; boatmen receive double fares, servants double wages, artisans double pay, shopkeepers double prices, and so on through the long list of those who have regular dealings with foreigners. Wherever in China the foreigner has planted his foot, an air of activity and bustling enterprise has speedily grown up around the spot; and the little fishing village of twenty years ago has in more instances than one developed into a large and populous mart. The country people are always delighted to see us when we make an excursion into the interior, for the track of the foreigner is one of empty beer bottles and provision tins, which he does not want and they do. The old priest at the temple hails the arrival of a foreign picnic party. They laugh at his gods, it is true, and frequently carry off small idols in their pockets; but what is that to him, or to any one else, so long as they leave behind them, as they always do, a few dollars for the good of the house? With the working classes, indeed, we are on the best possible terms; we appear to them as the possessors of boundless wealth, coupled with a liberality in its application which, as far as they are concerned, is regarded as highly satisfactory; but our relations with them all, from the highest to the lowest, are simply commercial. The Chinese merchant is in fact a man of neither education nor refinement, and no English gentleman would condescend to associate with him upon terms of friendship and equality.¹ Hence it may be inferred that the social intercourse between foreigners and Chinese is not of the warmest description; at the same time, we are gradually coming to see the Chinese in their true colours, and can now more readily pierce the mysterious and fantastic veil which has so long shrouded the workings of the Chinese mind, while they on their part are also slowly moving towards a more intimate knowledge and appreciation of the advantages to be derived from friendly relations with the once detested barbarian. The chief obstacle in the way of this movement falls under the next heading.

Religious.—Article VIII. of the Treaty of Tientsin provides for the toleration of the Christian religion “as professed by Protestants

(1) The following passage occurs in an article by the present writer on Social Intercourse between Chinese and Foreigners, published in the *China Mail* of 9th March, 1878: “As long as the Chinese persist in exhibiting grimy hands and nails, in scratching their heads, blowing their noses on their fingers, and committing many other acts condemned by the statutes of European social life, they can hardly expect that those very Europeans, especially the more narrow-minded, will admit them freely to their society.”

or Roman Catholics," *scilicet*, by Englishmen and Frenchmen, who extorted the treaty at the point of the bayonet. The ground given for such toleration is that the religion in question "inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by." The second paragraph further provides that not only all persons who teach it, but those "professing it, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities;" in other words, that Chinese converts to Christianity shall be protected by their own authorities from such unpleasant consequences as may arise from conversion to the alien Church. Thus it has come about that when violence of any kind is offered to one of these converts, the injured person appeals at once to the pastor of his church, who applies in his turn to the consul to insist upon the punishment of the offender. Similarly, when the convert is the aggressor, as he is not unfrequently, he finds his connection with Christianity a very convenient basis of operations. And thus, too, it has come about that the ranks of Christian converts in China have been filled by many disreputable characters; some attracted by the pay and easy life of missionary establishments, others by the position from which they are able to bid defiance to their own authorities, and in many cases escape just retribution for bygone iniquities. These facts are more widely known among Europeans in China than among home readers. Only the other day a correspondent of a Hong Kong paper wrote:—¹

"I have known several cases in which Chinamen have made a regular practice of professing both Christianity and Buddhism, appearing in each character at different periods of the same day. This, I am convinced, is done in the large majority of cases of so-called Christian converts, even by those who have been brought up from their infancy in mission schools and founding hospitals. . . . A long residence in China has convinced me that the worst enemy of foreigners, and the most underhanded worker, is the Christian Chinese. Of course there may be exceptions. I believe I have met with such, but they are so few that they only serve to prove the rule."

The convert is indeed an enemy to foreigners and progress in China; for apart from the hateful anomaly he presents to the mandarins—a subject, yet beyond their jurisdiction; and apart from the object of scorn he is in the eyes of the literati—a listener to the false doctrines of barbarians; there is yet another light in which he must be viewed, the light in which he is seen by his friends and relatives of the working classes.² If he takes up Christianity as a business, he will simply be regarded as a clever fellow, and his family will probably applaud his action and share the profits of his venture. But if he is a real believer, not in the doctrines of Christianity, for these he could not pretend to understand, but in the missionaries themselves, as possessing some secret or some knowledge

(1) *The Hong Kong Daily Press*, May 23, 1879.

(2) No converts are to be counted among the literati, nor, *a fortiori*, among the mandarins.

likely to do him good now and hereafter, then he will be a source of much real sorrow, of family disunion, and possibly of scenes of violence and bloodshed. Imagine, say, the eldest son of an English Protestant nobleman, brought up to be strictly orthodox in matters of religion and propriety, suddenly, on the attainment of his majority, passing over to the Roman Catholic Church in order to gratify the whim of a ballet girl, who had made this a condition of his marriage with herself. The sorrow that would be carried into that happy English home; the shame, and the anger of the family left behind, could not by any chance be deeper than that experienced in an ordinary Chinese household, from which one son should have made himself an outcast for ever by his conversion to the Christian faith. The most sacred of all bonds, the family tie, is rudely severed, to give place to the wicked and detestable principle that a man shall leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife. And of course the Christian neophyte begins by repudiating the sole object for which he was brought into the world, nurtured as a child, and educated as a boy, viz. the responsibility attaching to the duties and ceremonies of ancestral worship, by which the dead are kept alive in the hearts of their descendants, and in which their disembodied spirits are universally believed to find peace. Such a subversion of time-honoured customs and beliefs could hardly be expected to meet with anything else but opposition at the hands of the doggedly conservative people of China; but it is the educated classes who excite the illiterate mob to turn passive disregard into active physical violence. They are so proud of Confucianism and its purely ethical teaching, as contrasted with the superstitions of Christianity or Buddhism, that every innovation is regarded as a positive insult to the name and memory of the Master. Buddhism is indeed freely tolerated now; but it went through centuries of persecution first, surviving without the aid of any treaty clause to overrun the whole empire. Mahommedans, too, have their mosques and their congregations of the faithful, and they carried on their form of worship unharmed and unheeded even during the recent dangerous sedition of their co-religionists in Yunnan. Only Christianity is tabooed; formerly as a political instrument, now as an insult to the reasoning powers and better sense of the Chinese people. Introduced gradually, and without the treaty clause protective of converts, this religion might have won its way, as Buddhism did, in the face of the most rigorous prohibition and persecution, by its own unaided strength alone. But at the present moment the bias of the higher classes seems to be more than ever pronounced against it, and late events at Foochow¹ will hardly be

(1) The demolition by an angry mob of a missionary building, said to have been erected on ground fraudulently acquired, and in such a position as to shed a baleful

calculated to mitigate the bitter feeling. Inaccessible to and unassailable by the teachers of Christianity, the mandarins and literati have never once changed their front, and they have always loudly complained that the ranks of Christian converts are recruited from the dregs of the populace, with a leavening of simple-minded country villagers. So hateful to them is the very name of Christianity, that there is hardly any concession within the bounds of reason which the Chinese Government would not readily make to us, if we would only consent to expunge from our treaty the words by which certain subjects of China, who accidentally profess the Christian religion, are brought under the protection of the British Consul. By such an arrangement no one would benefit so much as the converts themselves. Compelled, probably, at first to disguise their religious tenets by the fear of persecution, the spirit of religious toleration, which is nowhere stronger than in China, would inevitably prevail in the end, and Christians, like Buddhists, Taoists, Mahomedans, and Jews, would ultimately be left to their own devices. If they were subsequently to build places of worship, they would have to conform to the universal rule of placing therein a small tablet, bearing an inscription which amounts to an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the Emperor of China, and is intended to define clearly the religious and non-political character of the building. Christianity would be thus left to stand or fall on its own merits, and, though never likely to become the dominant religion in China, would have a very much better chance than it has at the present moment.

Another very fertile cause of strife between the Christian convert and his fellow-countrymen of the working classes, is the refusal of the former to subscribe to any of the local fêtes and dramatic representations held in honour of certain greater and lesser annual festivals. These are all closely connected either with Buddhism or Taoism, or with some popular superstition; and on the strength of the "idolatrous" character of such organizations, converts to Christianity are enjoined by their pastors to have nothing at all to do with them. Consequently, when the hat goes round for every one to give according to his means, the convert passes it by without the usual donation; and this angers the town or village elders very much, for in the first place they like to collect as much and make as great a show as possible, and in the second, the place of performance being in the open air and free to all comers, they think it simply means that the convert will have his fun for nothing, which indeed is not

influence over the city of Foochow. While acknowledging the wrong-doing of the mob, the Chinese have since brought the case into an English court, resulting so far in a trial of nine days' duration before the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court for China and Japan, full reports of which have been published in the local papers, judgment being meanwhile reserved.

unfrequently the case. With regard to Chinese religious observances in general, the missionaries are a great deal too fond of using strong language. This might have passed without objection twenty or even ten years ago; but now that there are numbers of Chinese in Hong Kong and at the treaty ports, who read English quite well enough to appreciate the pitying contemptuous sense of such terms as idolater and heathen, it would be for the interests of both parties if their use were forthwith discontinued. We object to the word barbarian as applied to ourselves by the Chinese, and resent it as a studied insult, when, in point of fact, the phrase is often adopted out of sheer ignorance. Are we then at liberty, or is it even politic, to retort courteously by applying to the Chinese a doubly offensive term? ¹

As regards Catholic missionaries in China, it is almost impossible to say what they are doing and how they carry on their work, all their movements being shrouded as far as possible from the public gaze. It is known that they have an infinitely more numerous following than the Protestants, and that Catholicism has become in some families an hereditary religion, the line being traceable in a few instances back to the Jesuit fathers of two centuries ago. It is also widely known among the Chinese that civil protection is much more easily to be obtained at the hands of the padre, than through the ordinary English missionary, who cannot be accused of wilfully taking up the cases of his converts, though he may sometimes do so unwittingly. About three years ago, fourteen Protestant converts appealed to the missionaries at Swatow to secure them the benefit of British consular assistance in a matter which, of the highest importance pecuniarily speaking to the applicants, had nothing whatever to do with the interests of their Church or their position as Christians, and on meeting with a distinct and proper refusal from the missionaries to do anything of the kind these fourteen litigants went over in a body, without a moment's hesitation, to the Church of Rome, and arranged their business satisfactorily to themselves through the agency and influence of the resident Catholic priest. This story has a double moral. If it teaches us that the English missionary is not wont to use foul and illicit means in the propagation of his faith, it also shows us how baseless and unsubstantial is the fabric of a Chinese conversion to Christianity.

Of all missionaries to China, medical missionaries have achieved the greatest successes; not, indeed, successes of proselytism, for their statistics of "persons baptized" would ill compare with those of their brethren whose time is solely devoted to preaching. But what

(1)¹ Only the other day a Chinaman who had ventured to take exception to certain passages in a work on China, written by a foreigner, was stigmatized in a Hong Kong newspaper as "a mangy cur."

the former have accomplished has been to bring back the gladness of health and strength to many a jaded and poverty-stricken invalid, often the rice-winner of the family, who would in all probability have perished but for the kindly care, and sometimes pecuniary support, given at the foreign hospital. Much gratitude has been won in this way from the Chinese, that is, from those who have availed themselves of the foreigner's skill, the great majority of these being poor coolies living from hand to mouth, whose sole object is to get well and back to work, and who have no money to fee the Chinese doctor. The wealthier classes do not attend. They object to the preaching and praying carried on simultaneously with the work of the hospital, and for the especial benefit of the patients. For though none are absolutely compelled either to listen or to believe, it is whispered among the Chinese that those who do show signs of an approaching conversion are much more carefully and more kindly tended. The man of means or education has some difficulty in thus doing violence to his convictions, especially convictions so strong as those he entertains on the subject of Christianity; but to the poor coolie all this is sunk in the prospect of an immediate and gratuitous cure, and he readily falls in with the religious views of the missionaries as long as he remains in hospital, to betake himself on his recovery to the nearest temple, to offer up a stick of thanksgiving incense to his favourite joss. The missionaries will not consent to carry on a hospital as a work apart, separate from their labours in the field of propagandism. An instance of this occurred recently, when it came to the notice of the foreign subscribers to a certain hospital for Chinese, not a missionary hospital, but one to which the missionaries were allowed to have access as comforters of the sick,¹ that a large board over the door of the hospital bore the following inscription in Chinese: "The Jesus Christ, the only true religion, hospital for natives of ——" It was carried at a meeting of subscribers that this inscription, well calculated to repel any Chinaman of sufficient education to read it, should be replaced by a simpler one in which no religious character whatever was to be given to the institution; whereupon the missionaries at once resigned all connection with the hospital, and would have nothing further to do with it.

It seems obvious enough that the earlier step towards winning the Chinese to our own forms of government, religion, and civilisation generally, should be to make them well disposed towards us, and towards the institutions we wish them to adopt. In the case of Christianity, however, it is not too much to say that an exactly opposite course has been all along pursued. The result is that the feeling against the further spread of the faith is now more bitter than it has ever been, and increased

(1) One missionary further acted as secretary to the institution.

communications with Western powers will infallibly give the Chinese increased facilities for successfully opposing its further progress. As recently as April last some missionaries persisted, under the treaty clause which allows British subjects to travel freely over the empire, in visiting Changsha, the capital city of Hunan, although warned on a previous attempt that their entry would be met with violence at the hands of the mob. The consequence was an angry rising of the people; the missionaries were pelted, and their boat wrecked. Their right to proceed thither, and to be protected while there, is undeniable; but the expediency of availing themselves of a right, certain to lead to the issue described, is something more than questionable. Much dormant hatred of foreigners was unnecessarily excited, as may be seen from a perusal of the annexed document:—

PLACARD POSTED ON THE WALLS OF CHANGSHA, THE CAPITAL OF HUNAN.

"I.—The foreign devils are beasts, and must not be allowed to enter the city. Let us seize them and beat them. No plea is to be admitted on their behalf.

"II.—The foreigners purpose to enter the city to-morrow morning. Let all who are one with us assemble, and let us seize them and beat them.

"III.—Of late foreigners have paid repeated visits to the province, and now the mandarins have granted their request to enter the city. But it is for us, the military and the people, with loyal hearts to protect the empire. How can we allow these little devils to trouble the provincial capital? If they enter the city, let us assemble at the West Gate, and, with united hearts and utmost strength, attack them. No plea is to be admitted on their behalf.

"IV.—On this, the third day of the month, foreigners have come to the city. The two district magistrates have deliberated, and there is a general rumour to the effect that the foreigners are to enter the city at the West Gate, and to proceed to the Tsaw-chan Gate. But though you, the mandarins, are willing, we, the people, will not agree to it. If one enter, we will kill the one. If two enter, we will kill the pair. When a foreigner is killed dead, it is simply a dog's life that is lost. Should any one meet with a foreigner and not attack him, if a man, let him be called a thief, and if a woman, let her be called a strumpet. Let us be attentive, and ever on our guard.

"V.—Hunan is a region where polite manners and righteous principles flourish, and which hitherto foreigners have not dared to look at straight in the face. Each time they have come, it has been on a sort of experiment with the view of opening a mart for trade. When once, however, the Religion of the Lord of Heaven prevails, the five Human Relationships and the five Cardinal Virtues will be abandoned. Foreigners have just arrived in boats, and are anchoring on the opposite side of the river. Their clatter is that they want to enter the city, and they appear as if they had some influence and power on which they rely. How can we, the soldiers, peasants, artisans, and merchants allow their extravagance? Let us on the fourth day of this month assemble in the hall of the departmental college, and then let each one of us take brick-bats and broken tiles with him, and proceed to their boat and pelt them. Up and down the river let them be sought for: on no consideration are they to be allowed to escape. Let us mow them down like grass and uproot them (that is, murder them), and thus cause that foreigners shall never dare come here again.

"VI.—In regard to foreign devils coming to the province, it is an oppression too cruel to both the military and the people. Their interpreters report their arrival at the different offices, and the avaricious officials give their permission

to the devils to enter the cities. They even appoint soldiers and braves to guard and protect them, and thus, following the devils, they sell the empire and trouble the people. Annam is at present in a state of rebellion, and these devils are in secret communication with the brigands. The people of Hunan are loyal in heart, and, for the sake of the empire, are aiming at exterminating all thieves and establishing great peace. What is the use of acquiring literary and civil proficiency if it be not to protect the empire and people? The scholars and merchants of all the districts have deliberated, and are depending upon us to assassinate all who protect the devils without distinction. Surely the aim is to remove an evil from the empire, and hence we must act with united minds and utmost strength."

Such, then, is the attitude of the Chinese people towards the great religion of the West; and its introduction into China would appear to be at variance with the policy indirectly advocated throughout this paper, viz. the improvement of our present commercial, social, and political relations with this vast empire, to end, perhaps, in a firm and friendly alliance between the two countries. It has been shown conclusively that Great Britain occupies the foremost place in the calculations of Chinese statesmen, and it only remains to take the tide at its flood, and give reality to what is now nothing more than a desirable possibility. The religious question is the prominent one in China at the present moment, and much skill will be required to pilot us prosperously through the complications which must annually increase so long as the treaty clause stands and is interpreted as it is at present. Coarse inflammatory placards, like the specimen quoted above, are indeed no longer to be seen within the radius over which foreign influence prevails; but this form of attack has even there but given place to another, proceeding from a quarter whence it might least have been anticipated. Those Chinese who have received, either in China or elsewhere, an English education, are rapidly passing over to strengthen the ranks of the opponents of Christianity, and they strive to achieve their object by more justifiable means than by demolishing chapels or by inciting large and angry mobs to hoot and pelt one or two defenceless missionaries. Shortly after the late outbreak at Foochow, "A Young Chinese" published in one of the foreign newspapers a few verses in English, addressed to the missionary body, the last of which may be taken as representative of the feeling towards Western teachings, now in process of substitution for the implacable hatred and supercilious contempt hitherto accorded to all our institutions alike:—

"We want no priests to help us in our need;
Priests we have, shaven and unshaven both;
We want no mumblings of an outworn creed,
But science we want and knowledge for our growth,
And rulers, brave, unselfish, wise, and just,
To sweep you from the land as whirlwind sweepeth dust."

HERBERT A. GILES.

TWO MEN OF LETTERS.

WITHIN the last few weeks two pieces of literary biography¹ have appeared, which present a somewhat remarkable contrast, and which at the same time supplement one another. The one is the *Life of Charles Lever*, the other M. Emile Bergerat's volume of reminiscences of Théophile Gautier. Between the literary merits of Lever and of Gautier there can of course be little comparison; but between their positions as representatives of French and English (if Irish-English) men of letters of the nineteenth century there is a not inconsiderable similarity. They were almost exactly contemporary, being born within a very few years, and dying within a very few months of one another. Both depended entirely upon their pens for subsistence, and both, though in very different ways, were what is vaguely called men of pleasure. The rewards which they received were indeed different enough in amount. One cannot help thinking how Gautier would have envied a man of letters who could make and spend, as Dr. Fitzpatrick tells us Lever for some years made and spent, three thousand pounds a year. Seventy-five thousand francs represents the income of a man whom the French, in their modest arithmetic, would call "deux fois millionnaire," and we may be quite sure that Gautier never "touched" half the amount in any one of his forty years of hard literary journeywork—of such journeywork as perhaps no other man of letters ever did. Less fortunate in his actual wages, Gautier was also far less fortunate than Lever in his extra-literary gains. M. Bergerat has pointed out that, though Gautier was reproached with his Bonapartism, singularly few drops of the golden shower rewarded his adherence to the Empire. He did his work, which was perfectly honest work, and received his pay, which was perfectly clean money. But no senatorship, no lucrative sinecure, fell to his lot; while Lever, in the later years of his life, was at any rate provided for without the necessity of working. "Je redeviens un manœuvre," said the author of *Emaux et Camées*, to M. Edmond de Goncourt, after the disasters of 1870. For my part, considering what this *manœuvre* has left us, I do not know whether, for the benefit of literature and the credit of the literary calling, one can wish that it had been otherwise. Mérimée's luck might have brought with it Mérimée's fate, and have substituted a zero of idle-

(1) *Théophile Gautier: Entretiens, &c.* Par Emile Bergerat, avec une Préface de Edmond de Goncourt. Paris: Charpentier.

Life of Charles Lever. By W. J. Fitzpatrick, LL.D. London: Chapman and Hall.

ness and sterility for the splendid work which Gautier so manfully did.

It is not at first easy to account for the uncomfortable impression which Dr. Fitzpatrick's interesting book somehow leaves upon the reader. No biography of the author of *Charles O'Malley* could be dull, and the reader who is in quest of amusement merely will find plenty in these volumes. But that Lever, with all his rollicking, was a decidedly unhappy person, whether it be a true impression or no, is certainly the impression here given. He appears to have been one of those extremely unfortunate men who take no genuine delight in the calling which nevertheless they pursue. He was indeed intensely sensitive as to public opinion on his novels. But he seems to have felt this sensitiveness, not because unfavourable criticism made him doubt the goodness of his work, but because it hurt his vanity. His reckless expenditure, in the same way, seems to have arisen as much from an uneasy desire to live *en prince*, as from simple enjoyment of the good things which his money could bring him. With regard to the famous accusation of "lordolatry" which Thackeray is said to have brought against him, I think that the passage in the *Book of Snobs* has been somewhat misinterpreted. But nobody can read either his novels or his life without seeing that from the last infirmity of British minds he was not free. He gained plenty of money, but he got rid of it in all sorts of ways, to which it is difficult to apply any milder description than that which was applied to the extravagance of his greater countryman Goldsmith. If he did not exactly fling it away and hide it in holes and corners, like Lamb's eccentric friend, he did what amounted to nearly the same thing. He was an inveterate gambler. He kept absurd numbers of horses, and gave unreasonable prices for them. To his lavish hospitality one feels less inclined to object, were it not that "wax candles and some of the best wine in Europe" are not wholly indispensable to literary fellowship. Like many other men of letters in our country, he could not be satisfied without meddling with politics, and endeavouring, though with no great success, to mingle in political society. His wild oats were not of a very atrocious wildness, but he never ceased sowing them. The consequence was that his literary work was not only an indispensable *gagne-pain* to him, but was also never anything else than a *gagne-pain*. It was always written in hot haste, and with hardly any attention to style, to arrangement, or even to such ordinary matters as the avoidance of repetitions, anachronisms, and such-like slovenlinesses. It has often been noticed that in *Charles O'Malley* itself it will not do to pay the least heed to the sequence or arrangement of the story. The chronology is utterly impossible, the same things recur again and again as incidents, and the whole book as a connected and coherent

story is utterly formless and void. The more one hears of the life of the author and his manner of composition, the less surprising is this. The earlier books, at any rate, appear to have been mere transcripts of actual experience, and reminiscences of things heard and seen in Ireland, huddled together anyhow. The works of the second period rested in the same way upon actual observation of Anglo-Continental life, and those of the last, if they had a more original character, were scarcely improved by the change. Lever, in short, was not in the proper sense a man of letters at all. The pen was with him a mere instrument for putting into marketable form the stories which he told so well by word of mouth, and the queer facts, sights, and incidents which he heard, saw, or read of. Of literary form he had little or nothing. Long practice gave him, as it gives most men of talent, a passable style; but this style had little distinction and no special merit. He had neither the industry which tries a hundred phrases till it hits on the right one, nor the genius which hits on the right phrase at once. If his books are acceptable, it is always for the matter of them only.

So "allegorical an autobiographer"—to use a queer phrase of his own—was Lever, that much of his biographer's work is occupied in tracing the original facts and experiences which he incorporated in his stories. The ballad-singing in the streets of Dublin, the upheaval of the pavement in order to liberate an escaped prisoner, the various escapades and pranks of the egregious Frank Webber, in *O'Malley*, are known already to everybody. If some of Dr. Fitzpatrick's informants are to be believed, some still more singular experiences have been utilised in *Con Cregan* and *Arthur O'Leary*. Early in life Lever went to America, and, it seems, did not like the inhabitants of the States. Thereupon he flung himself into the ranks of the red men, and the following singular episode occurred:—

"For a time, Lever said, this was pleasurable; but only for a time. He grew weary of barbarism, and sighed for civilisation. He endeavoured to hide his emotions, and he succeeded with the men; but one of the squaws, looking at him fixedly, read his thoughts. 'Your heart, stranger,' said she, 'is not with us now. You wish for your own people. But you will never see them again. Our chief will kill you if you leave us. It is the law of our tribe that none joining us can go away. No! no! You will never see the pale faces again, nor go back to your country. How could you find the forest tracks for yourself if you fled? You would be instantly followed and found; and, when found, you would be slain. O stay!' He feigned to be convinced by her arguments; but all his thoughts were fixed on the one object—flight. How could he effect it?

"Every day and every hour he studied to find opportunity; but it was all in vain. He found the customs of the tribe to be as the woman described. There was to be no separation from them, or death the penalty. The same squaw noticed the change in his spirits, and ere long in his health; and her

woman's heart was touched with compassion. She even devised the means of his getting away.

"A red Indian, named Tahata, came to the tribe once a year, bringing tobacco and brandy from some British settlement, and exchanging them for the peltry the hunters had collected from his previous visit. The squaw told Lever that she would sound this man ('The Post' he was called), and see whether for a sum of money he would appoint some place of rendezvous for him in the forest, and be his guide through its mazes until some outpost or town would be reached. Lover had no money, but 'The Post' was to be remunerated by his countrymen on his reaching them. The offer was accepted. Lever, at the squaw's suggestion, feigned sickness, and was left behind in the wigwams with the women, while the tribe were out hunting. In the men's absence he made his escape. Tahata was faithful."

At the termination of this remarkable adventure he "walked through the streets of Quebec in moccasins and feathers." It would be satisfactory if the feathers and moccasins, at least, could be produced in proof of the veracity of the story.

In the interval between Lever's return from America and his student days in Germany, not much seems to have occurred; indeed, the extraordinary vagueness of this part of the biography may best be indicated by mentioning that Dr. Fitzpatrick is not quite sure whether the German studies did not occur before the American trip and the Indian episode. The following notice of Dr. Barrett, famous in *O'Malley* for his "May the devil admire me," occurs, however, in this part of the book, and is worth quoting:—"A gentleman at Clontarf who wished to become tenant of some college lands, invited him, when bursar, with other Fellows to dinner. He had not been so far from college since his childhood. It was then that, passing by Lord Charlemont's beautiful demesne and seeing the sheep grazing, he asked what extraordinary animals they were, and when told, expressed the greatest delight at seeing for the first time live mutton. As he passed along the shore, the sea attracted his particular admiration. He described it as 'a broad flat superficies, like Euclid's definition of a line expanding itself into a surface, and blue, like Xenophon's plain covered with wormwood.'"

The following is said to have been a hospital experience:—

"One night a fever patient died; the student took up his candle and proceeded to the dissecting-room. To an uninitiated stranger it would have appeared a horrible and ghastly sight; yet so much are we the slaves of habit, that the young student sat down to his revolting task as indifferently as opening a chess-board. The room was lofty and badly lighted, his flickering taper scarcely revealing the ancient writings that he was about to peruse. On the table before him lay the subject wrapped in a long sheet, his case of instruments resting on it. He read on for some time unheeding the storm which raged without, and threatened to blow in the casements, against which the rain beat in large drops; 'and this,' said he, looking on the body and pursuing the train of his thoughts, 'this mass of lifelessness, coldness, and inaction, is all we know of that alteration of our being, that mysterious modification of our existence, by which our vital intelligence is launched into the world beyond—a breath and we are here—a breath and we are gone.' He raised his knife

and opened a vein in the foot. A faint shriek, and a start which overset the table and extinguished the light were the effects of his timidity.

"Turning to relight his taper he heard through the darkness a long-drawn sigh, and in weak accents, 'Oh, doctor, I am better now!' He covered up the man thus wonderfully re-awakened from almost a fatal trance, carried him back, and laid him in his bed. In a week after the patient was discharged from the hospital cured."

Here, also, one would like a little corroboration. But while these stories, regarded as matters of fact, naturally excite some scepticism, there can be no doubt about one thing. Lever's varied life, his propensity to take hold of every laughable or surprising incident that presented itself, and his faculty of furnishing these incidents (when their own garb was not quite sufficient) with cocked hats and swords, were of immense use to him in his after-life as a novelist. There are two opinions about the value of actual facts to novel-writers. On the one hand, there is no doubt that, if only for a time, they add a considerable attraction and "bite" to a story; on the other hand, it is doubtful whether, in the best novels, any but very occasional use has been made of them. Lever's practice, however, was at one time to rely almost wholly upon the scraps of his experience. More than once he got into considerable trouble by his inveterate habit of introducing real names and real persons into his story. Major Monsoon, indeed, who is perhaps his best single figure, literally sat for the portrait at Brussels, and regarded the proceeding in the light of a regular commercial transaction; but a Galway priest was less accommodating, and never forgave his insertion in one of the novels. *Harry Lorrequer* is said to have been very largely made up of the local stories current at Kilrush, whither Lever was sent in the cholera time of 1832. His subsequent employment in Ulster, near the Giant's Causeway, was not less fruitful of stories, and gave him in addition a considerable amount of scenery and character, which he drew upon especially in *The Knight of Gwynne*. It is said, too, that in Coleraine Lever himself performed the feat of jumping over a cart and horse, which he afterwards introduced in the most popular of his books. In the same way, his visits to Prebendary Maxwell (an exceedingly unclerical representative of the Church of Ireland) supplied him with most of his knowledge of Galway and Mayo. So it continued to be throughout his life. At Brussels, during his reign as editor of the *University Magazine* at Dublin, in his subsequent wanderings about the Continent, and in his residence at Florence and Spezzia, his observation of men and things was the constant source whence he drew his inspiration. Of Trieste the great complaint seems to have been that there was no society, or next to none. In fact, Lever appears to have had a horror of being alone; though, perhaps, it may be admitted that few people have made such tendency to gregariousness as they might possess conducive to the amusement of so large a number of their fellows.

When he began to write for the Press, it was naturally enough in short stories and sketches that he preferred to record the results of his experience. He is said to have actually refused to write a long novel, and for a considerable period nothing like regular planning of his work seems to have entered his head. His biographer says that the prominence of Mickey Free in *O'Malley* was quite contrary to such original design as Lever had formed. The novelist found Mickey a very convenient mouthpiece "for enunciating the good things he had picked up." This fully accounts for Mickey's inferiority to Sam Weller, to whom he has been so often compared. Amusing as he is, any critical reader must feel that he is only a mouthpiece. This could never be said of Sam, even by those who deny to the latter any possible existence out of Topsy-Turvy Land. Perhaps the strongest evidence of Lever's real talent is to be found in the way in which he has succeeded in melting down these innumerable tags and scraps into books which, whatever may be their literary defects, can at any rate be read, and are not mere collections of jests. But the literary merit of the early novels is in reality almost as scanty as Edgar Poe, in a well-known review, asserted it to be. Towards the end of his life, long practice and some alteration in his manner of composing, improved Lever in this respect. But his early books are in many parts not merely not good as pieces of literary work, but positively and disgracefully bad. He used to say, we are told, that by the time he had got the details of his stories written down, he was so disgusted with them that he could hardly bring himself even to correct the proofs. It is, therefore, not very surprising that as his natural gift for writing was certainly not great, his work should have had a slovenly aspect. Such an aspect it most assuredly has, when compared not merely with great masters of style in French and English, but with practitioners in his own kind, such as Crofton Croker and Carleton. The very abundance, perhaps, of his material made him less careful in using it, and in showing it off to the best advantage. But it would rather seem that he did not possess the requisite faculty for turning nature into art. There were many of his contemporaries—Thackeray is a notable instance—who were by no means averse to the use of actual facts and actual persons as materials and models. But Thackeray invariably worked up his raw material into the peculiar form, at once individual and typical, which literature requires. This is what Lever rarely or never does. His pictures are not portraits, they are merely photographs embellished with the stock appliances and garb of caricature. It is needless to say that anything that is unfavourable in this criticism applies merely to the artist and not to the man. Personally, Lever was doubtless a charming companion, and for mere companionship his books are charming enough still. Only they must not be regarded

as books, but simply as reports of the conversation of a lively *raconteur*.

A very different picture is given us by the charming volume in which M. Bergerat has placed on record his remembrances of the last days of Théophile Gautier. The acquaintanceship of the author with his subject was late; it did not, indeed, begin until after the disasters of 1870 had given Gautier his death-blow. But what it wanted in time, it gained in intimacy. M. Bergerat was Gautier's son-in-law, and for the last two years of the poet's life the intercourse of father and son, of master and pupil, was constant. The old age of Gautier seems to have been as kindly as it could be, and not in the least frosty. The very prevalent notion that epicurean principles and tendencies insure for their possessor an old age of misery and disgust, finds its appropriate refutation in this record of the last days of the greatest of nineteenth-century humanists. Certainly Gautier was not without his trials. The preface of M. Edmond de Goncourt, an older friend, shows those trials pretty fully. The Siege, the Commune, and the Republic were all heavy blows to Gautier. The siege disturbed the placid life which he had led at Neuilly with his sisters, his daughters, and his cats, afflicted his ardent imagination with its sombre ugliness, and wounded the perfectly sincere patriotism, which was none the less fervent in him because it was less vocal than in some of his contemporaries. The outrages and horrors of the Commune jarred upon his kindly nature. Last of all he had to adjust himself to a new order of things in which, rightly or wrongly, he felt himself a stranger and a foreigner. His meeting after long years of separation with M. Victor Hugo, is strikingly told in these pages. He had parted with his master when that master was still captain of the crew which De Banville has described in one of his matchless parodies.

" Dans les salons de Philoxène
Nous étions quatre-vingt rimeurs."

He met him again, as he told M. Bergerat, surrounded by "toute la rédaction du *Rappel*." To these moral shocks may be added the pressure of failing health, and the necessity of continuing to work for his daily bread, at an age when most men have retired to a state of more or less easy rest. Yet the unfailing sweetness of his temper, and the fulness of his trust in his art, carried him through these trials. If he was melancholy at times, as M. de Goncourt relates, it was with a melancholy which had not much bitterness in it. His brilliant days were, indeed, over; the days when, in half-sincere, half-humorous gasconade, he would cry out, "Moi, je suis fort; j'amène 520 sur une tête de Turc, et je fais des métaphores qui se suivent." The preface contains not a few of these extravagances.

There is an appalling description of Louis XIV. which is too Swiftian for quotation. There is a speech to M. Taine, in which that critic's ideas of poetry are treated in a manner which does one's heart good.

"Tenez! Taine, vous me semblez donner dans l'idiotisme bourgeois. Demander à la poésie du sentimentalisme! . . . Ce n'est pas ça. Des mots rayonnants . . . des mots de lumière, avec un rythme et une musique, voilà ce que c'est que la poésie. Ça ne prouve rien. . . Ça ne raconte rien."

I cannot, as I read this, help wishing that somebody had suggested to Gautier that poetry was "a criticism of life," as we in England—some of us greatly wondering—have been taught in these latter days by a fine master of criticism.

One very curious statement of M. de Goncourt's is that, to the end of his life, Gautier retained the fine horror of the bourgeois which had characterized his earliest days. The ironical felicitations which he addressed to some unfortunate person recall the preface of *Mademoiselle de Maupin*. "Toi, tu es heureux, tu aimes le progrès, les ingénieurs qui abiment le paysage avec leurs chemins de fer, les utilitaires, tout ce qui met dans un pays une saine édilité." After which he would indulge in the most terrible pictures of bourgeois morals: an effect which must have been full of comedy. For in truth Gautier's bourgeois was a highly figurative person; and in one sense of the term nothing could have been more bourgeois than his own placid existence at Neuilly in the midst of his family.

Besides M. de Goncourt's preface the book has no less than seven different divisions into which M. Bergerat has thrown what he has to say. The section on "Théophile Gautier, peintre," though an interesting one in itself, need not concern us here. It is amusing enough to know that the great writer regarded himself to the last (and was dutifully regarded by his faithful sisters) as one who ought to have been a great painter. "Derniers Moments" contains a sad, though in no way repulsive account of the painful malady or complication of maladies which proved fatal to Gautier, and need not be much dwelt on. Then there is a section headed "Œuvres posthumes et projets" which contains, among other things, a full account of a ballet in the style of *Giselle*, and others which figure among the poet's published work. This ballet is on the subject of the pied piper of Hamelin, and is very gracefully treated. It is sad to have been rejected by M. Halanzier (or rather to have been denied representation) for a delightfully absurd reason. M. Halanzier, it seems, called to his assistance that responsible and dignified official, the ballet-master of the opera. The ballet-master was dead against the piper and his rats. The rat, he said, was an "animal immonde," and the subscribers would be wholly unable to bear the sight of him. "Encore,

monsieur," said he, "si c'était une abeille!" But unluckily it was not possible to turn the rats into bees, and so the *Preneur de Rats* remains still in M. Halanzier's portfolios. A section entitled "Souvenirs" is chiefly occupied with defending Gautier from the charge of being a Bonapartist. He was at most, says M. Bergerat, a Mathildien, but he admits frankly that the poet had as great a horror of the red spectre as any of his enemies the bourgeois, and that his political ideas were limited to a very hearty respect for authority, a respect which did not trouble itself greatly about the authority's source, its manner of exercise, or anything else connected with it. He tells us, too, what any reader of Gautier will find little difficulty in believing, that political discussion was peculiarly disagreeable to the poet, and that he would leave any table or society where it was started.

More important than these are the sections of the book devoted to a short sketch of Gautier's life, to a selection (all, unfortunately, that can be published) from his charming letters, and to the *Entretiens*, which, indeed, form the bulk of the volume. The biography contains some interesting statements. Even the sternest contemner of trifling literary anecdotes must be pleased to hear that Gautier's father and mother spent their honeymoon in no less a place than the Château d'Artagnan. His earliest years were spent at Tarbes, as is sufficiently well known. But what is not sufficiently well known is the following delightful "story of a desk," which M. Bergerat has preserved:—

"While I was at Tarbes," said he, "I heard from my fellow-townsmen that my school desk was religiously preserved at the town school, and that it was the admiration of tourists. Very much flattered at finding that such honour was paid to me in my lifetime, I resolved to make acquaintance with the curious desk which was attributed to me, and at the same time with the school which boasted of having owned me as a pupil. I therefore presented myself *incognito* to the Principal, and, announcing myself as an enthusiastic admirer of my own writings, I begged him to take me to see the beloved desk which had been the witness of my childish precocity.

"The Principal insisted upon the honour of being himself my guide. The desk which he showed me, and even allowed me to touch, was certainly a desk of some sort, but at the sight of it an irresistible emotion took possession of me. It was assuredly the first time that I and it had ever been face to face with each other, but still, if it was not my desk, it might easily have been. It might have awakened in me a crowd of memories! I sat down on the bench which belonged to it, and which, if fate had so willed it, would have been my bench, and having placed myself in the attitude of a studious scholar, I tried to imagine myself as once again in my own proper position. The Principal, seeing me thus absorbed, could not restrain a smile softened by emotion; he showed me on the desk sundry scratches and cuts made by Théophile Gautier in class, procuring for him, no doubt, many an imposition. I asked if I might carry off a little fragment of the wood as a relic. He gave me permission. Then he led me away, telling me, meantime, a score of authentic anecdotes which appeared even to me conclusive, and from which it resulted that I must have been a marvellous scholar and the glory of his school. A Philistine would have taken

a foolish pleasure in robbing the good man of his illusions. I had the less desire to do so, because I shared them with him. I quitted him without revealing who I really was, and I told no one of my visit. In fact, the Principal was right,—added my master,—as a question of morality; falsehood is much more amusing than truth, and has sometimes a greater probability. I had had a vision like Musset's, and had made acquaintance with the young man dressed in black, who was as like me as a brother."

Gautier's school friendship with Gerard de Nerval, his initiation in the *Petit cénacle*, his presence in the red waistcoat at the first representation of *Hernani*, and all the rest of it, are well known from his own account. But as he has sometimes been accused of remaining silent when he should have praised the god of his former and constant idolatry under the Empire, it is fair to give the following story, to which it need only be added that M. Victor Hugo's own words sufficiently refute the slander. "Votre main n'a pas quitté ma main," he writes to Gautier:—

"On the 21st of June, 1867, the Comédie Française reproduced *Hernani*. Théophile Gautier was the principal attraction in this reproduction. He was seen in his box smiling, grown young again, without his red waistcoat, but still with his long lion's mane of hair, giving the signal, and as it were the tradition of the applause. But it was asked how the critic of the *Moniteur*, in his position of official writer, would manage to speak of the author of the *Châtiments* in the journal of the Imperial Government. The next day Théophile Gautier himself brought his article to the *Moniteur*. They begged him to moderate the eulogy, and to soften its enthusiastic tone. Without making the slightest objection, he took up a sheet of blank paper, and wrote on it his resignation. Then having made them take him to the Minister of the Interior, he laid before M. de Lavalette his article and resignation. 'Choose,' said he. The minister ordered the article to be inserted without altering a word of it."

The next thing that I shall extract ought to amuse the most ferocious decriers of his tabooed book:—

"It would be a mistake to believe that the romantic outpourings of Théophile and the boldness of his pen displeased his family. Pierre Gautier was, as I have already said, a great admirer of the literary and artistic ideas of his son. As for the mother, it is needless to say that she lived in a continual state of dumb ecstasy, in the contemplation of this handsome young man with waving hair, who was gaining in the world every imaginable success. Never was child more spoilt, more petted, more admired by his family. Paternal authority never interfered except to remind the idle writer of the page begun and the end to be attained. Théophile Gautier wrote *Mademoiselle de Maupin* in the room which he occupied in his parent's house in the Place Royale. This work, full of spirit and animation, and which appears to have been written as it were at one breath, so that many people regard it as his masterpiece, wearied him extremely in the composing. The poet who lived as a lion, and a man of fashion, much preferred writing love-sonnets, and displaying his gorgeous waistcoats and marvellous pantaloons on the boulevards, to shutting himself up before a lamp and blackening fair sheets of paper. Besides, in his character of romanticist he detested prose, and regarded it as in the last degree philistine. When he came in, therefore, his father used to turn the key on him while he set him his task. 'You will not come out,' cried he through the closed door, 'until you have written ten pages of *Maupin*.' Sometimes Théophile resigned himself,

sometimes he got through the window. At other times it was his mother who let him out by stealth, always anxious and fearing lest her son should be fatigued by so much work."

Here again is a curiously characteristic reminiscence of the connection which existed between Gautier and Balzac:—

"When Curmer was thinking of his publication: *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, he applied to Balzac for a contribution. The great novelist agreed to give his assistance on one condition, namely, that the work should contain a study on himself, and that this study should be written by Théophile. Was not this condition included in the spirit of the title, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*? Curmer agreed. Balzac instantly hurried to the Rue de Navarin, where Gautier lived, and informed him of the order. It came like a lark from the sky ready roasted. 'I will pay you five hundred francs,' said Balzac, 'for this study on myself.' Théophile had soon furnished it and carried it to the publisher, but with his usual timidity did not dare to ask for the money due to him. A week, then a fortnight passed, still no news of Balzac. At last one morning he appeared. 'I do not know how to thank you,' he said to his friend: 'your study is a masterpiece. As I think you may be in want of money I have brought you the sum agreed upon,' and he laid down two hundred and fifty francs.

"'But,' Gautier ventured to say, 'I thought you told me five hundred. I must have misunderstood you.'

"'Not the least in the world; I did tell you five hundred. But consider a moment. If I had not existed, you could never have said all the good of me which you have said; that is clear. Then, had there been no article of yours, there would have been no money. I take the half of the sum as the subject treated, and I give you the rest as the author treating. Is not that just?'"

"'As Solomon himself,' replied Gautier, who, many years after, in telling me the story, declared that Balzac was perfectly right."

Besides innumerable personal anecdotes of this kind, the book contains many illustrations, even more interesting, of literary idiosyncrasy. One of M. Bergerat's notes is that Gautier, who scarcely ever altered a phrase in his manuscript, never would insert any punctuation in it. He held stops and accents as a detail of the printer's business. Unfortunately printers—may I add editors?—cannot be induced to take this admirably reasonable point of view. Another interesting detail is Gautier's idea of a style-school, which seems to have been quite serious, and not to have resembled Baudelaire's possibly borrowed theory of "poetry in twenty lessons." Gautier had a perfectly just idea of the services he had rendered to French, and the following passages, allowance being made for his lively and picturesque language, do not exaggerate these services one whit:—

"My own part in this literary revolution was very plainly marked out. I was to be the painter of the company. I threw myself vigorously into the quest for adjectives; I dug up charming and even admirable ones, which it would be impossible to do without any longer. I foraged in the sixteenth century, to the great scandal of the subscribers of the Théâtre-Français, the academicians, and the close-shaven bourgeois, as Petrus calls them. I came back with my basket laden. I laid on the palette all the tints of dawn and the shades of sunset; I gave back to you red, dishonoured by politicians; I composed poems in white major, and when I saw that the result was good, that the best

writers followed my lead, and that the professors basked in their chairs, I delivered my famous axiom, 'He whom any thought, however complex, any vision, even were it the most apocalyptic, surprises, without words to express it, is not a writer.' And the goats have been separated from the sheep, the supporters of Scribe from the disciples of Hugo, in whom dwells all genius. Such is my part in the quest.'

" 'I know not,' said my master, one day, to me, 'what posterity will think of me, but I fancy that I shall at least have been useful to the language of my own country. It would be positive ingratitude to refuse to me, after death, the modest merit of a philologist. Ah! my dear child,' he added, smiling, 'if we only had as many piastres or roubles as the words I have rescued from Malherbe! You young people will thank me some day, when you see what an instrument I have left in your hands, and you will defend my memory against those literary diplomatists who, having no ideas to express, and no wit to make the most of, wish to reduce us to the hundred words of the language of Racine. Attend to this, that you may remember it at a future day: the day that I am acknowledged as a classic, thought will be very near attaining its full freedom in France!'"

In another place I find a curious account of Gautier's belief in his powers of writing the *roman-feuilleton*, the one lucrative branch of the literary profession in France. In a single instance, as students of his works know, he put his theory into practice, and the result was *La Belle Jenny*—a remarkable book, for which I am glad to see that M. Bergerat, with all his hero-worship, has little more affection than I have myself. The criticism of M. Emile de Girardin, for whom it was written, is charming. He had allowed Gautier to write it as a *tour de force*, and the author, if not the editor, was fully satisfied with the result. In the pride of his heart Gautier wanted to go on *ad infinitum*, after the fashion of the kind of author whose work he was imitating. "Est-ce que l'abonné ne trouve pas qu'il en ait pour son argent?" he asked of the editor of the *Presse*. "Mon ami," replied that experienced person, "c'est ça, et ce n'est pas ça. L'abonné ne s'amuse pas franchement: il est gêné par le style."

M. Bergerat has inserted in his volume not a few poetical waifs and strays, which have not as yet found their way into collections of Gautier's works. The best of these is not suitable for quotation here, though some day or other it will doubtless take its place among the other jewels of the *Emaux et Camées*. There are, however, two pieces which must be quoted. They seem to have been in their origin merely occasional verse:—

"Je suis le mot de la charade
Qu'on vient de jouer devant vous,
Et si je parais sur l'estrade
C'est pour que vous deviniez tous.

"Mon nom longtemps troubla le monde:
Il n'en est pas de plus connu;
Chacun le répète à la ronde,
L'enfant même l'a retenu.

" Cherchez bien—je suis cette reine
Qui buvait des perles dans l'or,
Et dont la beauté souveraine
Fait rêver le poète encor.

" Lasse de tant de nuits dormies
Sous l'ombrage des grands palmiers,
Quittant le pays des momies
Je vins au pays des momiers.

" Sans regret j'ai fui le Nil jaune
Pour le Léman aux flots d'azur,
Et cependant j'avais un trône !
Un fauteuil en Suisse est plus sûr !

" Je fais la rime d'idolâtre
Et je mourus par un aspic ;
Mais ce n'était pas au théâtre :
Nul ne sifflait dans mon public ! "

" Sur un coin d'infini traînant son voile d'ombre
La terre obscure allume à l'éternel cadran,
Sirius, Orion, Persée, Aldébaran,
Et fait le ciel splendide en le rendant plus sombre.

" On voit briller parmi les étoiles sans nombre
L'énorme Jupiter dont un mois vaut notre an,
Et Vénus toute d'or, et Mars peint de safran,
Et Saturne alourdi par l'anneau qui l'encombre.

" A ces astres divers se rattache un destin :
Jupiter est heureux, Mars hargneux et mutin,
Vénus voluptueuse et Saturne morose.

" Moi, mon étoile est bleue et luit même en plein jour
Près d'une oreille sourde à mes soupirs d'amour
Sur le ciel d'une joue adorablement rose ! "

I cannot help remembering, as I read over this splendid sonnet, with its majestic alexandrines, so full of colour, of varied harmony, of stately grace, of fervent passion, that we have just been told that French has no adequate form for high poetry. A dissertation on this thesis is, perhaps fortunately, not called for here. Nor would it be in place even to examine the characteristics of Gautier himself as a poet. I could wish for nothing better than an opportunity of so doing. But I shall be perfectly content to rest upon the fourteen lines of this sonnet, a mere waif be it repeated, casually written and casually preserved, the capacities of the alexandrine for high poetry. In a formal defence of that magnificent metre (none the less magnificent because it has accidentally failed to be much cultivated in English), scores and thousands of examples might be produced far more convincing. In a formal discussion of Gautier's own poetry, the *Comédie de la Mort* and *Le Thermodon*, the lines on Corneille, and

many of the *Émaux et Camées*, the *Elegy on Clémence*, and many another early lyric must rank above and before it. But as it is to my hand here, I am content with it as a vindication of Gautier and of the alexandrine.

If the comparison of the lives of two men of such different talents as Lever and Gautier has any lessons for us, it seems to be this, that devotion to art has its rewards. There is the secret of a whole life's consolations in Gautier's boast—a boast perfectly justified—"I defy you to write the *feuilleton* I shall write to-morrow in the language of Racine and Boileau." He knew that he had added to the accomplishments of his own language, and what is more, that he had added to its capabilities. Perhaps it would be impossible to name any one in this century who has done this to such an extent as Gautier. From very early days his works have always been the special delight of men of letters in his own country. He has, in a different sense, occupied the position of "poète à poète," which has been assigned in our own language to Spenser, and thus his influence has been multiplied and strengthened almost indefinitely. To those who read the preface of *Mademoiselle de Maupin* now, forgetting its date, admiration of it may not be mixed with a feeling of surprise at the extraordinary novelty and originality of the style. But to capable readers in 1836, it must have been simply a revelation. It was as entirely new as the manner with which a few years before Macaulay had surprised Jeffrey, and it had few or none of the drawbacks from which Macaulay's brilliant *argot* suffered. But if we skip thirty years and turn to the *Capitaine Fracasse*, we shall find a style of equal or greater brilliancy, which yet is not in the least mannered or copied from the writer's earlier work. Throughout his life Gautier was literally what he has been called, a "parfait magicien des lettres françaises." Yet the magic was, after all, like most of such magic, the result of continual work. Unlike many other men of letters, Gautier was constantly reading. M. Bergerat tells us that when he was not talking, eating, or writing he was always reading, and that nothing came amiss to him down to mere scraps and waifs of printed waste paper. The progress of his fatal illness was marked by nothing so much as by the cessation of this inveterate habit. These miscellaneous readings were undoubtedly part of the great "adjective-hunt," as he was wont to phrase it. His *copia verborum* was thus constantly fed and increased, while at the same time his unceasing practice in writing made the store one of constantly circulating capital, and not a mere useless accumulation. There never seems to have been a time when even the most minute question of literary practice, a rhyme-hunt or the like, had not a vivid interest for him. Thus his occupation, however he might occasionally groan at and complain of it, was in practice an unending

source of pleasure, of relief from ennui, of alternatives from self-regarding cares. It was a strong tower which successfully kept out the enemy, until sheer physical collapse ceased to make it any longer defensible. On the other hand it would be difficult to find in Lever any trace of love for or interest in his art as an art. It seems to have been always a means to an end, or rather to half a hundred different ends, pursued with less or more zest for the time, but rarely falling in with any possible or coherent plan of life. Though he was a man of letters, his interests were nothing so little as literary. The wildest absurdities of the *Jeunes-France* and the *Bousingots* were somehow or other connected with literary questions. Lever's youthful escapades and later dissipation had nothing to do with literature at all, and might have been and were shared in by persons of no taste or interest in literature whatever. There is a famous sentence of Thackeray's which has sometimes excited a good deal of surprise. "No class of men talk of books or, as a rule read, books so little as literary men." It is not true of England now perhaps, but it certainly was true of England then. It has never since France possessed a literature been true of France, and the difference is strikingly illustrated in comparing these two volumes. M. Bergerat's book is almost composed of literary conversations, souvenirs, jests. Here the hero is defending a thesis against M. Taine or M. Renan, there expounding another for the benefit of M. Bergerat, everywhere talking of books, the way to write books, and the merits of books when written. In Dr. Fitzpatrick's volumes, on the other hand, there is hardly a single literary opinion cited of Lever's, and except the obligatory notice of his own books, scarcely anything that can be said to possess literary interest. It might as well be the life of a politician or a man of business, for any interest that its subject seems to have taken in things literary. It is quite possible that there may be something to be said in favour of this. The concentration of men of letters and art in literary and artistic sets and cliques has obvious disadvantages, of which the talking of "shop" is not the worst. It tends, no doubt, to promote a severance between the different lines of thought and intellectual occupation in the nation. The eternal hatred sworn to the bourgeois is not a necessary or a beneficial phenomenon either to the bourgeois himself or the man of letters. Although the tendency of French politics since the revolution to open political positions to literary men of distinction may have made some compensation, it is still probable that the divorce between the Philistine and the anti-Philistine there is wider than with us. This divorce is at any rate not good for the Philistine himself, while it may tend to force his opponent into Bohemian ways and habits which he might very well avoid. But that it has done good to literature there can be no

doubt. With very few exceptions, the service of the English literary man is rendered more or less half-heartedly. He is a journalist, a politician, a man of the world, a historian, a dramatist first, and a man of letters afterwards. He wants to influence public opinion, to get into good society, to establish his family comfortably, to do everything, in short, rather than live in companionship with the Muses, and with a few of the elect of their worshippers. Sometimes, no doubt, he achieves all these ends more or less completely; sometimes he fails very completely indeed. In the latter case the art which he has cultivated only with a half devotion naturally does not do much for him at the last. There is a story of a French man of letters who expired, and had apparently deliberately purposed to expire, while correcting a proof. The person concerned was something of a coxcomb, and his taste in selecting that particular branch of literary employment was certainly peculiar. But there was something not altogether inappropriate in the assertion of devotion to the employment to which he had given himself up.

The spirit of Congreve's famous speech to Voltaire has never, at least since Voltaire's time, commended itself to men of letters across the Channel. With us literature has, until very recently, hardly been even a profession, still less an art having a recognised guild and brotherhood of cultivators. It would be considered an affectation, and a hardly pardonable affectation in any one who had not produced capital works in some popular department of literature, to take the name of a man of letters at all. There may, I have said, be a good many reasons against, as well as for, the definite constitution and herding together of a body of *gens de lettres*. But it certainly has one result which cannot be denied. It leads to the display of much greater merit of the purely literary kind in the discharge of merely miscellaneous literary work. The French journalist, novelist, dramatist, may be and often is a man of far less education and information than his English compeer, but at least he does not often produce such slovenly and formless work. Also it has another good result which has been sufficiently indicated already in this review of the memorials of a great man of letters. It gives the *littérateur* all the essentials of a religion, the fellow-feeling, the cardinal doctrines, the prescribed hatreds which go to make up a regular cult. It is an excellent thing to have a religion of any kind, and particularly excellent when the relish of miscellaneous good things is fading, and pleasure, if it has to be found at all, must be sought in quiet occupations and in the performance of daily tasks. The game of the hunter of adjectives never becomes scarce, and his interest and energy in the quest never desert him.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY.

THE WAGES-FUND THEORY.

THERE is no more burning question in the present state of Economic controversy than that of the Wages-fund, and none on which the opinions of teachers in full repute appear more widely divided. The doctrine that was held by J. S. Mill till 1869 (and then "presumed" by him to be found in every systematic treatise on Political Economy) is still apparently taught by Professor Fawcett;¹ it was restated with some additions and explanations, but without important qualification, by the late Professor Cairnes;² and it is at least continually implied in the advice tendered to the working classes from the capitalists' side, even by sympathetic and fair-minded writers, such as Mr. Brassey. On the other hand, the doctrine is altogether rejected by Mr. Jevons, Mr. Thornton, Mr. Cliffo Leslie, Mr. F. A. Walker, and other American and English economists; and, under the influence of these writers, I think there is a growing tendency in the organs of cultivated opinion to treat it as exploded. It seems, therefore, opportune to consider, first, what precisely is the theory of the determination of wages which is thus held by one set of economists and denied by others, and what is its real importance; secondly, to weigh the negative arguments urged against it by these latter; and thirdly, to inquire what positive doctrine is or may be proposed in place of that which is thus rejected. The discussion in the present article will fall under these three heads, taken in the above order.

The first inquiry might seem to be superfluous, after the doctrine has been stated by such able expositors as J. S. Mill and Cairnes. But the former's statements have certainly been misunderstood both by friends and by foes; and I must confess that I have found some difficulty in ascertaining the exact limits of the latter's position. In the passage (B. II. c. xi. p. 1) in which Mill first speaks of the wages-fund he seems rather to describe the manner in which the whole sum paid in wages is distributed, than to state the law by which the total is determined. "What may be called the wages-fund of a country," he says, is made up of "that part of the circulating capital (of the country) which is expended in the direct purchase of labour," together with all other funds that are paid in exchange of labour. If we knew no more of the wages-fund than that it is a total thus heterogeneously made up, it might seem to be an

(1) "Wages in the aggregate depend on a ratio between capital and population."—Fawcett, *Pol. Econ.*, B. II. c. 4.

(2) In his last work, *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy*, published 1874.

insignificant truism to affirm that wages depend upon the relative amount of the wages-fund and of population ; as it is merely an incontrovertible deduction from the principles of simple arithmetic that "the general rate of wages cannot rise but by an increase of the aggregate funds employed in hiring labourers or a diminution in the number of the competitors for hire."

Mill, however, means to assert something much more important than this elementary arithmetical proposition ;¹ something which is more distinctly implied in the statement which he gives as roughly equivalent to the above, that "wages depend on the proportion between population and capital." He means that, since the great majority of the wage-earning class are labourers hired by employers for a profit, the amount of wealth devoted to the payment of wages is mainly determined by the law of increase of capital.² Hence, since capital is the result of saving, the wages-fund must be fixed independently of the discussion between individual employers and labourers as to the wages which the former are to give the latter. Mill was, of course, aware that the proportion of the whole capital of a country that is employed in wages is not strictly a constant one, but varies with the changes that invention introduces into the methods of production ; but for his purpose this variation is not important, provided it is independent of the haggling of the labour-market. His point was, that this proportion as well as the whole amount of capital must be taken as "predetermined" in considering the problem of Distribution.

And this is the point which Cairnes is still concerned to maintain, with a more careful statement of the relation of the wages-fund to the whole capital of the country. Cairnes explains that the character and condition of the national industries determine the proportion which *labour* will bear to the other part of capital, which is not wages-fund, but fixed capital, raw materials, &c. He allows that, since wages may be higher or lower while the amount of labour remains the same, this is not quite the same thing as determining the proportion of wages-fund to capital. But he argues that if the supply of labour, the total amount of capital, and the proportion of capital that is not wages-fund to labour, be all three given, the wages-fund and the average rate of wages must also be determined ;

(1) It might have seemed unnecessary to state this ; but Cairnes (*Some Leading Principles*, p. 186) really implies that Mill seriously propounded, as an important economic doctrine, the great truth that a fraction cannot be increased without either enlarging the numerator or diminishing the denominator ; and other writers have attributed to him the same absurdity.

(2) In order not to complicate the discussion in the present article, I have followed the usual course of considering exclusively the wages of productive labourers. I must, however, observe that it is rather misleading to say, as Mill does, that such wages form "nearly the whole of the wages-fund of a country," since the number of unproductive labourers neglected amounts to a good deal over a million.

and that its determination gives us the rather remarkable result that not only the average rate of wages, but the whole money spent in wages, is decreased by an increase in the supply of labour.¹

Here, then, we have an abstract statement of the wages-fund doctrine in its latest and most precise form; but we shall gain a clearer view of it by considering briefly its practical bearings. From the manner in which Mill introduces the notion of a wages-fund in close connection with his discussion of remedies for low wages, he might perhaps be understood to imply that the fund is too rigidly limited to admit of being increased by any legislative action or by any moral pressure on employers or other rich persons. But, in fact, he is far from maintaining anything of the kind; and in his argument against the expediency of such remedies he does not refer to any supposed limits of the wages-fund, but to the Malthusian theory of population. So again he (as well as his disciples) plainly recognises, in the distinction drawn between "wages" and the "cost of labour," that the labourers' share of consumable commodities may be increased by an increase in their efficiency without any diminution of profits; though it is undoubtedly a defect in his exposition—unconsciously inherited from Ricardo and James Mill—that he keeps too much in the background the large possibilities of amelioration which this consideration opens up. In short, the only mode of enlargement of the wages-fund which he, or any other economist of repute, has believed to be rigidly excluded by its so-called determinateness, is enlargement through the successful bargaining of labourers with their employers.

But there is a further qualification of fundamental importance which has been frequently forgotten in practical applications of the wages-fund theory. The most confidently "deductive" economists, so far as I know, have never supposed that the fund spent in wages in *any particular trade* was determined independently of the bargaining between employers and employed. Certainly Mill, in the days of his completest acceptance of the wages-fund doctrine, allowed most explicitly that workmen in certain trades might, by combining, keep their wages at a higher level than they would otherwise secure. He only argued that this could not be done without also causing the aggregate wages of the rest of the working class to be less than they would otherwise have been. But since the theory left perfectly indefinite the individuals and even the classes on which such loss would fall, this consideration could only be supposed to influence

(1) His proof may easily be compressed into two or three lines of algebraic reasoning, thus: Let a be the total capital determined by saving, b the supply of labourers, and x the average rate of wages; then if the proportion of capital not wages-fund to labour, or $\frac{a-bx}{b}$ be determined by the character of the national industries, x and therefore bx are also known. Put $\frac{a-bx}{b} = c$ and we get $x = \frac{a}{b} - c$ and $bx = a - bc$.

the action of working men so far as they are governed not by self-interest or even by natural *esprit de corps*, but by a refined and abstract sympathy with the interests of certain unknown labourers. Now I am far from saying that it is undesirable to encourage this kind of sympathy, or that the working classes are incapable of being seriously influenced by it. But it must be allowed that this is a motive very different in kind from those by which the "economic man" has been usually conceived to be governed. In most other departments of social organization, under the régime of free competition, we continually find individuals and classes getting rich in a manner which involves a corresponding diminution in the wealth of other men; and not merely of "other men" abstractly and indefinitely conceived, but of very definitely and familiarly known individuals—tradesmen in the same street, physicians in the same town, barristers on the same circuit. Of course it may be replied that the competition which brings about this result benefits society by keeping production generally at the highest pitch of efficiency. But the point that I am urging is that no economist has ever supposed the competing producers to be extensively influenced by this consideration, or has asked, with a serious expectation of being listened to, that they should refrain from all modes and expedients of competition except such as are socially useful. In all the other eager struggles for well-being which society everywhere presents, we are content to direct the force of social disapprobation against such diminution of other people's wealth as is due either to fraud or to mere recklessness. Hence, when we read the economic sermons on the text of the wages-fund which have so often been addressed to workmen in their struggles with employers, we must conclude that the preacher has either a confused notion of the doctrine that he is expounding or a remarkably high opinion of the moral standard of his audience.¹

It seems clear, in short, that the wages-fund doctrine—or any other theory of the determination of general or average wages—is of practical importance only so far as men's pursuit of "self-interest well understood" admits of being restrained and modified by moral or philanthropic motives. So far as the labourers in any particular industry are "economic men" of the ordinary type, the considerations which they have to take into account in regulating their

(1) I may observe that it is not even true that this possibility of increase in the wages-fund of a particular trade depends entirely on the action of trades unions in limiting the number of labourers in the respective trades. No doubt Mill held that this was the case; but it is now universally admitted that he, in common with other members of the earlier Ricardian school, greatly exaggerated the equalising effect which unrestricted competition tends to exercise upon wages, and that even in old countries where competition is freest, the movement of labour—whether from employment to employment, or from district to district—is far too slow and imperfect to produce this equalising effect with any certainty or within any definite limits of time, even if trades unions did not exist.

combined action for raising and sustaining wages are of a totally different kind. They ought to forecast carefully the effects of the competition of other actual or possible labourers in the same industry, and the decrease in the demand for their product that will result from a rise in its price. But they certainly need not trouble themselves much about the general wages-fund of the country, even if its "predeterminateness" were established on the most solid basis of scientific reasoning.

It is now time to examine this reasoning more closely. As we have seen, the foundation of the whole theory consists in the supposed independence of two facts, (1) "saving," the process by which capital is increased, and (2) the discussion between employers and employed by which the wages of particular labourers are fixed. If (1) is altogether uninfluenced by (2), it will certainly follow that though the efforts of particular labourers to get higher wages may be successful, it can only be at the expense of other labourers; and similarly, though particular capitalists may beat down their workmen to a lower wage, the money they thus save, being destined for productive employment, must ultimately take the form of wages of other labourers. And this degree of rigidity in the wages-fund is certainly implied in Mill's language in his *Political Economy* (compare v. c. x. § 5 with II. cxi. §§ 1 and 3—passages which, I observe, he did not think it worth while to alter even after his review of Thornton). Mill's disciples, however, seem to have admitted a greater degree of elasticity in the limitations of the fund long before the appearance of Thornton's criticism. Professor Fawcett (*e.g.*), *Pol. Econ.*, II. c. ix. (ed. I.), while arguing that combinations of workmen cannot permanently raise wages, affirms that they may do so *temporarily* if they demand an increase when trade is flourishing and profits high. In this passage he implies that this addition to the wages of one set of labourers will not be taken from the wages of another set; and the same conclusion is reached by Cairnes (*Some Leading Principles*, Pt. II. c. 3). But how is this result consistent with the chain of reasoning that we have just been considering? If the total amount of capital is determined by saving, and therefore independently of the haggling of the market, and if the proportion of capital that becomes wages-fund is determined by the character of the national industries, &c., together with the supply of labour, how can any action of any set of labourers (so long as these determining conditions remain unchanged) increase the total wages-fund, as it must do if they raise their own wages without diminishing those of any other labourers? The only possible answer to this question seems to be that which Mill gives in his review of Mr. Thornton's book "On Labour." Although the process of increasing capital is generally voluntary,—what we ordinarily call "saving"—there is no economic law which prevents it from being compulsory; and, in

fact, when an employer yields to the demands of a union and raises his workmen's wages, if he finds the money by cutting down his expenditure instead of taking it from a bank or some other investment, he does increase capital in this compulsory way. Whether we choose to call this saving or not is a mere question of words; it is at any rate a process not independent of, but determined by, the haggling of the labour-market.

But if this be so, what becomes of the wages-fund theory? If this compulsory economy be possible at all, why should it not be on the whole successful? In fact, neither Professor Fawcett nor Professor Cairnes really denies this possibility. When they say that combinations of labourers can only raise wages "temporarily,"¹ they do not mean to assert that the temporary rise will inevitably be balanced by a consequent temporary fall in the wages either of the same or of other labourers; they clearly imply that this will not be the case, if only the combined action of the labourers be wisely directed, and their demands for advances only made when trade is exceptionally prosperous. It is true that Cairnes does verbally deny that a "permanent elevation of the *average* rate of wages" can be effected in this way; but the whole context distinctly shows that in this phrase he has momentarily fallen into a confusion between "average" and "usual." If the cases in which combinations can successfully raise wages are, as he assumes, "exceptional," it follows, of course, that they cannot raise the *usual* rate in any branch of industry; but if these exceptional rises are not inevitably compensated by consequent falls, it equally follows that they must tend to raise the *average* rate. Of course the force thus exerted by any single strike is very slight; but if we make the rather ideal supposition that the whole body of labourers in their several industries are wisely led, and thus never demand an advance unsuccessfully, it is clear that the level of average wages may be steadily elevated by a continual series of slight rises. And if we suppose the movement of wages to take place not in one trade only, but along the whole line of the labour-market,² what is there to prevent the compulsory enlargement of the wages-fund from being both rapid and extensive?

(1) In the last edition of his Manual, Professor Fawcett has even removed the qualification of "temporariness" in some cases. He considers that in some cases, "when the equalising effect of competition is neutralised through an indefinitely long period . . . there can be no doubt that labourers can by combining secure a permanent advance in wages." And he does not say, or seem to hold, that this advance must be at the expense of other labourers' wages. But if this be so, the proposition that Professor Fawcett still maintains, that "wages depend upon the ratio between capital and population," seems to have lost its chief significance; since, whatever else it may mean, it has not the meaning usually attributed to it, that "wages depend on saving and not on bargaining."

(2) It is not necessary to assume (as Cairnes seems to think) a "complete and all-embracing organization of trade unions," but only a movement throughout industry so general as to leave no important field for the employment of capital outside the trades affected by it.

It may be replied that the fall of average profits involved in such a rise of wages will diminish the motives to save, and thus ultimately reduce the voluntary additions to the wages-fund so much as to balance the compulsory enlargement of the fund through the successful bargaining of the workmen. Here, I think, we have the last stronghold of the believers in a strictly determinate wages-fund; and, indeed, the only position which they seem seriously prepared to maintain. It is not the wages-fund at any given time, but the wages-fund in the long run, which they really hold to be independent of the haggling of the labour-market. In considering this position, we must bear in mind, as was before observed, that this fall in profits will not accompany the rise in wages, so far as the efficiency in the labourer is increased through the improvement in his physical health, due to better food, &c. The practical importance of this consideration seems to have been conclusively established by Mr. Brassey.¹ And however we may agree with Cairnes's strictures on the absurdity of formulating a "general law that the cost of labour is uniform" on the strength of Mr. Brassey's statistics, a considerable approximation to such uniformity, under certain conditions and over a limited range, has undoubtedly been made out; and this is quite sufficient to render nugatory all general statements as to the inevitable connection of a rise of wages with a fall of profits.

But, secondly, even if we assume the efficiency of labour to be unchanged, it does not seem that we have any means of predicting *a priori* the extent to which a fall of profits will operate in decreasing the additions to capital. In examining this point we have in the first place to remove a confusion between "profit" and "interest" which pervades the treatment of this subject by Mill and his school, notwithstanding the express distinction between the two notions in Mill's analysis of profit.² The employer's profit, as Mill explains, consists (besides indemnity for risk) of "wages of superintendence" as well as interest on capital; so that *prima facie* any increase in the remuneration of his workmen may operate to reduce the former element rather than the latter; whereas it is the latter and not the former that constitutes the general inducement to save, which would be comparatively unaffected by a reduction in the wages of superintendence. There is nothing, I believe, in the extremest wages-fund doctrine to lead us to conclude that the average remuneration of employers is incapable of decrease. Suppose that average employers' profit, exclusive of risk, is now eight per cent., of which three per cent. represents absolutely safe interest on capital, and five per cent. the "wages of superintendence:" if an increase in workmen's wages should reduce average profits to seven per cent., have we any grounds for concluding that it will not in the

(1) *Work and Wages*.

(2) *Pol. Econ.*, B. II. c. xv.

long run be possible to get the employers we want for *four* per cent.? What, then, are the persons who now become employers to do under the circumstances supposed? Will they, to any considerable extent, live idly on three per cent. instead of working for seven? Perhaps it may be said that they will enter the professions; and no doubt there is a certain competition between the learned professions and "business" for the services of young men of ability with some inherited property, so that this tendency would operate to some extent; but then this only leads to the wider question, Why should there not be a general fall in the average remuneration of the whole first grade of services, that includes all kinds of professional work as well as all kinds of employment of industry? I know of no economic law that renders such a fall impossible.

At any rate it is clear, I think, that the blow caused by increase of workmen's wages will not fall immediately on the interest of capital, but will only reach it through a medium that will absorb at least a good deal of its force. But if we grant that the rate of interest will be reduced through the refusal of capitalists to become employers at the lower remuneration, we have really no definite knowledge of the extent to which the fall would check accumulation in England. All the saving that takes place to provide for old age, bad times, children, &c., is nearly unaffected by the rate of interest. Most of the saving accomplished by the poorer classes is of this character, and we may observe that a rise in wages would have a direct tendency to increase this quota. Again, many persons have a nearly fixed standard of living, and so long as their income is more than sufficient to provide for this they will save the surplus, whatever that may be: in proportion as this is the case their saving is only affected by the rate of interest so far as their income is affected by it. But, farther, so far as men in business and the professions save with a view of ultimately retiring on a certain income, it is obvious that a decrease in the rate of interest may tend to make them save more rather than less; as they will require a larger amount of accumulated capital to obtain the same amount of annual income. I do not wish to exaggerate the force of these considerations; I quite allow that a decrease in the rate of interest would on the whole tend to check accumulation of capital within the country; but I submit that we have no such means of measuring this tendency as would enable us to affirm that its operation must necessarily keep down average wages (*cæteris paribus*) to their present level. The same may be said of the tendency of capital to seek investment abroad in consequence of any fall in average profits confined to one particular country. No doubt it is of the utmost importance, in considering any concrete case, to take this consequence into account. But it seems clear that this tendency cannot be estimated *a priori* with any

such exactness as would be necessary if it were used as a basis for the wages-fund theory; so long as we are contemplating a state of things in which the mobility of capital is as imperfect as it is actually shown to be by the very different rates of interest and profit permanently maintained in different countries.

In the preceding discussion I have assumed that the wages of labour are to be regarded as a certain share of the produce of previous labour; the remainder being consumed by the capitalists or landlords themselves, or unproductive labourers whom they pay, or the Government. This is the view commonly taken by English economists; and I have adopted it because it seemed to me that the supposed rigid limitations of the wages-fund could be shown to be illusory on this view as well as on any other. I must now point out, with Professor Walker, that there is no absolute necessity that workmen's wages should be paid entirely out of the saved results of past industry. In fact, in newly colonised countries, where capital and labour are at once scarce and highly productive, the most natural and convenient plan is to *pay* the labourer out of the product of his industry, whatever sum he requires for subsistence while labouring being merely *advanced*.¹ No doubt in old countries like England wages are for the most part completely paid out of the results of previous industry; still it is worth observing that there are large exceptions to this rule. For example, a large part of the labourers employed in transportation (railway porters, 'bus conductors, &c.) and in distribution (shop-boys, &c.) are paid by their employers after the services for which they are paid have been remunerated by the consumers; and a considerable number of small artisans (tailors, shoemakers, &c.), working each on his own hand and owning the small capital that he requires, do not receive the return for their labour till some time after they have sent home the finished product. But even if we put out of sight these cases, and consider all wages as actually paid out of the produce of previous labour, saved and devoted to production, it still is not true that the wages-fund at any moment is rigidly incapable of increase without trenching on the consumption of other members of the community. For the stock of finished products available at any given time is always somewhat more than would be required to supply the consumption of society at the existing rate, during the varying periods of time that must elapse before it can be replaced by fresh production; and though the margin thus given may not be large, it is sufficient to invalidate the conclusion that an increase in the supply of labour without an increase in saving cannot possibly enlarge the wages-fund. For the new

(1) Such, Professor Walker says, was the practice in New England till 1854 or 1855, and in the West and South of the United States till much later.—*The Wages Question*, c. viii.

labourers can be employed productively; and the prospect of this increased production will tend to increase immediately the sale of goods already finished, and therefore the whole fund of commodities in consumers' hands, and therefore probably the wages-fund.¹

So far I entirely agree with Professor Walker that wages may be philosophically regarded as paid out of current produce. But this does not help us to determine what share of the product will go to the labourer; and when Professor Walker goes on to say that "the product furnishes at once the motive to employment and the *measure* of wages," I cannot help thinking that he has confounded the notions of "measure" and "limit." He seems, indeed, to hold that on the assumption of perfect competition and perfect mobility of labour, the determination of average wages is quite easy and straightforward. "In a state of active competition, each labourer will sell his labour at the highest price which any employer can afford to give, since the employers are in competition among themselves for labour. Each employer will get his labour at the lowest price at which any labourer can afford to sell it, since the labourers are in competition among themselves for employment."² Phrases like these frequently occur in economic discussion, and they certainly seem to give a delightfully clear and simple account of the matter. I think, however, that the intellectual satisfaction that they afford depends upon an essentially vague notion of the effects of competition. Competition tends to equalise the terms on which several similar exchanges of commodities are made (including under the term "commodity" services of all kinds). Thus it tends to prevent there being two prices in the same market; two rates of interest to capital, risk being equal; two rates of profit or wages in different branches of industry, except so far as effective work in one branch involves qualifications of a rarer kind or requiring more expensive training than effective work in another. So again competition between different commodities limits the price of any commodity, even when monopolised, unless it be absolutely indispensable. But it is not clear what effect competition can have in determining the rate of exchange of any two commodities owned by two parties (external influences being excluded) when each commodity is incapable of being a substitute for the other, while yet it is the urgent interest of both to exchange. Now, when we are inquiring into the determination of "general" wages, we conceive the whole class of (employing)

(1) In the ingenious paradox of Cairnes, noticed on p. 5, this margin of accumulated products has been overlooked. But, apart from this, the state of things contemplated in the paradox is more arbitrarily assumed, and more unlikely to occur, than Cairnes seems to think; for such an increase in the amount of labour and instruments as he supposes involves a corresponding increase in the production of wealth, and, therefore, in the stock from which savings are made; hence, to assume that no fresh savings have been made from it, is to assume what is, at least, highly improbable.

(2) *The Wages Question*, c. x.

capitalists on the one hand, and the whole class of labourers on the other, as two parties to a general bargain; so that it becomes as difficult to settle the terms of the bargain by competition as if there were but one capitalist and one labourer. In short, it seems to me that while Professor Walker's argument gives a *coup de grâce* to the old wages-fund theory, it supplies no substitute for it; it leaves us with no theoretical determination whatever of the average proportions in which produce is divided between labour and capital.

Nor does it seem that any of the English economists who agree in rejecting the "Wages-fund Theory" has been successful in filling the gap thus created in economic doctrine, though more than one of them has made an elaborate attempt to fill it. The most ingenious of such attempts is that presented by Professor Jevons, in his *Theory of Political Economy*, c. vii. Mr. Jevons considers that the industrial bargain ought to be contemplated from the side of labour rather than (as is ordinarily the case) on the side of capital; in fact that, philosophically speaking, it is labour that hires capital, and not capital labour. If we take this point of view, we find that the fundamental function which capital fulfils is, that by enabling the labourer to wait longer for the produce of his labour, it enables him to apply it in a manner ultimately more productive. Of course the degree of this utility must depend on the development of the mechanical and other arts of invention; but supposing these given, supposing that inventive ingenuity has devised instruments and processes calculated to render labour more profitable while delaying its remuneration, it is capital, the saved product of past labour, that enables labour to realise this additional productiveness. Since, however, capital—in countries such as ours—is absolutely indispensable to labour, it may seem that this view does not yet enable us to determine the conditions on which it will be hired. But Mr. Jevons points out, that though *some* capital is thus indispensable, all that is actually employed is not: the difference between the whole amount actually used and a somewhat smaller amount—the "last increment of capital," as Mr. Jevons calls it—is something that labour could do without, though it will be rendered more productive by using it. Hence, in the increment of produce which this last increment of capital enables labour to obtain, we may find a theoretical measure of the normal remuneration of capital, and therefore of the normal remuneration of labour.

On this theory it is to be observed, in the first place, that it does not attempt to settle the distribution of produce as between employers and employed, except so far as the employer's share consists of interest. That is, it does not help us to determine what Mill calls the "wages of superintendence." Now it is just this latter that in our practical discussions usually appears as the most prominent element of the problem: what English workmen grumble at is not the rate of interest, but the undue extra profit which they

suppose the employers to be making. But there is a more fundamental defect in Mr. Jevons's reasoning. He has apparently overlooked the fact that the *entrepreneurs* will require to be remunerated for the trouble and anxiety of employing the last increment of capital: so that the increment of produce which this enables labour to obtain cannot be taken as the *measure* of interest, any more than the additional value produced by the last increment of labour can be taken as the measure of wages. "Superintendence" must take its toll of both; and therefore, until we have settled the proportion that is to go to superintendence, we have not really advanced a step towards solving the abstract problem of distribution.

In short, the very *node* of this problem lies in determining the *entrepreneur's* normal remuneration; a complicated question, the difficulties of which English economists do not seem to have fully recognised. This is strikingly shown in the assumption, which they commonly make as a matter of course, that industrial competition tends to equalise the rate of *profit* (as well as *interest*) on capitals of different amount. There is no *a priori* ground for supposing this; since, on the one hand, the labour of managing capital certainly does not increase in proportion to the amount managed, while, on the other hand, the owner of capital has a qualified monopoly of the opportunity of employing it. Therefore, even if the assumption above mentioned is borne out by experience, this fact ought itself to be taken as a result requiring careful analysis and explanation.

What, then, the reader will ask, so long as this central point is undetermined, can abstract economic theory do for us? What answer can it give to questions as to the amount of the aggregate wages fund and the average rate of wages?

It can furnish us with no doctrine so simple and definite as that which we have been considering. Still, it can give us positive results of two different kinds, as follows:—

I. It can show limits on either side within which it is the common interest of employers and employed that the variations in wages should be confined. For (1) an inferior limit is given by the point at which any further decrease in wages would diminish the labourer's efficiency, so as to decrease the value of his work by an amount greater than the decrease in his wages.¹ I do not say that wages never do fall below this limit, owing to the short-sighted greed of employers; but it is obviously not the employers' real interest that they should fall below it, and therefore the action of free but enlightened competition tends to prevent such a fall. (2) Similarly a superior limit is given by the point at which a fall in interest

(1) It should be observed that this limit may be a sliding one, as it is possible that any given fall in wages may be exactly balanced by the decrease in produce resulting from efficiency.

consequent on any further rise in wages would check accumulation so powerfully that the portion of the prevented saving which would have gone to wages exceeds the total amount of the rise.¹ I have already said that I see no ground for believing that we have practically reached this point in England. But it hardly belongs to abstract economic theory to investigate the point at which the limit will be attained, as this will obviously depend upon conditions varying from country to country, and in the same country at different times. It is conceivable that in a society where there prevailed generally a keen susceptibility to the pleasures of exertion, and a preference for simplicity in the satisfaction of physical needs and appetites, the limit might not be reached until the "reward of abstinence" had been reduced to zero; so that the price paid for borrowed capital would represent nothing but compensation for risk. It is conceivable that at the same time, owing to the general spread of education, the average rate of that part of each employer's profits which represents his wages of management might be reduced so low that it would only exceed the wages of ordinary labour by an amount just sufficient to compensate for the extra anxiety of his work and the extra expensiveness of his training. In this way our individualistic society might find itself peacefully conveyed to the goal at which socialism aims without any disturbance in the existing organization of industry. I do not, however, wish to imply that we are at present anywhere near this consummation.

II. Within the limits just stated economic theory shows us forces of an *equilibratory* or compensatory nature, which tend to reduce the effect of any upward or downward movement in wages. It is true that a fall in wages, accompanied as it will be, *ceteris paribus*, until the lower limit is reached, by a rise in profits, will give a certain stimulus to accumulation, and so tend ultimately to raise wages again. It is similarly true that a rise in wages tends to give a certain check to accumulation, probably increasing in strength as the rise approaches the superior limit above mentioned. What is *not* true, as I have tried to show, is that we have any calculus for measuring *a priori* the amount of these forces; or any grounds for affirming that they will ultimately bring back wages, after any movement, to the point from which the movement began. There is no question here of a discrepancy between "Deduction" and "Induction," between abstract theory and actual fact. It merely requires a careful consideration of the assumptions on which ordinary economic reasoning proceeds, to convince us that the definiteness of its conclusions on this point has been gravely overrated.

HENRY SIDGWICK.

(1) Strictly speaking, if the check operates slowly, we ought to allow for the difference to any actual labourers between the value of *present* and that of *future* wages.

MACEDONIA.

INTIMATELY connected with the settlement of the Greek frontier is the question of reform in the administration and government of Macedonia. No one who has, on the spot, looked into the matter, believes that the one measure can be accomplished without the other. Even though an extension of frontier is accorded to Greece by protocols and state documents, such are the arrangements which have been made by or with the cognizance of the Government of the Porte, the Hellenes will have to fight for possession of what may be diplomatically granted to them, just as the Austrians had to conquer Bosnia and Herzegovina after these provinces had been nominally conceded by the Berlin Treaty. The only chance of averting a second fulfilment through blood of an important clause of the Berlin Treaty is, first, that Macedonia should be thoroughly purged of its existing administration, and second, that it should be committed for a longer or shorter period to the Government of a Commission such as that which so happily developed order out of chaos in Eastern Roumelia. The twenty-third article of the Treaty of Berlin provides *inter alia* that in Macedonia, as in other provinces not specially mentioned in that international document, specific reforms shall be made in the laws adapted to local requirements, and that a special commission, "in which the native element shall be largely represented," shall be deputed to settle the details of the new laws, and to carry out the reforms in the province. More than thirteen months have elapsed since the signature of that treaty, yet the deputation by the Porte of the Commission remains a waste-paper promise, and the administration of the province is worse in every respect than at any period since the Crimean war. The Seraskeriat, however, continues to gull Europe with the assurance that reforms based on the organic statute for Eastern Roumelia are under consideration. Now, as was sagely remarked to me by one long resident in Macedonia, even supposing reforms in the letter of the administration were adopted, after the fullest consideration which the Porte is able to give them, these reforms would remain the veriest farce in the world unless the whole governing body were at the same time effectually reformed. And experience proves, nowhere more conclusively than in Macedonia, that it is as impossible to reform Turkish rule by Turkish officials as it is for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. Of what use are the most perfect laws in the universe if, in the case of crime, they are habitually disregarded, or if, in civil causes, a judgment either way can be bought, and then after a short interval,

for a renewed bribe, that judgment can be reversed? Even Consul Blunt, than whom there is no greater admirer of the status quo in the Turkish Empire, admits that there are gross evils in the administration of the province, and real grievances against the conduct of the Turkish troops.

An Italian merchant in Salonica, a gentleman thoroughly acquainted with the condition of the country, told me that the daily prayer of every honest man in the province was for a speedy occupation by the Austrians, the English, the Russians—anybody but the Turks, under whose sway life was insecure, commerce had been destroyed, and the whole resources of the country blasted. Indeed, at the present moment all eyes are turned towards Austria as the quarter from which release is to come. This indubitable feeling may either be the cause or the effect of the sinister rumours which are abroad, that Austria has designs upon Macedonia, with its splendid outlet to the *Ægean* at Salonica. And it may not be out of the way here to say that the only means of postal communication throughout Macedonia are afforded by the Austrian post office, whose uniformed agents are scattered over the large towns, and whose couriers pass regularly through the province into the Novi-Bazaar district of Bosnia. That the Turks are, to say the least of it, suspicious of Austria in this direction, is shown by the prolonged negotiations in regard to the Novi-Bazaar Convention, and by the fact that at the present moment there is a force of not fewer than 15,000 men with 40 guns watching the Novi-Bazaar frontier at the openings of the passes above Mitrovitza which lead into the plain of Kossovo. These troops are under the command of Osman Nuri Pasha, Tyer Pasha, and Achmet Pasha, the latter of whom, as an artillery officer, took a prominent part in the defence of Plevna.

Apart from what Consul Blunt has described as the normal causes, there are several extraordinary reasons why Macedonia should be just at present in an excited and disturbed state. Since the late war a large number of regular troops have either of their own sweet will left the colours and taken to a marauding life, or have been disbanded under orders from the Seraskeriat. Very many of the latter, in place of returning home, have practically become brigands, and prey with equal readiness upon industrious villagers and unwary or ill-defended travellers. Again, the regular troops which garrison the province—and these number little short of 50,000, and are scattered in nearly every town and village—have for a long time remained unpaid. Accordingly, they quarter themselves upon the inhabitants, and demand to be fed with the very best that can be procured. Immediately after the execution of the Treaty of Berlin, and in accordance with engagements entered into with the Great Powers, the Sublime Porte ordered the deportation of all the Circassians out of Macedonia.

With considerable fuss and parade the Circassians, who in all their misdeeds had simply been acting up to orders openly expressed or secretly communicated, though these orders were after their own hearts and carried out with all their instinctive brutal savagery, were bundled out of the province. There would seem, however, to have arisen a new need for the services of the Circassians, because for months past they have, with the connivance of the Government, been returning to Macedonia in bands of five, ten, twenty, up to as many as three hundred. The matter became so notorious that representations were made to the Porte by certain members of the diplomatic body in Turkey. The only apparent result of these remonstrances has been the publication of an order to British shipmasters, prohibiting them from conveying emigrants without official authority. But Italian, French, Turkish, and other steamers continue to carry numerous bands, and it is understood that the Turkish authorities, instead of permitting them to form communities where they might be controlled, or at least watched, are scattering them in small companies of eight and ten all over the rural districts, where they become a terror to the industrious and already sorely oppressed Christians. At the Berlin Congress the Porte engaged not to employ irregular troops, such as Bashi-Bazouks or Circassians, in guarding the frontiers. The difficulty of keeping this promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope is very simply overcome, and that with an effrontery very characteristic of all such proceedings in South-Eastern Europe. The so-called frontier-guards are now mellifuously designated Kilsildhars and Hoodooks, which, however, are but euphemisms for Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians. The new guards are the old bands, and that they are playing the old game of harrying the Christians is but too evident from the daily reports of murders and outrages, which occur all along the line of frontier from Eastern Roumelia to Servia, including the Principality of Bulgaria on the one hand, and from Bosnia to Greece on the other.

My attention was first directed to the deplorable condition of the population of Macedonia by coming in contact with refugees who had fled from that province into the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. I spoke with them in Philippopolis, Eski-Zara, Tartar Bazardjyk, Sofia, Samakoff, and other towns on the borders of Bulgaria proper and Macedonia. They complained bitterly of the indignities to which they had been compelled to submit for many long years, but never to so great an extent as since the late Russo-Turkish war, and of the grinding oppression exercised upon them alike by Turkish officials, Turkish soldiers, and Mahometan neighbours. Since November last no fewer than twenty thousand Bulgarians have fled across the Macedonian frontier, to escape the massacres and robberies which were but too frequently indulged in

by fanatical Moslems. This estimate made by Mr. W. Gifford Palgrave, British Consul at Sofia, was confirmed to me by the Rev. Mr. Clarke, an American Missionary stationed at Samakoff, who visited Dubnitza, Djuma, Kostendil, and other centres where the refugees congregated, and who laboured with self-denying devotion to alleviate in some measure the distress amongst the poor homeless wanderers. Typhus and typhoid fevers broke out amongst the wretched refugees—diseases induced by exposure, hardship, overcrowding in the villages where they had sought asylum, and their numbers in June had been thinned to little more than half what they were three months before. Instances were given me of whole families swept away by the pestilence, and I saw a woman who was the last surviving member of a family of twelve, nine of whom had been cut off in six days. As I walked in and out amongst the sufferers and saw their miserable condition, I was appalled at the fact that ten thousand such as these had succumbed in their flight from the tender mercies of the Turkish soldiery.

It is true that in the district of Melnik and in the Raslog valley there was an incipient rebellion towards the end of October and beginning of November last. Captain C. W. Murray was dispatched by the British ambassador at Constantinople to the scene of the revolt—not, as one would have anticipated, that the presence of an English officer might act as a check on outrage coming from either side, but evidently that he might get up a case against the Russian military authorities as assisting the rising. This emissary, who might therefore be expected to make the most that he possibly could against the Bulgarian rebels, in his official report says that on October 14th five hundred Bulgarians crossed the frontier from the Bulgarian Principality into Macedonia at Deve Bagh, and tried to surround certain Turkish guard houses. One Turk was killed, and two Bulgarians. On 21st October five hundred Serbs and Bulgarians crossed the frontier at Kumanova, but were driven back with the loss of one Turk. Captain Murray also heard of a fight between Krupnik and Krishna on 25th October, in which the Bulgarians (whom he curiously enough describes as *Bashi-Bazouks*) captured one officer and one hundred and thirty men. This statement of the capture of the Turks by the Bulgarians was confirmed by Mr. Consul Blunt, although the first rumour, duly telegraphed to Constantinople, was that four companies of Turks had been cut to pieces. The prisoners were kindly treated, and the officer permitted to retain his sword. Some time in November the Mutessarif of Seres wrote to Salonica that his district had been invaded by Bulgarians from Roumelia on 16th and 18th October, and that the invaders had burned seven Turkish villages, and killed fifty-seven men, twelve women, and fifteen children, but no subsequent report ever confirmed this very

unlikely statement. On 17th November Vice-Consul Calvert telegraphed to Constantinople that he had heard that the invaders of Macedonia had been defeated by the Turks between Smolog and Panemic, with a loss of seven hundred men killed and sixty prisoners. If there was any truth in this report, one would like to know what has since been done with these prisoners, for though I subsequently made inquiries regarding them, I could learn no news of their whereabouts. Finally, Vice-Consul Calvert telegraphed to Sir A. H. Layard that he had heard of an engagement in the Raslog valley between the insurgents of that district and the Turks, in which the latter had lost three hundred men and three guns, and the invaders two hundred and three men. This is all that British officials, either on the spot or instructed by Turkish commanders, have reported regarding the Macedonian rebellion or invasion, as it has been variously called. Granting all these reports to be absolutely true, they give as killed three hundred and eighty-nine Turks—two in the Melnik district, three hundred and three in the Raslog valley, and eighty in the Seres district; while there were nine hundred and five Bulgarians killed—two in the Melnik district, and nine hundred and three in the Raslog valley.

But, as I have said, the districts which were the scene of the insurrection were visited by Mr. W. Gifford Palgrave, British Consul at Sofia, and by Mr. Clarke, the missionary. I believe that Mr. Palgrave's report, which has not yet been published, sets forth that in suppressing the insurrection in the Melnik district, in which only two Turks were killed, the Turkish troops pillaged and burned, either wholly or partially, no fewer than sixty-four Bulgarian villages, and massacred 1,463 Bulgarian men, women, and children.

The rising in the Melnik district and up towards Dzuma was a still-born affair, and no more need be said regarding it. But the account given me by the refugees of the Raslog invasion is interesting, not only in itself, but as contrasted with that which appears in the official reports. Shortly put, it is as follows:—After the flight of the Moslem population from the western borders of the principality of Bulgaria into Macedonia, the Christians of the latter province suffered in an unusual degree. Colonel Synge, an English officer employed in the Turkish gendarmerie, estimates the number of Turkish refugees in Macedonia at 170,000, and I have no doubt that this is quite near the mark, because in and around Cuprelli, Uscub, and Pristina alone there are nearly 70,000. These refugees entered the houses of the Christians, seized food and anything else they took a fancy to. This they could do with impunity, as to a man they were armed, while it was illegal for a Christian not only to carry but to be possessed of arms. Then soldiers were quartered upon the Christians, though from over-exactions and over-taxation these were

so poor as to have barely more than the means of sustaining life. Different Christians told me that the taxation in the last two years had risen to from 65 to 80 per cent. of their whole produce. Many Bulgarians, unable to pay all the demands made upon them by the tax-gatherers, the soldiery, and the petty officials of the pashas, practically became the slaves of the Turks. Roused to exasperation, a number of the more spirited Bulgarians fled across the frontier into Bulgaria, and there organized an insurrectionary band, which determined to invade the Raslog district in the wild hope of obtaining some relief, though the ulterior object undoubtedly was the junction of their country with free Bulgaria. These volunteers, or as they were designated by the natives, the Committee, advanced on Bansko on Sunday, 20th November, and after a fight with a small force of Turkish soldiers, in which two were killed, fifty prisoners were taken and lodged in the Konak. On the Monday the Bulgarians marched on and took possession of Banja. Next day about a thousand regular troops were despatched against the insurgents, and the two forces came into collision in the direction of Negrokop. The fight lasted nearly the whole day, but an hour before sundown the Bulgarians, though they had the best of the struggle, retired towards Bansko. This is evidently the engagement referred to by Vice-Consul Calvert, in which he heard that the Turks had lost 300 men and the Bulgarians 203 men. According to the refugees there was no further fighting, but the Turkish troops, under orders from Salih Pasha, advanced and ravaged the whole country with fire and sword. Then began the flight of the fear-stricken inhabitants, who had time to take with them nothing save the clothes they wore. In Bansko 400 men, women, and children, unable to escape, were massacred. On the 23rd the Turkish troops amused themselves by first pillaging Banja, then setting fire to the houses, and afterwards in murdering all Christians on whom they could lay hands. It is alleged that 250 out of 350 houses in the town were razed to the ground, and that 150 of both sexes and all ages were massacred. A man who escaped, after hiding in the cupboard of a deserted and half-burned house, told me that in Bansko he had seen in a court-yard a heap of about fifty dead men and women, and that dead bodies were scattered all about the streets in small groups. Another Bulgarian said that a red stream of blood flowed down the principal street, and that the dry tidemark of this ensanguined stream was visible for many days afterwards. The flight of the refugees across the mountains was something terrible. The weather was bitterly cold, the poor people were indifferently clothed, and to add to the horror of their position, they were attacked in the passes by Bashi-Bazouks. Women in desperation threw away their children. Many died in the mountains from starvation, and the

horror of the time is revealed in the expression of one of the sufferers, "God forbid that we should tell you all we endured." Some villagers from Draglista, who had had nothing to do with the rising, fled to the Turkish troops for protection from the Bashi-Bazouks, but were cruelly killed. One and all of the refugees with whom I conversed expressed their determination never to return to Macedonia so long as it was governed by Turks, or while Turks of any class had power there. "We are," said to me a man named Nicholeff, "at rest here. God knows we are very poor, and as yet have no homes. The shelter we possess now we owe to the kindness of the good people here, but we know our lives are secure. In our old homes we did not know any day that we would be alive at night. So long as we gave the Turkish refugees food, they were quiet and did nothing, but when food became scarce with ourselves, they turned outrageous, and killed Christians on the slightest provocation. The soldiers were very brutal and took possession of our houses and all that was in them—often murdering women and children in mere wanton sport." These are simple unvarnished statements taken from the mouths of the sufferers themselves: this is the telegram despatched by Consul Blunt to the Marquis of Salisbury:—

"The Commander-in-chief has communicated to me a telegram he received from Sali Pasha at Raslog, which contradicts the report of alleged Turkish massacres and cruelties against the Christians and Mahomedans in province of Salonica; and declares that these reports are false, and are circulated by Bulgarian Insurrectionary Committees purposely to excite alarm, and to injure the Turkish Government."

Desirous of witnessing for myself the real state of affairs in Macedonia, I determined to cross the Rhodopes from Samakoff or Djuma into that province. I was, however, dissuaded from making the attempt in that direction, on learning that the mountains were occupied by numerous bands of Bashi-Bazouks, who waylaid, robbed, and murdered all travellers. Many Bulgarians who had attempted to cross the passes, in order to revisit their old homes, and try to recover some of their household gear, had been killed by the brigands or compelled to beat a hasty retreat. Accordingly, I proceeded to Constantinople, and took steamer to Salonica, intending from that point to pass into the interior. The steamer in which I sailed to the Macedonian port (the *Assyrian*), conveyed about five hundred Circassians, Albanians, and Bashi-Bazouks. All of them were armed with pistols, yataghans and rifles, or muskets; but to provide against murder on the high seas, the officers of the ship disarmed each man as he came on board, looked up the arms in the saloon, and only restored them to their owners as they left the vessel.

Salonica stands at the head of the gulf of the same name. It is built on the western slope of a hill which rises gently from the sea. This hill forms the north-western spur of the Kortac range of mountains, which runs through and gives character to the peninsula of Chalcis. Surrounded by high old walls, with frequent circular and square towers, Salonica from the sea presents the appearance of a formidable fortress, though it now depends for its defence, not upon its mouldering walls and crumbling citadel, but upon a series of strong earthworks, which crown the crest of the hill and command not only the town but the whole bay. The city is the seat of the Governor-General of the province, and contains a large garrison of troops of all arms. Little can be said in favour of the modern town. The streets, as a rule, are narrow, badly paved, and everywhere are signs of neglect and decay. Near the shore is the business part of the city, and here there are many handsome warehouses, stores, and the dwellings of the rich Greek, Jew, and Italian merchants.

Salonica contains a population of rather over 100,000, of which about 70,000 are Jews, the descendants of the Hebrews who sought refuge in Turkey on their expulsion by Torquemada from Spain. There are, according to Synvet, 15,000 Greeks in the city, though local authorities aver that, like all Synvet's estimates, this is an exaggeration. The remaining population consists of Turks, Italians, and a few Bulgarians. The principal traffic of the port is in the grain grown on the fertile lands of Macedonia, in the Kossova valley, and the carse lands of Albania. Much of this grain is conveyed to Salonica by the line of railway which runs up as far as Mitrovitz, near the Bosnian and Servian frontier, though large quantities are floated in long narrow barges down the Vardar river (the Axix of Homer), which rises in the Tetto mountain range, on the borders of Albania. There is also a considerable trade in opium, the produce of long stretches of glowing poppy fields which are encountered in the valley of the Vardar, and in chrome—the only mineral which the short-sighted jealousy of the Turks permits to be worked from the mountains of Macedonia and Thessaly, though exploration has revealed the presence of rich fields of copper, silver, iron, and coal. The chief local industries in Salonica are flour-grinding, the manufacture of copper domestic utensils, and silver filigree work, in which Greek and Bulgarian artisans display much skill and ingenuity. There is a considerable amount of educational activity in the city, but it is confined to the non-Mahometan population. The Jews have large and well-equipped schools for both boys and girls; a Scotch missionary establishment affords a high-class education, comprising English, French, Spanish, Hebrew, arithmetic, music, sewing, &c., to Jewish girls who care to take advantage of it. The Roman

Catholics have founded a large school, presided over by Sisters of the order of St. Vincent de Paul, for girls of Greek, Jew, and Bulgarian nationality. The Greeks have a gymnasium with a hundred scholars, a high school with a hundred and fifty scholars, and primary schools with about five hundred pupils. When Midhat Pasha was here as Governor, he expended some of his reforming zeal and a very large amount of money in establishing a trades school, in which the Turkish youth of the city were to be taught weaving, shoemaking, carpentering, &c. ; but the institution was a failure almost from the first, and now the large building is, I believe, used as a barrack. Attached to one or two of the mosques are small schools where young Turks are taught by Hodjas to repeat by rote phrases from the Koran.

One might expect that in a city like Salonica, the seat of the consular representatives of all the Great Powers, the residence of a large foreign population, with daily communication with Europe, some semblance, at least, of honest government would be maintained. But even here one does not require to seek far or too closely for evidence of Turkish misrule, corruption, and oppression of the worst description. I had not been many hours in the city before I had placed at my disposal information sufficient to fill a volume. So startling were the disclosures made to me that, could I not vouch for the *bona fides* of my informants (who had no end but the truth to serve) and their personal acquaintance with the facts, I might hesitate to reproduce, as I do now, some of the more marked revelations.

A short time ago there was a well-known civil case pending in the courts at Salonica between two litigious Jews, named respectively Tiano and Francis. As I have said, there are in the city over 70,000 Jews, and they have sufficient experience and acuteness to put no trust in Turkish jurisprudence. As a rule, therefore, they settle disputes amongst themselves by private arbitration. However, there occurs occasionally an instance where spite or private revenge or personal hatred comes into play, and an appeal is made to the Turkish courts. Tiano indulged in some such sentiment towards Francis, and therefore he brought his suit against his compatriot before the ordinary civil court. The Governor-General is *ex-officio* president of this court, and, of course, he has great influence. The present Governor-General is Halim Rifaat Pasha, and he has been in office for about fourteen months. Tiano was determined to win his case, and, knowing the custom of the country, he speedily opened negotiations through a third party, or professional intermediary, with the Pasha and other two members of the court. In the end a favourable judgment was pronounced for Tiano, who, however, in consideration thereof, paid the handsome sum of £T.1,000, or £920 sterling, of which sum £T.600 went to the Pasha, £T.250 to a second member of the court, and £T.150 to a third. The case

and the bribe are as notorious in Salonica at the present moment as the afternoon sea breeze. Francis admits that for the present he has been outwitted and out-bribed by his opponent, but consoles himself with the reflection that when the new Pasha comes he will take good care, by a judicious and, if necessary, lavish expenditure, to have the case re-opened, re-heard, and, of course, reversed. Reference has been made to professional intermediaries between litigants or criminals and the members of the courts of so-called justice. A free translation of the local name for this profitable, if rascally, profession, is "finishers." They are supposed to "finish" all cases to the mutual satisfaction of the judges, themselves, and their employers. I have seen a well-known finisher—a Jew by birth and persuasion—who, in the course of six or seven years, has by the exercise of his craft realised a handsome fortune. This Jew was originally only the servant of another finisher, but having by diligent study, combined with much subtle skill, acquired a knowledge of the sublime art of finishing, he set up in business for himself. He is now not only in possession of much real property, in the shape of heritable subjects in Salonica, but has a fine town as well as a magnificent country house.

In the course of conversation with two gentlemen thoroughly acquainted with the state of affairs in the country, reference was made to this system of judicial corruption. One of the gentlemen remarked, as a matter of course, that Rifaat Pasha was a "great eater." Eater, it may be explained, is the local term for one who accepts bribes. "Eater!" exclaimed the other, "he is both mouth and throat"—another proverb for an insatiable Governor. An ingenious method of extortion has been frequently practised by him. It is the manipulation of what are known as the "tariffs." The Governor-General suddenly discovers that one or other of the trade guilds is oppressing the poor by the outrageous prices demanded for its special produce. Accordingly he arbitrarily fixes the figure at which sales must be made to the public. Take the case of the bakers or the fishmongers, for both have lately been operated upon. The tariff price of bread or of fish is fixed by the Pasha at a rate which is positively ruinous to the dealers, and soldiers are frequently stationed at their shop doors to see that they do sell at the tariff rate. For a time the public gain in a slight degree, but the guild meets, duly recognises the fact that such a ruinous state of things cannot last if they are to live, and finally determines to make up a "purse" for the Pasha by voluntary assessment. Negotiations are opened with an intermediary, and the sum desired for the readjustment of the tariff is mentioned. "A big loaf" or a colossal fish are accordingly presented to the Pasha, and in a day or two the tariff price is abolished and free trade resumed.

This corruption in the civil administration of Macedonia might be

borne, with the reflection that it has always been so in Turkey since the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, were but life, honour, and property tolerably safe. Unhappily this is not so. In Salonica the life of a foreigner is only fairly safe if he keeps beyond the Turkish quarter. While I was there, an incident occurred which shows in some measure the method of judicial procedure. Two Turks, tolerably well known as brigands, quarrelled in a coffee-house kept by a Greek, and the affair ended in one stabbing the other to the heart. The murderer might have been captured red-handed—indeed he did not exert himself very much to escape. He, however, was permitted to go scot-free, and the keeper of the coffee-house was marched off to prison, charged with allowing the murder to take place in his shop, which was summarily shut up. It is very seldom that Turks murder Turks; they find plenty of opportunity for dipping their yataghans in the blood of Christians, with this advantage on their side, that they are never called to account for their bloody work. Some time ago, in the village of Chortiat, at the foot of the hill of the same name, and three hours distant from Salonica, a Turkish hodja murdered a Christian under circumstances of peculiar publicity. The two had had some altercation regarding the amount of damage alleged to have been committed by the Christian's pony in the Moslem's field. The sum demanded as compensation by the Turk was outrageous, and the Christian demurred—offering, however, to split the difference. A number of spectators were attracted by the bickering, whereupon the hodja drew his knife and stabbed the Christian to the heart. The murderer tried to escape, but was taken by the villagers and handed over to the authorities. The hodja could not deny that the bloody knife was his; but, although a score of villagers, all Christians, testified as to the manner of the murder, the authorities received the hodja's tale, which was as follows: That the Christian in the quarrel had suddenly drawn the knife from his (the hodja's) girdle, and in his blind, ungovernable fury, missed killing him (the hodja), and stabbed himself! Of course the Turk was released at once. The American missionaries at Monastir report that within the past six months no fewer than 250 Christians have been murdered in that district, and that not a single arrest has been made. A consul in Salonica told me that in that district there had been for a long time as many as ten murders every day, but not a soul had been brought to trial for any one of them. A thirty years' resident in Macedonia informed me that he had never known of a Turk punished for the murder of a Christian, no matter how notorious or flagrant the deed may have been.

It is absolutely unsafe to go a few miles beyond the walls of Salonica. One may travel along the railway line as far as Mitrovitza, but it would be foolhardy to wander far from any railway

station. An escort, even if that is supplied by the authorities, who are extremely jealous of the presence of strangers in the interior, is of little use. The chances are, that if not attacked by brigands—in which case the zaptiehs run away—the escort will themselves fall upon those they were sent to protect, and rob if not also murder them. The other day a Greek merchant, journeying between Cuprelli and a neighbouring town with an escort of ten zaptiehs, was set upon by brigands. His gallant guard, who were in all probability in league with the robbers, disappeared, and he was carried off to the mountains, only to be ransomed on payment of £11,000. A few weeks ago three Jews were seized by brigands quite near the town, and held for ransom. One of the Jews died from exposure in the mountains, and the other two were only redeemed by a very large purse, which the Jewish community of Salonica subscribed. The authorities connive at these brigands' proceedings, no doubt receiving a share of the plunder. When, at the instigation of one or other of the foreign consuls, a show of activity has to be made, and a brigand is brought in prisoner—it is very curious, by the way, that when this is the case the police know at once when and where to lay hands on the brigands—the capture only enables the pasha or his immediate confidants to gain another purse, for the brigands are seldom in prison more than a few days. They compound for their liberty, and a large donation is sent from their confreres in the mountains to those who hold the seals and gates of the prison-house.

A favourite device of the governors is to "revise the prison list." When funds are low and the ordinary channels are dried up, the pasha sends for a list of the men in prison. The circumstances of each prisoner, and of their families and friends, are carefully inquired into by the minions of the palace, and a commutation is fixed, which the prisoners or their friends have an opportunity of paying. This system leads to further abuses. Many perfectly innocent people are denounced as criminals, or are sent to prison on some frivolous charge, in order that they may be squeezed before being set at liberty. This, again, leads to private denunciation, to gratify revenge. It is notorious that men are, or were a short time ago, in prison in Salonica who had been incarcerated for ten years, and yet during all that time they knew not who had placed them there, nor the nature of the crime with which they were charged. An amusing illustration of the "commutation" system may be given; it took place, not during the reign of the present governor-general, but in that of his predecessor, Akif Pasha, and was officially brought to light simply because Rifaat Pasha desired to discredit as much as possible Akif's governorship. Akif, for a long time before his removal, made it a regular business to catch brigands, not that he

might punish them, but in order to sell them their liberty. The broker, or intermediary, was the doctor of the garrison and of the municipality. A notorious brigand, named, I believe, Giorgi, was captured and lodged in prison, where he was retained, as his band were unable to make up the purse demanded for his liberty. At last, however, the band collected, of course from the pockets of hapless victims in the country, a sum of £T.500. Rumours were in the air as to the probability of his removal, and Akif Pasha closed with the offer of this sum. The question then arose how Giorgi's release was to be effected, for of course such things are seldom done, even by the most reckless pasha, with direct simplicity and in broad daylight. The £T.500 was sent to a Jew in Salonica, the servant of the doctor referred to, with the intimation that the sum was at the pasha's option. The doctor hit upon the happy expedient of "doctoring" the brigand. Accordingly one day an emetic was administered to the prisoner by the Jewish servant. The brigand was speedily seized with violent retching, the doctor was called in, and he pronounced the patient very ill, indeed so ill that there was no hope of his recovery. And in the course of an hour or so, Giorgi was pronounced dead. He was placed in a shell and conveyed to the mortuary. The Turks make haste to bury the dead: it is part of their religion. They believe that the soul of the departed must spend in hell the interval between death and burial. It was, therefore, not strange that the doctor ordered the interment of the brigand at sundown. Bearers in the pay of the doctor were instructed to carry the deceased to a well-known cemetery outside the gates of the town. This they did, the bier being covered with a loose lid, surmounted with the fez. As soon as the burial party had cleared the gates, they looked round to see that the coast was clear, and then laid the bier upon the ground. A moment after the shell-lid burst open, the brigand jumped up and out, and being joined by several members of his band duly instructed of the trick, all of them took to their heels and reached the mountains in safety. The death and burial of Giorgi were, of course, registered in the books of the prison, and the doctor and the pasha shared the £T.500. The sequel to this veracious narrative is equally instructive. When Akif Pasha was recalled, Ali Bey, the commander of the police in Salonica, told the whole story to Rifaat Pasha, adding that he knew the whereabouts of the brigand, who could be readily caught. Such an opportunity of exhibiting his own zeal and the malfeasance of his predecessor was not to be lost, and Ali Bey received instructions to bring in the brigand as soon as possible. This he did within two days. Giorgi, the brigand, was identified by numerous people connected with the prison, while, at the same time, the books declared him dead and buried! Ali Bey was rewarded with a horse and

trappings worth £T.60, and Giorgi anew consigned to his cell, only to purchase his freedom a few weeks afterwards. That the officials are in league with the brigands is proved by an incident which occurred at Verria about three months ago. A Greek merchant named Nicolieff, in the course of a tour through the district, went to the Konak at Verria for the purpose of having an interview with the Kaimakhan. While conversing with this official, brigands entered the Konak. In presence of the guard of zaptiehs and soldiers, who offered no resistance, and without a word of remonstrance from the Kaimakhan, Nicolieff was carried off to the mountains. A ransom of £T.1,000 was demanded, but eventually Nicolieff was released on the payment by his friends of £T.700.

Sometime in the month of June, 1878, the partner and commercial correspondent of the first dragoman of the British Consulate at Salonica, who was established at Verria (called Karraferria by the Turks), and whose name was Baboura, was accused by two members of the Council of Verria of being in league with a band of brigands, and of having supplied them with food. The object sought by the accusers, whose names were Hussain Effendi and Ali Bey, was either the gratification of private revenge, or the extortion of money. This has become quite a common practice in Macedonia, favoured by the general discredit with which Christian evidence is received. Notwithstanding the promulgation of Hattis, which are really never meant to be acted upon, the evidence of a whole Christian community is still outweighed by that of a single Moslem, and one may therefore imagine the temptation offered to an unscrupulous Turk to falsely accuse a Bulgarian or Greek neighbour whom he suspects, not so much of being in relation with brigands, as in possession of a few gold pieces. Well, Baboura was at once, on the complaint of the councillors named, lodged in prison, and his case referred to the Tribunal of Civil Causes, or Temisee-Hukkouk at Salonica. It was not till Baboura had suffered three months' incarceration, that the charge was investigated. Baboura's case was watched by his partner, the first dragoman of the British Consulate, whose presence in the court no doubt secured an unusually honest inquiry and fair hearing. In the course of the trial several of the witnesses brought forward by Hussain Effendi and Ali Bey stated that they had been induced by promises of reward, and by threats, to give, in the first instance, false evidence against Baboura. Perjury is so notoriously common in these courts that no notice was taken of it in this case, but Baboura was pronounced entirely innocent of the charge brought against him, and set at liberty. The case might have ended here but for the subsequent procedure of the aggrieved and innocent man. Baboura, unfortunately, did what in England would be thought a common-sense, though in Turkey it was a very foolish thing. He

presented a petition to the Governor-General praying that his calumniators should be punished, and that reparation should be made to him for loss of time during his three months' illegal imprisonment, and the ruin of his affairs following thereon. In all probability Baboura presumed upon the influence and protection of his partner, the dragoman. But he leant upon a broken reed and dearly paid for his natural, though ill-judged presumption and confidence. Following up the petition, the Governor-General ordered a revision of the case, and issued a mandate that Hussain Effendi and Ali Bey should personally appear before the Tribunal Temisec-Hukkouk to answer for their conduct. For three months, however, these influential beys set at defiance the order of the Governor-General, and never set foot in Salonica. It so happened that at this time martial law was proclaimed in Macedonia, and the clever gentlemen hit upon an ingenious method of securing their revenge, and at the same time of evading the Governor-General's order. Accompanied by a third member of the Council of Verria, named Faik Bey, they journeyed to Salonica; but instead of presenting themselves at the Tribunal of Civil Causes, as originally ordered, the triumvirate coolly marched to Salih Pasha, the commander of the troops in the Sandjak, and President of the Martial Law Court of Inquiry, and demanded that Baboura's case should be taken up by him. It is a fact, and a curious commentary on recent political action, that no nationality is so hated by the Turks as the English. Here was an opportunity which was not to be lost for Salih Pasha turning the tables on the representatives of British authority, against whom he likewise had a private grudge. All the blackguards and cut-throats of the Empire appear to have been sent into Macedonia in high command, and therefore it is not astonishing to learn that Salih Pasha had been removed from Crete in consequence of the representations of Mr. Consul Sandwith regarding his cruelty and malpractices. Salih Pasha at once fell in with the views of the precious trio from Verria, agreed to support them in their machinations, and ordered Baboura's case to be anew tried before the Martial-law Court, composed entirely of fanatical Moslems, under his own thumb. Of course the result may be imagined. There was no chance of these three proud and unprincipled beys being compelled to return to their village crestfallen at the victory of a Christian dog, or to fear the sneering comments of their subordinates at their non-success. Salih Pasha's self-constituted tribunal, without hearing any evidence, or having proof of any kind of Baboura's connexion with brigands submitted to it, condemned the unfortunate man to five years' penal servitude. This was, however, not enough to satisfy the fanatical hatred of the court. Baboura was ordered to be paraded through the streets of Salonica, loaded with chains, and escorted by soldiers

with fixed bayonets. It was likewise significantly hinted that all *giaours* were to take warning from this sentence and indignity, that whoever dared to demand justice against a Mussulman, would be, like Baboura, cited before the military authorities and condemned to the galleys. It is quite possible that the Governor-General had been "eating" with Hussain Effendi, Ali Bey, and Faik Bey, and on that account quietly submitted to have his authority set at defiance, the case transferred in the most illegal manner from the civil to another court, where no legal procedure was available and no witnesses produced or heard. About a month after his incarceration, on February 25th of this year, Baboura, weighed down by the commercial losses he had sustained, and by the unhealthy effects of a noisome prison, fell ill and died. The effect of Baboura's case was to impress upon the whole population the evident fact that the First Dragoman of the British Consulate had neither the power nor the influence to prevent a glaring act of injustice being perpetrated against his partner. Very shortly afterwards a number of men, alleged to be brigands, but suspiciously like soldiers, emboldened by his helplessness, entered the dragoman's farm near Catterina, robbed the house, killed one of the Bulgarian tenants, cut off the head of his aged mother, and were only prevented killing the dragoman's son, who happened by accident to be at the farm, by the gallant defence of several peasants who came to the rescue, and one of whom was severely wounded in the struggle. Although this outrage was committed upon the property of a British official, and although two of the servants of that official were murdered, as usual no attempt has been made by the Governor-General to discover or punish the alleged brigands.

Salih Pasha's military court condemned, some five months ago, a Greek priest, named Pappas Nicola, to several years' imprisonment for having given bread to the brigands. Only six or seven weeks ago, the priest's son, after great efforts, was enabled to make up a purse for the Governor-General, who thereupon set the father at liberty. The Abbot of a monastery near Verria was denounced in January last and sent to Salonica on a like charge of being connected with brigands, and supplying them with food. An Englishman, named Colonel Synge, who has an estate near Verria, sent a letter to Salonica certifying that the charge against the Abbot could not possibly be true, as the poor man had just come from Constantinople. After a slight "squeeze," the Abbot regained his liberty; but he has not since dared to return to his monastery.

Real brigands do not see why the legal authorities should have all the plunder, and accordingly they make it a practice to kidnap men, supposed to be rich, in order to extort money from them. A little before the Greek Easter of this year, a merchant of Salonica,

named Nasho, paid a visit to his farm near Verria, during the lambing season. He was seized by brigands, carried off into the mountains, and told that a ransom of £ T. 2,000 must be paid for his release. Moreover he was informed that he would have to pay the expenses of the members of the band, who coolly undertook to go to Salonica and conduct the negotiations for raising the money. The necessary sum could only be got by the sale, at a great sacrifice, of the largest part of the farm to two Jews named Modiano. On Easter-day, while these negotiations were in progress, the brigands, in their mountain retreat, placed a lighted candle in Nasho's hand, and with gentle incentives from the points of their yataghans, compelled him to go through a mock celebration of the mass, which they accompanied with a dance of fanatical delight. The whole affair must have been connived at by the Governor-General and his underlings, who perhaps shared to a large extent in the £ T. 2,000 plunder; for the visits of the negotiating brigands to Salonica, the forced sale of the farm, and the purpose to which the proceeds were to be devoted, were known to everybody there.

While upon the subject of brigandage and kidnapping, I may say that these are institutions which *must* exist in Turkey so long as the Government of the Sultan continues as at present organized. The governors, civil and military, have neither the power nor the will to cope with the brigands. There are many reasons why, under existing circumstances, brigandage cannot be put down. First, the bands of brigands contain many disbanded soldiers or deserters, and when troops are sent against them, instead of fighting they fraternise. Second, the trade of robbing and kidnapping well-to-do or rich individuals is a lucrative one. Every brigand has his girdle full of gold pieces, with which the soldiers, miserably paid at the best of times, and wholly unpaid for the past sixteen months, can readily be bribed. Third, if through the quixotic efforts of a captain or even colonel of infantry, who hopes to bring his name to the front for activity and zeal, any of the brigands are taken and imprisoned, the miscreants have influence enough among the leading members of the council—all Moslems—which tries them, to buy themselves off. These members of council (Medglis), are all or nearly all rich landed proprietors, who have a great interest in favouring the escape of the brigands, quite apart from the bribes which they receive. They know that, if they condemned any brigands brought before them, they would be marked out for reprisals by the robbers still at large, and that on a night least to be expected, a domiciliary visit would be paid to their chifliks, their stewards would be murdered, their cattle carried off, their goods stolen, and very likely their houses burned. The poor villagers, on the other hand, far from wishing the capture of the brigands, live in daily terror lest such an

unhappy event should take place. For the soldiers are necessarily billeted upon them, and the brigands would inevitably, rightly or wrongly, suspect that these villagers had given the information which led to their capture, and would mark them for future signal vengeance. This fear and this reasoning often induce the villagers to harbour brigands and to supply them with food.

The duty of preserving order and tranquillity in Macedonia has been intrusted to not less than 50,000 armed men, the offscourings of Albania, Anatolia, and Roumelia, who have received no pay since March, 1878, and who are commanded by such officers as Chefket Pasha, the hero of a thousand massacres, Salih Pasha, of Cretan notoriety, and Adris or Idris Bey, a miscreant of the worst type. Further, when at Mitrovitza, I was informed that Ali Dragha, the most influential of the Mahometan-Albanian chiefs, had been summoned to Uscub to confer with Assan Pasha, in chief military command there, as to the raising of an Albanian legion which should operate on the Bulgarian frontier and in Thessaly in the event of any Greek demonstration there. It was this Ali Dragha who brought into the field and commanded, during the Servian war, the Albanian division which became famous for relentless cruelty towards, and dreadful mutilation of, the Servian wounded and prisoners.

Although warned that a considerable amount of risk was incurred by a journey into the interior, and that I might meet with the untoward fate of poor Ogle, I determined to make it, in order to learn at first-hand the condition of the people. If in Salonica and immediate neighbourhood I found matters bad, the accounts of all that takes place in rural Macedonia show an infinitely worse order of things. I left Salonica on the morning of 26th June for Uscub, making the journey by the train which runs every second day. Immediately after clearing the market-gardens, which extend some little distance outside the city walls, we struck right across a vast alluvial plain, from which the crops of wheat and barley had already been gathered. Away to the left, beyond the head-waters of the Gulf of Salonica, rose the mountains of Thessaly, with the snow-capped Olympus towering high above the less lordly peaks of the range, while on our right were a succession of low, rolling, pasture-clad hills. At Topsin, twenty-two kilometres from our starting-point, we reach and cross the Vardar or ancient Axios, whose basin the line follows till Uscub is arrived at, 242 kilometres distant. It is here a broad, shallow, yellow-coloured stream, and to its influence is due the fertility of the land which stretches northwards and westwards. The system of cultivation pursued is rude enough, though enormous crops are reaped, and with fairly good government and freedom from the oppression of the *bey*s, the peasantry might become, with their untiring industry, the wealthiest of their class in Europe. On the

alluvial bottoms, tobacco, cotton, silk, flax, and poppies are cultivated. The peasant holdings of the Christians are fast disappearing. What with grinding taxation and the extortion of pashas and beys, the peasants have, in the majority of cases, long years ago ceased to be the real owners of the lands they cultivate. Where they are still nominally proprietors, they are in the hands of the beys, or of corn factors in Salonica—mostly Jews and Greeks—who have advanced them money or goods, frequently on crops which will not be reaped for two years to come. The men are tall, well-knit, brawny-looking fellows, but there is a furtive and cowed look about them which reveals their true condition. They are, however, a cheerful race, and dearly love to indulge in their quaint Slav dances or sing their simple ballads, the music of which is almost invariably pitched in the minor key. The women maintain a peculiarly graceful carriage, but constant labour in the fields soon robs them of the good looks which they possess in youth. The Christians are without arms, while the Mahometan population swagger about with a small arsenal in their girdles, in the shape of pistols, yataghans, and ugly-looking knives. A very suggestive commentary on the frequency with which the Turks use their arms is the circumstance that the railway officials, who are mostly Germans or Italians, carry revolvers for their personal protection. It is no unusual thing for an insolent or drunken Turk to fire at, or attack with his yataghan, the official who simply dares to demand a ticket. This leads to the remark that the sobriety of the Turk is an exploded tradition. My experience of the Turk of the present day, gained in the course of considerable travel in Southern and Eastern Roumelia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania, is that he drinks more fiery alcohol than even the abused Scotchman. Instead of confining their orgies to the privacy of their own houses, as formerly, Turks, both of the upper and the lower classes, do not now scruple to drink in public.

I made some inquiry as to the vexed question of the proportions of races in Macedonia. Since the Russo-Turkish war, 170,000 Moslems have been added to the population by emigration from Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, and this influx has somewhat altered the ratio of Mahometans to Christians. Notwithstanding this, there is no doubt that the Bulgarians are still in the vast majority. In fact, the western line fixed by the San Stefano treaty, so far as it relates to Macedonia, would encompass country which may be said to be practically Bulgarian. The large number of Turks occupying the Uscub, Pristina, and Cuprelli districts are, for the most part, recent importations. A Greek population occupies the whole sea-board, and this the San Stefano boundary line recognises, except in the Seres and Drama districts. There the bulk of the population is Greek, but near Salonica the Greeks do not spread far inland.

Indeed, taken on the whole, the Slav race is statistically in the ascendant within ten kilometres of Salonica. On the west, the only district where there is more than a sprinkling of Greeks is in that around Bitolia. Synvet's estimate of the Greek population is very much exaggerated, and this I found admitted by the Greeks themselves, not only in Macedonia, but in Eastern Roumelia.

To return to my journey. While I have been making this digression the train has been coursing along the valley of the Vardar, which now opens up into broad and fertile carses, then narrows until hemmed in by steep bluffs. The scenery as we near Demir Capou assumes not only a picturesque but a grand aspect. The valley is bounded by rounded scrub-covered mountains, with occasional stretches of lovely green pasture. These are succeeded by bare peaks, whose bold precipitous sides rise with unbroken face to a height of five or six hundred feet; and away up in the blue lane you can see a dozen eagles silently soaring each in his own orbit. In thus cutting its way through the Blagusa Balkan, the Vardar divides itself against a huge peak which stands in the centre of the stream, like a giant sentinel at the entrance to the Iron Gates of Macedonia. Then follows a succession of lovely valleys, admirably cultivated, though somewhat bare of trees, which the Turkish soldiery have wantonly destroyed. Again the valley narrows, till river and railway seem to pursue the sinuosities of a deep cañon, whose wild beauty is exceedingly impressive. At the northern end of this cañon, perched high on a rocky gallery, is an ancient monastery with a picturesque church and tower. Crossing the deep, gloomy bed of a tributary of the Vardar, we enter another rock-bound defile, and suddenly come upon romantically situated Cuprelli. Quaint houses, with projecting balconies and verandahs, cling to ledge and jutting point, or rise in tier above tier to the very crest of the mountain ridge. The place is wonderfully like Tirnova, the ancient capital of Bulgaria. The ravine gradually widens, the eastern bank becomes less precipitous, and the town is seen to extend to the other side of the river, with which it is connected by an old Genoese or Roman viaduct. Cuprelli is locally famous for its cloth and leather manufactures; it was till eighteen months ago a purely Bulgarian town, but since the advent of many thousands of Turkish refugees, who have systematically plundered and murdered the Christians, many of the wealthiest merchants and manufacturers have emigrated to Bulgaria. For forty kilometres after leaving Cuprelli the railway, still clinging to the bed of the Vardar, traverses a delightful high-land country, with charming views of wooded glens, rocky defiles, and bright, cool little valleys. At last we emerge into a wide plain of the richest fertility, hemmed in on the north and east by the white-crested peaks of the Kara Dag, on the west by the steep

vine-clad slopes of the Karsjack mountains, and on the south by the Blagusa Balkan. On the north-western edge of the plain, almost overshadowed by mountains, lies Uscub. One is reminded of the near approach of the old Servian frontier—the scene of many a bygone struggle—by the frowning citadel which lifts its hoary, weather-beaten battlements above the bazaars and minarets, and by the ancient watch-towers which guard the approaches to the town from the river side. There is about Uscub—despite its narrow, cramped, and dirty streets—an air of business-like activity unusual in a Turkish town. The population is mixed; besides a large garrison, there are over 20,000 Turkish inhabitants, the vast majority of whom are emigrants, and who now outnumber the Bulgarian residents. We have also in the town two or three thousand Albanians, and a few hundred Jews. A considerable manufacture of guns, pistols, and yataghans is carried on, these arms being mainly disposed of to Albanians; the other industries are rope-spinning, copper and silversmith work, weaving, and leather-dressing.

In the district of Uscub I found murder and rapine of daily occurrence, and an Albanian Turk armed to the teeth, and walking about the streets with careless swagger, was pointed out to me as a man who made it his boast that he had lately killed six Christians. Under such circumstances I directed inquiry as to the manner in which the police discharged their functions. The result will be given in the sequel; meantime I may be allowed a preliminary observation. In the recent debate in the House of Lords upon the condition of the Armenian population in Asia Minor, the Marquis of Salisbury pleaded, as an excuse why reforms have not been inaugurated in Turkey, "that the Government could not alter the nature and temper of a people." Further, he alleged that "a strong force of gendarmerie must form the foundation of all reform in Turkey." Granting at once that Lord Salisbury is correct in both the premises he lays down, I insist that for the very reason that the Government cannot alter the nature and temper of a people, the new strong force of gendarmerie which is to form the foundation of all reform in Macedonia as elsewhere in Turkey, must be a force not composed of, and certainly not officered by Turks. One of the greatest curses of Macedonia at the present moment is the gendarmerie, and to increase the strength of this body of guardians with their existing constitution, would simply be to increase the number of vampires let loose upon the industrious population. The zaptiehs or gendarmerie have for a very long time received no pay; yet those stationed at such head-quarters as Uscub or Salonica have themselves to pay for the keep and stabling of their horses. How can this be done except by the proceeds of robbery? Officers and privates alike boldly go to khans, order food and drink for themselves and horses, and having

called for the bill, ask it to be receipted. When this is done, and they get possession of the receipt, they ride away telling the landlord to be thankful he has not received a whipping in lieu of his money. Here is the explanation, readily made by a gendarme, of the manner in which he and his colleagues succeed in making both ends meet, while they remain unpaid. When a complaint of any description is sent in from a village to the chief town of a district, a zaptieh is dispatched with an order to bring the man complained against to the town, in order that his case may be duly inquired into. The zaptieh invariably contrives to arrive at the village at nightfall. Very little inquiry is needed to inform the zealous official not only of the residence, but of the means of the victim. Armed with this information, he rides up to the house, and orders the man to come off with him to the pasha at once. Even though it may be in the depth of winter, or during the unhealthy rains of spring, the poor wretch sets about making preparations for his miserable night-ride. Meanwhile the zaptieh carelessly suggests that backsheesh may induce him to postpone the journey till morning. The bait is readily seized. According to the apparent or real wealth of the Christian, the zaptieh demands immediate payment of a lira (a coin of about 18s. value), or even half a lira, that his horse shall be well cared for, and that he shall be accommodated for the night. The bargaining is generally all on one side, for the Bulgarian or Greek peasant is only too glad to come to reasonable terms. Master of the situation, the zaptieh orders the peasant to attend to his horse, while he stalks into the house, calls for all the best dishes he can think of, and the production of an unlimited supply of raki, demands to be waited upon by the girls, if there be any in the household, and very often ends as the reader may conjecture. In the morning, perhaps, if the zaptieh is in a good humour, he may, for another lira or two, deign to tell his victim that he will so arrange matters that he need not go to the pasha at all. Should the second bribe be forthcoming, the bold gendarme will in all likelihood return to headquarters and report that the complaint had been arranged, that the man whom he was sent to bring was not at home, or that he was too ill to be removed. If either of the two latter excuses is accepted, the zaptieh knows that on a future occasion he shall have another opportunity of squeezing his victim.

Extortion, however, is not the most heinous of the zaptieh's crimes. A consul at Salonica told me that official reports had been sent to him of zaptiehs having hung Christians up by the heels and smoked them to death by setting fire to wet straw placed under them. He also knew of instances of Bulgarians who had incurred the displeasure of the police, having been smeared with petroleum by zaptiehs, set fire to, and so roasted to death. Other Christians had, on a bitter

winter night, been stripped naked by these gentle guardians of the order and tranquillity of the province, had cold water thrown over them, and then been left to freeze to death.

On the 26th October of last year the Governor of Kastoria dispatched a number of zaptiehs and Bashi-Bazouks, under the command of a notorious murderer and robber named Abadeen Agha, to "operate against the brigands at Selinitza." No brigands were discovered, but the peaceful inhabitants of the village were attacked. Twenty men, several women, an old blind man, and his boy-leader, were killed. The heads were hewn off the trunks, packed in sacks, and carried to the Governor of Kastoria as the heads of brigands. Several villagers of Selinitza escaped from the massacre, fled to Kastoria, and reported the true state of matters. An official investigation was ordered in deference to indignant demands which, even in Macedonia, could not be lightly set aside. Abadeen Agha was formally lodged in prison, and in the course of the inquiry which ensued, the massacre was not only proved, but it transpired that Agha had extorted, by threats of death, no less than £T.1,800 from two Christians in adjoining villages. Since the investigation nothing more has been heard of the dreadful affair, and Abadeen Agha is again at liberty. Three months ago the Christian village of Kutavista was attacked by a number of armed Turks from the neighbourhood, and many of the houses were pillaged. Kutavista is about two hours distant from Uscub, and the Bulgarians repaired thither and lodged a complaint with the pasha at the Konak. The pasha dispatched two zaptiehs to Kutavista, where they took up their quarters. Instead of seeing to the guardianship of the village, they began a debauch which lasted several days. The two Bulgarians in whose house they had installed themselves, unwisely demanded some payment for the raki which they themselves had to purchase before they could supply it to their unwelcome guests. Such unheard-of insolence was not to be tolerated, and the gendarmes, drawing their sabres, killed and decapitated the two Bulgarians, and mutilated the bodies in a manner too dreadful to be described. The chief of the village placed the mutilated bodies and heads in an araba, and the same day drove his ghastly-laden team to Uscub. Proceeding straight to the Konak, he demanded justice against the zaptiehs. These felons were lodged in prison for three days, and then discharged to resume their duties!

A few years ago a Moslem left his native village of Pestance, and found his way to Athens. There he settled, became a Christian, and married a Greek woman. Some two years since he returned to Pestance, but was immediately apprehended by the zaptiehs, on the ground that he, a Moslem, had turned Christian. He was conveyed to Salonica, lodged in prison, and beaten every day, to compel him to renounce his new faith and confess himself a Mussulman. Know-

ledge of his case got abroad, and on the appointment of a new governor-general, through the influence of some of the consular authorities, he was released. Returning to Pestance, the converted Turk lived there quietly till February last, when he was again denounced by the zaptiehs, and under Salih Pasha's martial law he was lodged in prison and repeatedly beaten. Refusing to return to Islamism, the court condemned him to be placed in the ranks of the army. He was forthwith dispatched to Monastir, but has not since been heard of. His wife and children were left destitute, and might have died of starvation but for the intervention of charitable Greeks.

Learning extortion from beys, governors, and zaptiehs, the Mussulman peasantry have of late begun to exercise terrorism over their Christian neighbours, and their exploits have been frequently accompanied by deeds of great barbarity. About the end of November last some fifty armed Turks collected in the district of Mallaish, and invaded the Bulgarian village of Metrosin, on the hollow pretext that the inhabitants were insurgents. Every house, to the number of a hundred, was pillaged. The band thereafter marched to the next village, named Bairovo, which contained five hundred houses. A small number of regular troops were stationed in the village, and these soldiers, together with the few Moslem inhabitants, joined the marauders in pillaging the Christian quarter. About thirty women and children were killed, a mill in the centre of the village was fired, and the inmates, prevented by the fiendish incendiaries from escaping, were burned to death. Three girls who were captured in trying to get away from the village were so inhumanly treated that they died. A convent in the neighbourhood was next attacked and the inmates abused. On or about the 31st of October the Turks from the village of Kuchevo made an incursion into the village of Rakhovo, which is but a short distance from Monastir. After robbing most of the Bulgarian houses of all they possessed, they abused thirty women and twenty girls, some of the latter being no more than twelve years of age. These poor wretches afterwards walked to the Austrian consulate at Monastir, and confided their distressing condition to the consul's wife. The Austrian Consul-General made a representation on the subject to the Governor-General, but nothing was done to bring the miscreants to deserved punishment. Of course little could be expected to be done in this direction so long as Chefket Pasha holds command at Monastir.

In addition to those experienced at the hands of governors and zaptiehs, the sufferings of the rural Christian population of Macedonia from officers of the army, beys, and other irresponsible Moslems of rank and influence are almost inconceivable. From many causes, which it is easy to perceive operate in many directions, it is difficult

to obtain accurate information and details regarding these outrages, though I was assured that they were of daily occurrence. The following narratives, however, may be depended upon as thoroughly trustworthy. During my stay in Uscub, a young Turkish officer, who was roystering in quite an open manner in a restaurant, in the company of a pasha, was pointed out to me as Adis or Idris Bey—a man of whom I had heard a good deal. He is the son of Hadji Atta Bey, member of the council of Uscub, and the owner of a large estate about three hours distant from the town. Idris Bey and his boon companions are the terror of the whole country for thirty miles or more round Uscub. About the end of May of last year, Idris Bey, and about a dozen companions with tastes similar to his own, made an excursion to his father's chiflik. The chief of the adjoining village, a Bulgarian, was seized, carried to the chiflik, and submitted to the favourite method of torture in vogue in Macedonia—he was hung up by the heels. When the poor old man could no longer endure the agony he suffered, he consented, at the request of Idris Bey and his followers, to compel all the other peasants in the village to repair to the chiflik, and bring with them each a hundred piastros. This was but a preliminary to a grosser outrage. When the affrighted peasants appeared, piastres in hand, Idris Bey and his associates seized them. Drawing their revolvers, they threatened the peasants with instant death unless all the girls of the village were brought to the chiflik. What could simple, unarmed men do in the teeth of such a horde? These girls, many not more than twelve years of age, were compelled to be present at the drunken orgies of the Moslem youths, and for three days and three nights they were submitted to every indignity and outrage which a loathsome Oriental imagination could devise. Another brilliant specimen of the officers in command in Macedonia is Byer Bey. A few weeks before my visit to Uscub, he had a Christian girl of great beauty kidnapped from her home at the foot of the Karsjack mountains, and brought to his house at Uscub. Being possessed of spirit the girl made some resistance, whereupon Byer Bey killed her in the most horrible manner with a red-hot iron. The father of the girl—Kalchoff, I believe, is his name—went to the Konak and complained of the cruel theft of his daughter in the first instance, and of her still more cruel death in the second. The redress he found was imprisonment for having the temerity to accuse a Bey of Uscub of any crime against a dog of a Christian.

Reference has been made to the grinding taxation of the Christian population. Quite apart from the poll-tax which they pay for exemption from military service, and for which women and children are counted as well as men, the Christians are rated about 300 per cent. higher than their Turkish neighbours. The assessors are Moslems, and they

take care that whatever may be possessed by Christians is rated at the very highest figure, while the property of the Turks is assessed at an absurdly low rate. The mode of raising the taxation is to fix a certain sum to be contributed by each community, and that sum is supposed to be procured by payments in accordance with the assessed value of the property within the community. Few of the Turkish beys, however, over pay any taxes at all, and so their proportion is wrung from the Christian rayahs in addition to their own. This last year, on an average, nearly 80 per cent. of the whole produce of Christian lands has been swallowed up in taxation. Another tax on the Christians is the compulsory service which they have to render to the beys in conveying grain free of charge, fifty miles from where it is grown.

Having explained the position in which the Christians of Macedonia are placed, the indignities to which they are submitted, the wrongs and cruelties from which they suffer, it only remains for me to say a word in regard to the future. In the course of the narrative I have sufficiently indicated the opinion, based on observations made in all the European provinces of Turkey, that "the rule of the Turk is something which is not only evil in itself, but which, as long as it is the rule of the Turk, can never be made much better." Something more is needed than the promised Commission "to settle the details of the new laws." The whole administrative system must be revolutionised, and the official pashas and beys sent about their business. The Governor-General should only be appointed with the sanction of Europe and for a fixed term of years. Turkish troops should only garrison fixed points on the frontiers. A strong force of gendarmerie must be organized, but, in the words of the Berlin Treaty, "in forming this corps, . . . regard should be paid in the different localities to the religion of the inhabitants," and it should be officered by Europeans. There must be no billeting of troops on the inhabitants, and no employment of irregulars, whether designated *Bashi-Bazouks*, *Circassians*, *Kilsildhars*, or *Hoodooks*. In the courts of justice the Koran must no longer be a text-book through which every law is to be interpreted. Christian judges must be appointed, at fair salaries, and until a sufficient number of native Christians are trained to administer the laws righteously and intelligently, a European assessor should sit in each court. Finally, an equitable system of taxation must be devised, and administered by impartial officers. Until some such reforms are introduced and honestly carried out under supervision, which should certainly not be solely Turkish, there is no hope for an improvement in the sad condition of the Christian population of Macedonia, and there is no chance of the peaceful development of
and most fertile countries in the world.

W. KINNAIRD ROSE.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

It has since become lamentably clear that the success which was believed to have ended the wretched war in South Africa was no success at all; and we have this week to welcome home the hero of what has throughout been as great a military blunder as it has been a political blunder. We have never been among those who were loudly impatient of Lord Chelmsford's mishaps, but impatience is a moderate description of the mood with which one reads of banquets and sabres of honour and congratulatory boastful speeches, in the same column that records the fierce distractions which Lord Chelmsford has left behind him. We must not forget that it was Lord Chelmsford's temerity in the early demonstrations which provoked, and naturally provoked, the suspicions of Cetewayo; and those movements on Cetewayo's part which Sir B. Frere turned into one of the pretexts for a predetermined policy of aggression. And it moderates one's regret at the humiliation of a soldier who has failed, when we remember that Lord Chelmsford has had recourse to the natural device of the incompetent, and endeavoured to throw some of the blame of his own misfortunes on other people. It is clear that there is no ground whatever for his charges against Sir Henry Bulwer and the Natal government. The following is one illustration, among others. The Natal government objected to Lord Chelmsford's policy of using native levies for raids into Zululand, and they stated this objection; but while questioning the policy, they at once gave way to Lord Chelmsford's formal representation that he ought to have the power to make raids with the levies. Then it has been charged that Sir H. Bulwer had actually countermanded Lord Chelmsford's orders. The facts are these. The Natal government had furnished Lord Chelmsford with a number of natives for service in the field in Zululand, who were called the *native contingent*. Then the government called out, besides, a number of natives for service in the colony, to be under the local district commanders—the commanders being subject to the military command for all purposes of defence within their districts. These were called the *native levies*. After the relief of Ekowo, Lord Chelmsford ordered raids to be made into the Zulu country by the levies. The commander in one of the districts replied that he had no authority for his men to leave his district and to enter the Zulu country, and he referred the matter to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal. This has been strangely described as a countermand by Sir H. Bulwer, and a hindrance to Lord Chelmsford's military plans. And on the

strength of matters like this, the Secretary of State writes that "it is too evident that military operations have been seriously impeded by want of harmony between the civil and the military authorities." What is evident is that Lord Chelmsford, in ordering the levies to raid, violated a positive understanding that they were only to be called out for defence; that only one out of three district commanders protested; and that this protest could by no reasonable man be regarded as a countermand by the Natal government.

Even Sir Bartle Frere himself has shown the same unworthy willingness to make the small government of Natal responsible for the failure of the rash and ill-considered plans of himself and Lord Chelmsford. One of his dispatches (*Bluebook C*, 2318, p. 24) is a chapter of indictment against the Natal government. We may presume that Sir H. Bulwer replied to this dispatch, though his reply has strangely been kept back from us. The plain truth is that from beginning to end Sir Henry Bulwer has been the one prominent official whose judgment and foresight have been conspicuously vindicated. His resistance to the proclamation of martial law in his province entitles him to singular honour. There is no reason to believe that the men who have been in command were particularly fit to be intrusted with exceptional powers. Some of the officers who have just returned home have been guilty, according to current reports, of practices which English opinion will regard with abhorrence. We should be glad to know that it was untrue that one of the most energetic of them never spared a prisoner; and that without distinction of sound or wounded, whether caught in action or a bearer of peaceful messages, the wretched prisoner always heard the words, "Give him to the Basutos."

The interest of the parliamentary session of 1879 commenced and ended with South Africa and Afghanistan, and the public is now acquainted with most of the arguments that can be adduced on the subject of the two wars in which we have, in the last twelve months, been plunged. So far as regards our campaign against the Zulus, Mr. Chamberlain introduced a noticeable debate on the first day of August. It was admitted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the discussion was not unsatisfactory, that the chief accusations brought against our policy in South Africa were true, and that the lines on which this policy should be regulated for the future had still to be settled. There can be no greater mistake than to regard the Zulu War as an abnormal and exceptional episode. It has occurred precisely at the point, and under the circumstances, which the scientific observer might have predicted; it will certainly repeat itself, unless the guarantees insisted on by Mr. Chamberlain are given. Troubles in South

Africa are not affairs of to-day or yesterday. We have had them continuously on our hands for close upon threescore years and ten. The Kaffir War of 1811 was the significant preface to a long series of ignoble and costly campaigns. Successive territorial annexations have created a variety of new military interests. Wars have followed upon wars, and every campaign has had in it the seeds of a fresh complication. Were our South African power to be swept away to-morrow, it would leave no trace behind, save in the record of desolating battles and inglorious strife.

These were among the facts which the pregnant speech of Mr. Chamberlain brought out into emphatic relief. Seventy years ago there was a discussion on the same topic, in connection with South Africa, as that which has more recently come to the front in Northern India. The great Fish River, we were told, was not a scientific frontier; so war was made upon the native tribes, and we entered on an arduous struggle because we were assured that it was the true and only security for settled peace in the future. The speedy sequel was not peace, was not good government. In 1834 there broke out the third Kaffir War. Again war was followed by annexation, but on this occasion the policy of annexation was not only repudiated, but restrained by the home government. Sir Harry Smith had seized upon the country as far as the Kei River; Lord Glenelg believed the step to be unnecessary, and ordered immediate evacuation. "The war," it was reported by a committee, of which Mr. Gladstone was a member, "had arisen from systematic forgetfulness of the principles of justice on the part of the colonists." There is thus nothing new in the difficulties which, during the last twelve months, Sir Bartle Frere has created for us in South Africa. It has always been the destiny of the English Government to be served in that quarter of the world by men whose zeal lacks discretion. The "insane desire for worthless empire," spoken of by Sir William Goldsmith, has been a chronic and ineradicable instinct; and notwithstanding the peremptory instructions which in 1846 Lord Grey sent to Sir Henry Pottinger, the colonial administration successfully forced the hand of the home government, and 200,000 square miles of new territory were annexed—"a country," as Mr. Chamberlain put it, "as large as the whole of Germany, the greater portion a mere desert, and thousands of miles without a white inhabitant." It must be understood that in all these stormy vicissitudes the policy of annexation has always been officially reprobated. Sir William Molesworth was not more emphatic in his condemnation of the procedure which fomented these squabbles, than Sir Charles Adderley. It was year after year the same dreary tale of colonial aggression and native reprisals, followed by the demand for British troops as the vindicators of European power. At last there came a lull, and

England was allowed nearly twenty years of comparative peace in South Africa. Sir Bartle Frere went out, and the situation was at once changed. Within the limits of three years we have had seven wars, to every one of which Lord Glenelg's statement, that the natives were justified in the course taken by them, is strictly applicable.

The wars in Griqualand West elicited from a responsible official in the Colonial Department the exclamation that if he had been a native of that country he too would have been a rebel. In the course of eight years the total expended upon South African campaigns amounted to £3,316,000, of which considerably less than half was paid back into the imperial exchequer. How is it possible that the mother country should recoup itself for the grievous loss which it has incurred in the matter of the campaign which is not yet at an end? These struggles have always been compromising as to their results, and ignoble as to their origin. Either it has been the greed of the colonists, or the jealousy of the native tribes, which has caused us to take up arms. The battles which we have fought have never been our own. Take the Galeka war. A tribal contest, which might have been put down by police interference, was by the high-handed policy, of Sir Bartle Frere first, and Mr. Fustace afterwards, magnified into a regular war. But it is not only the dimensions which these embroilments have attained, or the cost which they have entailed, that make them grave matters of national and imperial concern. The name of European and English civilisation is becoming a by-word. It is doubtless true that the worst outrages perpetrated upon the natives have not been those for which Englishmen are immediately responsible, and it is satisfactory to know that the scoundrel of whom Mr. Chamberlain told the House of Commons, and who was pronounced by the judge who tried him to have committed murder in a spirit of "pure devilment," was not an Englishman. But these things are done under the cover of the British name. It is England which makes such scandals possible. Well may the uninstructed native intelligence ask what sort of a civilisation is that which performs its work with such instruments. Here clearly no partial reforms can be of any value. Nothing less than complete reorganization will mend the system of South African administration.

In the course of the discussion which took place on the last day of the session on Mr. Grant Duff's motion, it was made abundantly plain that whatever good our new scientific frontier may confer upon us, we shall ultimately have to advance beyond it. In this matter the English Government is the pupil of Sir Henry Rawlinson, and that distinguished man has given his testimony to the fact that though the Afghan settlement is good enough

so far as it goes, it is not complete. Persia is to be detached from Russia, and, if necessary, disintegrated. Meanwhile, it is premature to say that from a military point of view our position is improved, and Sir George Campbell cited the opinion of Dr. Bellow, to the effect that we have taken possession of a *cul-de-sac* in the hills, where we run the risk of being hemmed in by our foes and cut off from our communications. And what is the nature of the diplomatic responsibilities that we have assumed, or of the rights which we have asserted? Mr. Grant Duff in his clear and pithy speech made it perfectly plain that by the third article of our treaty with Yakoob Khan we are pledged not only to limit the freedom of action which Russia may naturally claim, but generally to supervise and check the action of a vast aggregate of Oriental States. Henceforward we shall have on our hands, in addition to Afghanistan, Khelat, Cashmere, Beloochestan, Kashgar, Persia, Bokhara. Nor is the only fault of the treaty the onerous nature of the obligations which it imposes upon us. It errs as much from a lack of definiteness as it does from comprehensiveness. Henceforth there will be stationed at Cabul a British agent, but the treaty says not a word as to the condition on which the interference of that official in the international affairs of Afghanistan is to depend. It is said that the independence of Afghanistan is to be strictly respected, and that in all internal affairs the Ameer is to be his own master. But what is the line which separates purely internal from external business? If, as would seem to be the case, Yakoob Khan is not to be permitted to receive the congratulations of a foreign power like Russia upon the close of a war, without suggesting that such a message of courtesy should be addressed to the representative of the English Government, and not to himself, how is it possible to speak of Afghan autonomy? Either the Afghan treaty is to become as much a *caput mortuum* as the Anglo-Turkish Convention, or it is to be a reality. If the latter, then intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan will be forced upon England, not only as a contingency, but as a duty and a necessity. We are committed to support Yakoob Khan upon his throne; surely it follows that we should be bound to support him against foes inside as well as outside the limits of his territory. And with the knowledge that we have of the economy of Eastern tribes, it would be idle to ignore that the latter are perhaps the more likely of the two. Candahar or Herat may at any moment waver in its allegiance to the Ameer. Suppose that this possibility is realised, we may again be plunged into a little, but not on that account an inexpensive, or an equitable war. When Sir Henry Rawlinson declines to regard the Afghan Treaty as a conclusive settlement, no one can doubt that he is perfectly frank. The fate of Afghanistan, and the relation which it will in the future occupy to England, are still open ques-

tions. Only a few months ago, both the Khyber and the Michni passes were practically in our possession. Now we have surrendered these to the Ameer. But should any frontier complication arise, we shall be compelled to seize them again. "The Afghan war," such were the words in which Mr. Grant Duff summed up the whole discussion, "will have to find its place with its brother impostures—the imposture of Cyprus, the imposture of Asia Minor, the imposture of the Balkan fortresses."

We do not know that the Government have not been somewhat unjustly blamed for the legislative sterility of the session. The situation of affairs was not incorrectly indicated by the proportion which the paragraphs in the Queen's speech on the Afghan and Zulu wars bore to those on the progress of domestic legislation. The Parliamentary debates on these have been something more than a canvassing of groups of strategical questions and military policy. The issues they involve are the principles on which an empire is to be administered, and this is not a matter that can be discussed, save at considerable length. The time inevitably expended on these discussions, the Government attempted to make good by economies in another direction. The effort to hurry debate on the subject of the Army Discipline Bill was not successful, and failing in this her Majesty's Ministers determined apparently to compensate themselves by what Mr. Henley, had he still been in the House, might have certainly called "an ugly rush." The Irish University Bill was carried for the simple reason that it was never adequately considered. We do not mean that many hours were not spent in an examination of its clauses, and in conjectural predictions of its probable results. Mr. Courtney fought the case against the Bill with his usual tenacity and closeness of grip. But what may be called the operative portions of the measure were never really before the House at all. The Bill is simply an enabling Bill. It authorises the Government to create a body, the senate of the new university, for the purpose of making inquiries and presenting a report. The Queen's University ceases to exist, and this is all that the measure thus far accomplishes. Everything else is provisional. Until the report of the senate is before Parliament, no opinion can be formed on the working of the measure. There is not a single consideration which has come before the House of Commons in the past debates on the Irish University Bill to which it will not again have to direct its attention when it makes its appearance.

Of course other measures have suffered from the feverish precipitation which marked the procedure of the Government at the end of the session. This is pre eminently the case with the Banking Bill and the Public Works Loans Bill. Of these measures the former can at best be described as a useful experiment in legislation.

No one can say what is the area which it will practically cover; no one knows how many of the great banking institutions of the country will adopt its provisions. The credit of a bank is so delicate a matter that all concerned are naturally timid, and it may be doubted whether more can safely be done than is contemplated by the ministerial measure. The object of the Bill is, of course, to place it within the power of unlimited banks to avail themselves of some form of limited liability. The failure of the Glasgow Bank opened the eyes of the shareholders to the enormous risks incidental to the present system. Although unlimited banks had failed frequently before, in no case had the loss borne anything like so large a proportion to the amount of the capital. The calls already made are for £2,500 for each £100, and the result must be the ruin of nearly every shareholder. It was argued in the House of Commons that as the loss in such cases must fall somewhere, it is more fairly imposed upon the shareholders than on the depositors and creditors. The public generally, whose convenience is consulted by the existence of banks, have to choose between a limited liability on the part of substantial persons, and an unlimited liability on the part of a class of shareholders who would rapidly take the place of the old ones, and who would have very little property beyond the actual amount of their investment. In the case of any ordinary failure, not complicated by frauds of the gigantic character of those in the Glasgow Bank, a further liability equal to the whole amount of the paid-up capital is likely to be found ample to cover the claims of creditors, while it is not too much to deter investors of property and standing.

The Public Works Loans Bill as actually passed was a mere fragment of the original measure. When first introduced it provided for shortening the term of loans; for increasing the rate of interest; and for making more onerous the method of repayment of loans advanced by the Public Works Loan Commissioners to local authorities. It further provided that no sum exceeding £100,000 should be granted to any single authority in one year. This is the only clause which has survived unchanged, and its operation is worthy of notice. The sole cases in which the amount is likely to be required are those of the London School Board, and of large towns carrying out improvement schemes under the Artizans' Dwellings Act. But it is precisely in such instances as these that the security is absolutely indefeasible. Thus a hundred thousand pounds lent on the security of the whole rateable property of London, is a much safer investment than the same sum lent in twenty different amounts to as many struggling local boards, or rural sanitary authorities, scattered over the length and breadth of the United Kingdom. Probably, however, the London School Board will be able to raise

its funds in future without going to the Government, and the main result of this new provision will be that hereafter the Artizans' Dwellings Act—the great achievement of the present Administration, the sole evidence on public record of their interest in sanitary reform, or their success in domestic legislation—will henceforth be a dead letter. Local authorities have been invited and tempted to make these improvements by the offer of the necessary funds on terms which were understood to leave a profit to the State, and at the same time to be more favourable than local bodies could obtain for themselves. This advantage being now withdrawn, it may be predicted with certainty that no fresh scheme of the slightest importance under this Act will ever see the light. The Public Works Loans Act of 1879 has killed the Artizans' Dwellings Act of 1875, and Conservative legislation, like Saturn, has devoured its own children.

With respect to the other provisions of the Bill, a clause has been introduced guarding against any retrospective effect, direct or indirect. The Irish Land Act, and all loans for the improvement of lands in Ireland, have been excepted from its operation; the clause altering the method of payment has been entirely dropped. The Bill no longer fixes any definite term, or rate of interest. Both of these matters remain as they were determined by special Acts, though there will be now enforced the additional proviso that the interest charged shall be in all cases sufficient to protect the Treasury against loss. For the ultimate settlement of these details, we shall have to wait for the report of the Select Committee which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has promised to appoint next session.

The arguments by which Sir Stafford Northcote defended a change in the existing system were far from conclusive. As to the alleged loss inflicted upon the Exchequer, a Treasury return shows that it has chiefly arisen in the case of Irish loans, and of loans granted not on the security of the rates, but upon the profits of undertakings—*e.g.* harbours, bridges, railways. As for the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the floating debt caused by these loans is likely to prove of an embarrassing character, the obvious reply is that there can be no difficulty if the Treasury borrow on Consols the sum that it requires. At present the money is raised upon Exchequer Bonds and bills of short date, and the transaction is analogous to the action of a banker who should take deposits at fourteen days' notice, and lend them out for indefinite periods. To make the conditions of the borrowing more stringent, irrespective of the security offered and of the nature of the work done, is obviously unnecessary and undesirable, and it is to be hoped that the Select Committee of next year will be strong and impartial in its composition, and will be enabled to submit proposals which will protect the State from possibility of loss.

without throwing vexatious obstacles in the way of local work, or increasing the pressure of local taxation.

The close of the session was signalised by the announcement of the Home Secretary that the Government were prepared to take, during the present recess, a step which, it may be hoped, will prove a valuable contribution to the physical and moral well-being of the metropolis. London is in a more unsatisfactory condition as regards its water supply than any other great town in England, and almost than any other capital in the world. The water itself is impure, the mode of supply is costly and sometimes precarious. The largest and richest city in the world is perpetually exposed to the risk of a fire which there does not exist in adequate and available quantities the water to extinguish. The working classes are driven into public-houses, because the water which the companies provide is not drinkable. Clearly it is the duty of the State to look after such matters as these, and the long vacation will be turned to better account by the institution of the inquiry which the Home Secretary promised, than by the organized efforts which are already being witnessed to prepare for the general election. The great danger, of course, is that the considerable interest involved may be too tenderly dealt with, and that opportunities for intrigue and jobbery may be found. It will well repay the Government to take stringent guarantees that this shall not be done, and if they can even pave the way to a reform of the water supply of London, on the lines laid down by Mr. Fawcett, they will have accomplished something towards redeeming the session of 1879 from the reproach of absolute barrenness in the region of domestic legislation.

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SOUTH AFRICA ONCE MORE.

OUR possessions at the Cape of Good Hope have acquired during the last two years a notoriety disproportioned to their consequence. The subject grows tiresome, and we begin to wish to hear no more of it. Unfortunately, like a sore spot upon the body, South Africa will continue to worry our political system—as it has done more or less since the time when we took it from the Dutch—till we set ourselves resolutely to look into the causes of the inflammation. The disorder is chronic. Each fresh outbreak has been more serious than the preceding. Our own negligence has been chronic also. No sooner is a rebellion over and the bill paid than we thrust out of our minds the disagreeable remembrance. We say to ourselves that the mischief is over at last, and must not happen again; and when it does happen again we fly impatiently to some violent remedy which leaves matters worse than before.

Of these violent remedies, adopted in haste from obvious motives, yet as impolitic and useless as they seem to us to have been morally indefensible, we have had specimens in the two native wars, the war with the Kafirs, and the war with Cetewayo and the Zulus, which have distinguished the rule at Cape Town of Sir Bartle Frere. The Kafirs (the Zulus are but the leading tribe of the Kafirs) are the single race of true African origin which have shown high qualities of intellect and character; and Great Britain, whose boast it is to be the friend and protector of the African people, has been carrying fire and sword through their territories for no better reason than that the Colonists were afraid of them, and were unwilling to consent to a political arrangement which would be convenient to the Imperial Government, until the native power was broken down. Great Britain has rebuked Portuguese and Spaniards and Dutchmen and Arabs and Egyptians: before the war of emancipation we daily lectured our cousins, the Americans, for cruelty to their coloured brethren. We have worried and punished the South African Boers for petty acts of alleged tyranny towards them. On this plea we have taken a

the Boers' territories. The friends of the Negro have railed at them for half a century as worse than savages. Yet we, it seems, are privileged to do things which we should denounce in others with the most edifying indignation. The Zulu war is, perhaps, the worst of our performances. But the Zulu war is the last of a series; and our own officials in Natal, acting in the Queen's name, have been guilty of outrages in past years darker than the darkest with which the Boers have ever been charged. Events move fast, and one pushes out the remembrance of another; but Langabalele cannot yet be forgotten. Langabalele was a chief of Zulu race who was settled in Natal. His young men had worked in the Diamond Fields; had bought guns, which they were legally allowed to do, and had brought them home. The Natal Government required that the guns should be brought in and registered. The first which were produced were taken from the owners and were not returned to them; the rest were naturally kept back. The Chief was sent for to Maritzberg. One of his relations having been treacherously fired upon at a recent conference to which a colonial official had invited him, the Chief hesitated to obey. He sent excuses, and said he was ill. It was at once assumed that he meant to rebel. His country was invaded. The Governor in person led the force of the Colony against him. A tribe of natives with whom he was at feud was let loose upon him. His villages were burnt, his crops seized, his cattle driven off. His own tribe and another allied to him were broken up. Several hundred men, women, and children were killed. The survivors were carried off for forced labour. Some were distributed among the colonial farmers. I myself saw five hundred of them working in gangs in the gaol at Maritzberg. They had never been tried. The governor of the prison could not tell me for what offence they had been committed, and he said that men more quiet and well behaved had never been in his charge. Had President Brand acted towards King Morokod as the British Government acted towards Langabalele and his tribe, the English platforms would have rung with a demand that the independence of the Boer Republics could be permitted no longer. Had Cetewayo done it, how would official dispatches have dilated on his barbarity! Yet it is uncertain whether anything would have been heard about the business in Natal, but for the courage and good feeling of Bishop Colenso. As it was the Governor was recalled. The Secretary for the Colonies interfered to mitigate the punishment of the Chief, who remains banished notwithstanding; and some imperfect restitution has been made to the tribe. But there has been no penitence in the Colony. Public opinion, from Cape Town to the frontier, was all in favour of the utmost severity; and precisely the same spirit as that which prompted the attack on Langabalele has led to the war with Cetewayo. When the cry is raised of danger from the natives,

colonial society falls into a fever as catching as the plague. An experienced statesman like Sir Bartle Frere it might have been hoped would have escaped the contagion; but the virus proved too violent for him, and the result has been that after a display of gallantry which the whole English nation admires, and after a military effort on the part of this country exceeding any which we have made since the Indian Mutiny, these naked Zulus have been overcome. They have been defeated by the superiority of the weapons of a civilised nation. Their country has been overrun; their king has been dethroned; and many thousand innocent "black brothers" have been killed. The offences alleged as a pretext for the invasion were excuses so trivial, that if we are to go to war in such cases, there will never be a year's peace in Africa so long as there is a free native nation beyond our frontier. The offence of the Zulus was merely that they were brave and strong. The Colonists were uneasy in their neighbourhood, and therefore a British army was to be sent for to set upon them and crush them. The transaction may be called natural. It may be in general accordance with the history of mankind. Strong nations usually do crush their weaker neighbours when there is no one to interfere with them; but the chief performers in such cases do not usually boast of their superior humanity. The Powers on whom we have sat in judgment will observe that the British, who talk so eloquently about the wrongs of Negroes, treat the Negroes after all no better than they do, and will be apt, when we sermonise them in future, to tell us to look at home.

It is of no use, however, as the proverb says, "to cry over spilt milk;" and this truly chivalrous exploit being now in the way of being finished, we ask, what next? The worst feature in these proceedings is that, whether they are right or wrong, when we have begun with them, we are forced to go forward. Public opinion at home admitted at once that the war was unjust; and the natural inference would have been that Sir Bartle Frere should be recalled and censured, that the British troops should be withdrawn, and that Cetewayo and his Zulus should be left to themselves. Unfortunately it was impossible to do this. To have withdrawn would have been construed by the natives into an admission of defeat. The tribes would have risen universally all over South Africa. The entire country would have been in flames, and hundreds of thousands of lives would probably have been sacrificed. As things stand, all Sir Bartle's wars collectively, in Zulu Land, in Kafir Land, and on the Orange River, have not cost more than twenty-five or thirty thousand lives—a number with which we ought to be gratified.

Anyway moral indignation will mend nothing. To condemn Sir Bartle Frere, to condemn the Colonial Office or the Colonists, or anybody concerned, may be reasonable; but it will be certainly un-

profitable, and it may be easily unjust. Official persons seldom go wrong from bad intentions ; and where every statesman or governor who has attempted the South African problem has come to misfortune one after another, there must be causes at work deeper than the faults of any individual or set of individuals. The point of importance is to find what these causes are ; and the British public themselves must wake up and endeavour to understand Cape politics. It is with the public that the responsibility really lies. Very able men have successively presided in the Colonial Office, and successively have tried their hand at a solution. When they have all failed it seems as if the seat of the disorder must lie in some place where the ordinary power of the office cannot reach. A public department under a constitution like the English can only leave the beaten track when the public gives it strength by an emphatic declaration of opinion. A certain course may be necessary, yet if there are difficulties and prejudices in the way, a Secretary of State who knows his business, and is careful not to hurt his party in Parliament, will always avoid it till the public opens its eyes and gives him fresh authority. In a free country the Government is the servant of the people ; if the people will not exert themselves to think and declare their pleasure, then, whatever happens, they have only their own apathy to blame. They could become excited over Bulgarian atrocities. In one of our own dependencies causeless wars break out, and endless blood is shed, and women and children are killed ; and this in dealing with a race of whom our humanitarian professions bind us to be peculiarly careful. These wars have occurred before ; they are occurring now ; they will continue to occur till the wound is looked into and probed. The public ought to understand that in the eyes of foreigners, who look with impartial eyes at us, such a state of things is scandalous ; and that if we cannot keep our own hands clean, we should remark less freely on the state of theirs. It is no question of party politics. An English minister, whether Whig or Tory, can only desire that the affairs of our colonies should be carried on without national discredit. Public agitation will now assist the Colonial Office rather than embarrass it ; and agitation only will furnish the means of ending scenes which we all regret and detest. The Colonial Office, as long as the public is silent, can but work on the old lines : it must struggle simply to escape responsibilities and avoid expense. The result hitherto has been merely to incur deeper responsibilities, and to spend millions in trying to save hundreds. The time has come for a more resolute and consistent policy, and only the will of the people peremptorily declared can in these days enable the most clear-sighted statesman to take another course. The real danger is that when the Zulu business is over we shall turn from South Africa in weariness, and leave events to

drift till we are reawakened by a fresh catastrophe. Unless we insist on a radical change, such catastrophes will as surely recur as the sun will rise to-morrow morning.

If so it is to be, the Fates will have their way, and nothing can be done, except to provide that the disease may come back upon us in a milder form. We would suggest that the Colonial Office should be allowed an additional permanent official, whose special business it should be to understand South Africa; who should visit it from time to time and make himself personally acquainted with the condition of the people, the working of the laws, and the native problem in all its parts. At least half the misfortunes which have happened there, and notably the complications of the last ten years, which have culminated in the Zulu war, have been precipitated by the well-intentioned mistakes of the Imperial Government. The direction of our whole enormous colonial empire devolves on the single person of the permanent Colonial Secretary, and we are showing no want of respect for the extremely able public servant who at present fills that post when we say that neither he nor any man of less than supernatural faculty can hold the strings of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, to say nothing of our unnumbered inferior dependencies, and never fall into error in handling them. The Secretary of State enters on office, as a rule, in entire ignorance of the details of his business. Both he and the permanent secretary depend for information on the governors; while the governors, who hold their places for five or six years, begin their term knowing as little as their superiors; and when they have learnt their work their time is over, and they are sent elsewhere. Men can be ignorant, and yet unfortunately they may not know that they are ignorant. They may form precipitate views on a hasty survey, and act upon them. If they are wise enough not to be self-confident they rely on their colonial advisers, and in constitutionally governed colonies the advisers represent a party, and not the entire country. The secretaries at home have thus but one-sided information at the best. The permanent secretary, with so much work upon his hands, has no leisure to consult independent sources of knowledge; and the ablest official who ever presided over a department of State would be unequal to the duties which fall upon him, no better furnished than at present with means of forming a wise judgment. The arrangement is suited only for a system under which the colonies manage their own affairs, and the Imperial Government has ceased to interfere. It may answer tolerably with the Canadian Dominion, with the Australian States, and New Zealand, where the imperial interest is slight and plainly defined, and the internal administration is left wholly to the local Ministers and Parliament. It has worked ill, and it always must work ill with South Africa, which is not a colony, but a conquered country which

we hold for imperial purposes and cannot abandon, and in which there are special functions reserved by which we control the colonial action. The Governor is not Governor of the Cape Colony only, but he is High Commissioner, with an undefined authority as protector of the native races. The country is split into several States, one independent, one with a constitution, others directly under the Crown. But in all of them the High Commissioner has a right to ask questions, to make remonstrances, to interfere, if he pleases, between the local governments and their coloured subjects; and the interests of all of them are so entangled and so mutually dependent, that anything which is done in one place affects all the rest. Thus the Imperial Government has continually interfered in South Africa, within the colonial border and without, and so it must continue to do. The Cape Ministry had compromised themselves in the Langabalele affair, and public opinion at home was excited. The Colonial Office was obliged to act, and there was a near escape of a collision between the local authorities and the home authorities. Interested representations have been made in Downing Street, which at a distance of six thousand miles it has been impossible to test, and action has been taken upon them which it has been found necessary afterwards to reverse. The High Commissioner is left with discretionary powers, which he may use as Sir Bartle Frere has used them, because the Colonial Minister has not the means of binding him down with special instructions.

It is not too much to say that if the Colonial Office had been allowed the services of any moderately able man, whose business it had been to watch South Africa and observe what was going on there, the grant of Responsible Government to the Cape Colony, which makes the knot of the present difficulty, would have been postponed till the whole country could be united under a single constitution; the Diamond Fields would not have been taken from the Orango Free State, the sale of arms and powder to the natives would have been controlled, there would have been no Langabalele scandal in Natal, no annexation of the Transvaal, no Kafir war, and, most surely of all, no Zulu war. The Boers of the Free States would not have been insulted systematically in official dispatches, and the Dutch of the Colony would not have been exasperated at the reiterated calumnies on their kindred. We have saved the salary of an additional secretary for ten years, and we have now to pay nearly ten millions. Many thousands of human lives, black and white, have been thrown away, and the affairs of South Africa are twisted and entangled in the most ingenious and hopeless confusion.

Therefore, if, for want of energy to deal vigorously with it, the present business is to be wound up, leaving us, as we are, with the burden of our increased responsibilities, we recommend, if they are not

to become still heavier, this very moderate addition to the estimates, being confident that the permanent secretary, instead of resenting the offer of fresh assistance, will welcome it as the happiest relief to him, and being absolutely certain that the small salary required will be an economical investment for the taxpayers.

But we hope for better things. We can be zealous in the suppression of the slave trade; we can protect Armenian peasants, and exclaim against the wrongs of Egyptian fellahs. It is not too much to suppose that we may concern ourselves as much for millions of our own fellow-subjects, who have shown qualities under their black skins which all Europe admires and applauds. The spread of the English race over the globe has been attended with a stain which will cling to us through all coming time. In every country to which we have gone, except India, the coloured man has been degraded and destroyed before us. The American Redskin, the Maori, the Tasmanian, the Australian aborigines, are gone, or are rapidly going. If half the tales which are told be true, the process of extermination has been painful and discreditable. In part, perhaps, the disappearance may be due to a law of nature which could not be wholly overcome. There may be men, as well as animals, who die under restraint, and who can thrive only in savage freedom. The eagle will not breed in the cage. It may be the same with the wild races, to whom civilisation means captivity. It may be so, but we do not know that it is; for the attempt to civilise them has never been fairly made. The first result of contact has been too often to poison them with our worst vices, when at once they begin to die off. But, be the case as it may with the Redskin and the Australian, it is certainly not so with the Negro. The Negro multiplies beside the white man. He can learn trades and handicrafts; he is the best of servants; he is faithful, brave, and, in his natural state, honourable and true. The white man has risen to his present superiority through a hundred generations of cultivation; the Negro has not been cultivated at all, and what latent capacity may be in him is as yet uncertain. If we are to justify the violence by which we have become the masters of the lives and fortunes of such vast numbers of the natives in South Africa, we must do it by setting ourselves with all our energy to try whether they are capable of becoming civilised men. It is the least which they deserve at our hands.

Briefly then, this is our situation in those Cape countries. The Cape Colony, which, at the time when we took it from the Dutch, went no further than the Fish River, extends now to the Orange River and the Kei. It contains something over 300,000 white inhabitants, of whom a large majority are Dutch, and it contains half a million blacks. It consists of two provinces, which were once for a short time under separate governors. In the western province

which includes Cape Town, the Dutch so preponderate that except in Cape Town itself English is scarcely spoken. There are few coloured people in it, not, I believe, more than 50,000. They consist of Hottentots, Malays, and blacks of miscellaneous blood descended from the old slaves whom the planters imported in the last century. The Hottentots are generally in service. The Malays are about Table Mountain, cultivate gardens and vineyards, and are boatmen and fishermen. The rest live quietly in a state of semi-feudal dependence with the families of their old masters. No owners of human cattle were kinder to their slaves than the Dutch of the Cape. They are quiet people living in houses built a century and a half ago, attending to nothing but their farms, and caring so little for politics that not one in fifty of them ever looks into a newspaper.

The eastern province extends from George, near Mossul Bay, to the mouth of the Kei, and inland along the mountain range to Colesberg and the Orange River. If the Diamond Fields are annexed to Cape Colony they will fall into the same department. It was colonised with English in 1820. Most of the Dutch who were scattered over it emigrated northwards in 1836, and it is now English pre-eminently. Its towns are large and growing. It contains most of the wealth of South Africa, and possesses three-quarters of its trade. Here lies the great native population. Half a million Kafirs of various tribes live inside the border, and Kafir Land proper immediately adjoins it. The two provinces are politically united, and have their own Parliament and Responsible Ministry. The revenue is nearly two millions and a half, and they have themselves complete control over it. They have thus, as matters now stand, all the advantages of the situation, and none of its drawbacks. The native question within the Colony, though serious, is not beyond their strength, and the coloured population, being in the proportion only of five to three of the whites, are managed with little difficulty. They have all the valuable harbours and all the commerce. If British interests in South Africa had been limited to the colonial frontier, and if further advance northwards had been rigidly prohibited, the Colony within these limits might have thriven under its free constitution, giving us no more concern than New Zealand.

Unhappily, from causes on which it is needless now to enter, the Imperial Government has taken upon its hands an enormous interior territory in addition, densely peopled with black men and sparsely with white; Griqua Land, with its diamond fields; the Transvaal, with its disaffected Boers; Natal, with its twenty thousand Europeans and its four hundred thousand Zulus. The late independent Kafir Land, which lies between Natal and the Kei, has been declared British territory since the war. The annexation was decreed hastily, with no defined arrangement as to what was to be done with it. The in-

tention was to attach it to the Colony, but the Colonial Office hesitates to make it over, and the Colony shows no anxiety to take charge of it. Meanwhile the Queen's sovereignty has been proclaimed. An accomplished fact cannot be undone, and the Imperial Government remains with the responsibility. Beyond Natal there is Zulu Land, which, being conquered, it seems that we must keep, because there is no safe way of getting rid of it. Beyond the Zulus there are our allies the Amaswasi, whom we have promised to protect; west of them Secocoeni is still at war with us, who must be subdued. We have been led into this wild annexation dance partly from a notion that we must protect the natives from the Boers, partly by missionary enthusiasm. Ambition too has been at work, and we have been made the cat's-paws of colonial acquisitiveness; and the result is that we are now floundering in as pretty a morass as ever foolish people were tempted into by an *ignis fatuus*. We have at this moment upon our own hands a tract of country half as large as Europe, with about a hundred thousand white inhabitants, by the Dutch part of whom we are detested, as we deserve to be; with two million natives, whose leading tribe we have attacked without excuse, and have found them extremely formidable antagonists; and with millions of other natives, brave and resolute as the Zulus, who still lie between us and the Zambesi River, which it seems is to be our future boundary. In all this charming possession there is at present but one harbour, and that a bad one. Such trade as there is passes chiefly through the colonial ports, where the Customs duties are levied, and go into the Treasury of the Cape Government. We ourselves have no revenue, and can raise none. Natal and the Diamond Fields pay the cost of their own administration, but that is all they can do. The Dutch of the Transvaal would sooner combine with the Zulus against us than pay us a land tax. We must govern them, as long as we choose to govern, out of our own resources. We have a glorious South African Empire, and the British taxpayers must find the means of keeping it.

The Imperial Government, no doubt, does not like the situation, and would gladly get out of it. Before this Zulu war we had been endeavouring to tempt the Colony to relieve us of our burden, under the specious name of Confederation. The Colony has shown no inclination to meet our wishes. Why should it? Whatever advantage the extension of British sovereignty brings to the colonial trade, it enjoys equally, whether the interior country be theirs or ours. The Colony has politely excused itself. It has pointed to our disturbed relations with the Dutch, to Cetewayo and the Zulus. Under present circumstances it is sorry that it cannot meet the wishes of the Imperial Government, &c. When the aspect of things is a little improved, they may consider, &c. They will "consider," if

they are wise, at the Greek Kalends. It has been this will-o'-the-wisp of Confederation which tempted Sir Bartle Frere into his Zulu enterprise. Cetewayo and his army being out of the way, he thought the Colony might at least charge itself with Natal, and a way might be found of dealing with the Transvaal. The Colony, I believe, will refuse to fall into the snare. It is, of course, possible that the Colonists may be tempted by the hope that if they are formed into a Dominion they may have a native policy of their own, and may be rid for ever of the worry of imperial interference. But, even supposing the Confederation can be brought about, for which the Colonial Office is so anxious, opinion at home will never consent to leave to the Dutch (for that is what it will come to) the management of the native races of South Africa. So long as the administration is carried on there in the Queen's name, Confederation will only increase the difficulty and the scandal; and that for such an object we should have been sending out an army and spending millions of money, and killing and burning and conquering and annexing territory, is as absurd as any enterprise in which this adventurous English nation ever yet engaged itself.

If we intended to keep the country ourselves, and to place it under an administration like the Indian, which would be just alike to Colonist and native, if we meant to set to work systematically to educate and train the Zulus and Kafirs, and ascertain whether they were really capable of a higher development, we should be trying an interesting experiment, and we should be proving to the world that our philanthropic professions are not merely words. Success in such an effort would go far to justify to posterity what looks at present like lawless violence. But we have no such Quixotic purpose. Our last thought is the welfare of the natives. Self-government having been bestowed upon the Cape Colony, cannot be withdrawn; we cannot use the resources of the Cape Colony to keep the other States in order. Therefore we wish to force the Colony to take charge of those States itself. That is the meaning of Sir Bartle Frere's policy, and we are passing no reflection upon the Colonists if we insist that the burden is too heavy for them. The native races having been conquered by us have a right, as the only recompense which we can give them, to a firm and just government; and such a government, over such an enormous area, a mere handful of settlers are not in a condition to maintain.

In a South Africa such as the Dominion Act contemplates, there can, in the first place, be no real self-government. Self-government cannot exist where four-fifths of the population are disfranchised. And to admit the natives to vote under present circumstances is allowed on all hands to be impossible. Therefore we should be merely setting up a government there like that with which we pre-

vided Ireland in the last century—a privileged minority ruling five times their number of fellow-subjects under the form of a popular constitution. The Dominion would thus be in the hands of a small favoured oligarchy, with the mass of the people at their feet; an arrangement which, as all experience declares, is the least favourable to the inferior race which it is possible to contrive. In the Cape Colony there are many admirable, high-minded men, who, with power in their hands, would do the Negro justice. But under a free constitution, the administration represents the views, not of the high-minded, who are relatively few, but of the average-minded, who are always the majority; and everywhere in the world, not in the Cape Colony only, but universally wherever they are in power, if it be the interest of the average-minded to oppress or neglect any class in the community, it is as certain as the Rule of Three that such class will be oppressed or neglected. The Maoris are in no danger in New Zealand. They sit and vote in the Colonial Parliament at the side of their white neighbours. If an equality of franchise was at any time practicable in South Africa it is not so now: the passions which have now been aroused have made it impossible for many years. The European population of the Dominion would be under 500,000; the coloured population would be fully two millions, and they multiply faster by natural increase than the Europeans by immigration, while they are recruited from the inexhaustible tribes of the interior. A coloured franchise cannot be allowed, and without it such a Confederation as was sketched in the late Act of Parliament is totally unsuited to the wants of the country.

Of course if we choose to persist, we can force compliance on the Cape Parliament, and compel them to take South Africa off our hands; but if we do, we cannot dictate the terms on which they are to carry on the government. They may be able to maintain peace, but they can maintain it only by measures which will make our own past professions ridiculous. To secure equality before the law, and prevent justice from degenerating into a system of violent reprisals whenever wrong is done by a native to a white man, the indispensable condition would be a large and disciplined police force. The settlers in South Africa are men whose resources are in their crops and in their flocks. They have little money. They make their way by thrift and economy, living very much from hand to mouth. It is absurd to suppose that they will tax themselves to maintain a small army to keep the natives from making disturbances. Still less is it likely that they will put themselves to expense to supply native schools, or help to elevate the native character. The Cape Government does something in this way at present, because the Cape Government is rich, and the natives in the Colony are comparatively few. The condition will be reversed under the Dominion; and

harder methods would be adopted as a mere matter of necessity. The tribes would be carefully disarmed. There would be a severe vagrancy law. There would be a rigid master and servant act. It is very doubtful whether coloured men would be allowed to hold land in free personal tenure. They would be driven, probably, by degrees into the mountains, where the soil is less valuable and less favourable to their multiplication. Of all poisons, moral and physical, which are most deadly to them, rum and brandy are the deadliest; yet traders would find their interest in supplying these things. Is it uncharitable to suppose that the Dominion Legislature would not be particularly severe with such traders, and would look on, if not approvingly yet complacently, while the nigger question, as some one observed to me in Natal, was being settled in the most effective of ways? An adequate police there would not be, for the simple reason that the Dominion could not furnish such a police. The absence of it would be a temptation to cattle robberies, and robberies would be followed by summary and indiscriminating retribution on the part of the plundered farmers. The same scenes, in fact, would be witnessed in South Africa which have attended the settlements of the English in all other countries. Our Zulu and Kafir tribes would be treated as something between men and wild animals. They would degenerate into liars, thieves, and drunkards, unfit at last for any other treatment than that which had made them what they were. And so at last they would perish with the same fatality which has attended every race which has come in contact with us.

In saying that such a system as this would prevail under a South African Confederation, I mean no more than that it would prevail in any country in the world which was similarly situated. The Cape settlers are no worse than other people, but they are not better than other people; and only heroic virtue would lead them to act differently. But there is a further feature in this case, which it is useless to hide from ourselves. Wherever white and black men come together there exists in the average white man a sense that the Negro is a lower order of being, that he is *φύσει δούλος*, a servant by nature, and is bound to work for his betters. He resents as an insult the notion that the black has a right to liberty as much as himself. He will be kind to him if he may make him into a bondman, as he will be kind to his horse or his dog. A human labourer who cannot leave him is a valuable piece of property; and natural good feeling will not be absent when the relative position is clearly defined. If, on the contrary, the law makes no difference between them, and treats black and white as if they were equal, the white will show his conviction of his superiority by keeping his dark fellow-citizen at a distance. The law may forbid him to force a Negro to plough or dig for him;

but it cannot force him to treat his coloured brother as if he was really a brother. He will show in every way that is left open to him that he does not believe the Negro to be his brother at all.

I have spoken already of the Langabalele affair, and the five hundred Zulus whom I saw confined on the idlest pretext in the gaol at Maritzberg. I will mention another personal experience of mine which made a deep impression on me. I was travelling through the upper part of Natal. I had a black servant and a white servant with me. The black was by far the best of the two: he was honest, steady, sensible, and thoroughly to be relied on. One day he was taken ill, and I had to give him a strong dose of calomel. We generally slept, all three of us, in a tent together; but that evening we came to a hotel, and I asked the landlady to give the man a bed. She said sharply that she had no beds for black fellows; and I found afterwards that the Colonists in the interior will never allow a native to sleep under the same roof with them. I said that she must make an exception for once, as the man was seriously unwell, and might die if he was exposed to cold. "Let him die then," she said. "He shall not sleep here." The sequel of the story was curious. In my dilemma I wandered into the kitchen, where I found a Burmese acting as cook. The Burmese being a Muhometan with straight hair, and olive-complexioned instead of black, was allowed to be a human being, and to live in the house. He looked good-natured, so I told him my difficulty. "Well," he said, "it is a hard case. I am a married man; but if my Missus does not object he may turn in with us."

Trial by jury is "the palladium" of English liberty. Trial by jury in South Africa acts sometimes as an arrangement by which a white man who has forgotten himself in dealing with a black may be relieved from the consequences. One of the Natal judges told me that he once tried a farmer for killing a Zulu servant. There was no mistake about the facts. It was proved by the plainest evidence that he had brutally and deliberately murdered the man. Yet the jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty!" and when it was delivered in, the spectators in the court rose and cheered. The judge said that he cried for very shame.

In the Cape Colony, where the native management is generally good and humane (or was good and humane before the late troubles), juries on the frontier show the same reluctance to convict their fellow-countrymen on charges of injury to the coloured people. The coloured people may be called their equals, but it is in theory only. I do not know whether they are legally disqualified for sitting themselves on juries; but, practically, the administration of justice is in the hands of the whites, and an offence of a white man against a black is not regarded as of the same quality as the offence of a black.

against a white. In consistency a Negro ought to be considered the less guilty of the two, for if he is half an animal he can only be half a criminal. But these one-sided judgments lie in the nature of the situation. Any one who will read the reports of the frontier trials may satisfy himself that I am not exaggerating. I take an instance at random from the *Eastern Star* of the 18th of this last July.

David Botha, a farmer at Albany, was prosecuted at the Eastern Districts Court for having killed a railway workman named Zwaart Buoy on the 23rd of April. The man had been missed on the line. The "ganger" asked what had become of him, and five days after, two of his companions said that he had been murdered. Their delay in giving information was significantly attributed, by the Solicitor-General who appeared for the Crown, "to the poor idea which they entertained of the white man's justice." The ganger thought no more about the matter, and perhaps did not believe the story. Three weeks more passed away without a search being made for the body. It was found at length with evident marks of violence upon it. The two men were again questioned, and on their deposition Botha was arrested and brought to trial. They swore positively that they had seen him shoot Zwaart Buoy, that they were close by at the time and could not possibly have been mistaken. They were, perhaps, lying; but what are we to think of such an extraordinary piece of evidence as followed? A bullet wound, we believe, can be easily distinguished from other wounds. The district surgeon was called for the defence. He said—

"I found a mark on the body, but I could form no opinion as to what caused it. It might or might not have been caused by a gunshot. It is quite possible that it may have been caused by falling upon a stump, or a stone, or by the stab of a knife. It was a large jagged aperture. I found no corresponding hole in the back, nor did I find a bullet in the body. I saw nothing like a bullet hole in either of the shirts. The rent in the shirt is too high for the bullet to have gone through it into the body."

In reply to a question from the Solicitor-General, the surgeon allowed that "if the body was in a stooping position the rent might have been caused by a bullet."

The jury then asked to see the shirts. Having examined them, they satisfied themselves that the holes had not been made by a bullet. Further evidence was thought unnecessary, and the prisoner was acquitted.

The verdict may have been right; but, if right, it could only have been right by accident: and we cannot wonder that, as the Solicitor-General said, "the natives have a bad opinion of the white man's justice." A railway labourer comes to a violent end; the members of his party asks after him, and receives for answer that he has been killed. The foreman, to all appearance, dismisses the sub-

ject from his mind. The body is left lying in the bush for a month without an inquiry, or any sense that an inquiry ought to be held. When it is at last found and examined, the surgeon cannot say whether the wound was caused by a bullet or not. It might or it might not. He had not found any bullet, and this might naturally have been thought conclusive; yet he could not venture to say it was conclusive. Perhaps he had avoided looking to see if there was a bullet. The jury make up their minds from the shape of the holes in the man's shirts, though he had been lying for a month in the forest, and the shirts might have been torn by foxes or wild cats. The direct evidence of two eye-witnesses of the murder is set aside as unworthy of credit, and so the matter ends. The loss of a cow or a pig would have created more sensation than this wretched Fingo. Cows and pigs belong to somebody, and compensation can be exacted if they are killed.

Without an adequate police there will be no justice, and an adequate police the Colonists will never provide. They know well that a British force must be maintained at Cape Town for the defence of the station. They know that, let us say what we will, such force will indisputably be made use of if the Colony is in real danger; and the pressure of necessity being absent, the obligation will be always evaded. To prevent or punish private thefts and murders they will trust to rough and ready local resources. For public defence they will rely on their commandos, as they do now in the Free State, or on the hasty levies of the farmers. These bodies are composed of men who are taken away unwillingly from their ordinary work; they are brought out with difficulty. When the danger can no longer be avoided, they act violently and rapidly that the business may be the sooner ended. If they fail, the spark kindles into a conflagration; and when British property is being destroyed and British colonists murdered, the theory that the British regiments are not to be employed breaks down, and must break down. If the troops are in the Colony they will be employed, let the constitution say what it pleases.

Nothing can be less satisfactory than the action of these irregularly raised levies of farmers. They may be brave enough. In their last war many of them have given signal proofs of courage. But they are not professional soldiers. They have their private affairs to attend to, from which they hate to be taken away; and no undisciplined bodies can be relied on for steadiness and endurance in a prolonged service. The Langabalele business in Natal assumed a serious aspect from a panic in a party of colonial cavalry. In the war just concluded, on the northern frontier of the Cape Colony, an officer was obliged to retreat before a handful of bushmen, through what the Cape Attorney-General mildly calls "the dissimulation" of

engage the enemy, undoubtedly shown by some members of the force under his command." ¹ Unprofessional persons, whose farms are suffering from their absence, who have families dependant on them, that will be ruined if they lose their lives, will frequently show "a disinclination" of this kind; and the peace of the country ought not to depend on them.

Want of discipline, too, will lead to excesses of another kind. These farmers do what they like, and their commanding officers have the most shadowy authority over them. The professional soldier feels no animosity against the enemy whom he meets in the field. He fights with him because it is his business; but, the battle over, his prisoner becomes his comrade. The Colonist's "enemy" is a "savage," who steals his cattle, menaces his rick-yards, and occupies land which he will not cultivate. The Colonist regards him as a sort of wild beast, who should be extirpated when opportunity offers. We were free with our censures when General Pelissier smothered the Arabs in the caves in Algeria. Dynamite has been actively used for a similar purpose in this late Kafir war by parties acting in the Queen's name and under the English flag. Dynamite shells have been flung into caverns where scores of miserable wretches have taken refuge with their wives and children; and letters from actors in these scenes, which appeared in the colonial papers, described the shrieks which followed the explosion without the slightest consciousness on the writer's part that what they had been doing was open to objection. The Kafirs, it seems, had fired on them as they were coming up, and this was a sufficient explanation. Surely if we look on the Kafirs as noxious animals, we are giving them exceedingly good reason to hold a similar opinion about ourselves.

Further down the Orange River, in this same last year, a party of Burghers had taken a number of prisoners, of all ages and both sexes, at a place called Luisdraaii. They deliberately murdered them. Rumours of this and other cruel actions having reached Cape Town, Mr. Sprigg, the Colonial Secretary, ordered an inquiry, and Mr. Jackson, the Special Commissioner on the frontier, thus reports to the Attorney-General:—

In reference to the truly atrocious proceedings of the Burghers at Luisdraaii, I have the honour to state that, in my opinion, the killing of a number of women and children in attacking the bushmen, who were engaged with the enemy, may be excusable on the plea of accident, and almost impossible to discriminate between the sexes of those engaged in the fight, owing to the similarity of their dress, and the volleys fired into a jungle to dislodge the foe. But no account of the wounded at Luisdraaii, and subsequently of the women and children who were taken prisoner, and subsequently murdered, is given.

The men who committed these dastardly acts have all, with one or two exceptions, returned to their houses in the district of Victoria West, far beyond my reach. I would suggest that the Resident Magistrate of that place be instructed to commence a preparatory examination against Commandant Van Niekirk, in order to reach the perpetrators of the terrible deeds, which he alleges to have been committed without his knowledge and consent, and against such of the farmers as can be identified."

The Attorney-General, Mr. Upington, writing on the subject to Mr. Sprigg, says—

"I am inclined to think that the deaths in the bush were purely the result of accident. I do not think that any of the Burglars deliberately shot a woman or child. There is, however, evidence of the shooting of several prisoners who were being conveyed from the scene of action to prison; and I shall cause every effort to be made with a view to bringing to justice the parties who committed so awful a crime as that alleged."

The commissioner on the spot declares that women and children were deliberately shot. The Attorney-General is satisfied that they were not. The doubt ought not to remain. The Attorney-General admits that "an awful crime" had been committed, and promises investigation. We shall be anxious to hear the result of it. If the charge is proved, and the guilty parties are prosecuted and hanged, we shall gladly confess that we have been mistaken, and that there is in the Colony a spirit capable of dealing with such lawless villains. But till justice is done we shall continue to believe that they will escape serious punishment; and that, if the Confederation Bill becomes law, the military defences of South Africa will be intrusted to men who will act in precisely the same manner as these Burglars from Victoria West. The Government will have no practical control over them; and we have to ask ourselves whether, after the part which we have taken in these wars, it would be either right or prudent or even tolerable to hand over two million natives, brave and dangerous when wronged, and unquestionably deserving a better fate, to men who treat them as our ancestors treated the Irish three centuries ago. Is not *one* Ireland a sufficiently dark blot upon our English escutcheon without our making a second Ireland in South Africa? At the time when the Dominion Bill was passed through Parliament, Confederation might, perhaps, have been ventured, though even then it would have been a hazardous experiment. There had been no native wars for twenty years; many persons thought that there would never be another; and as they were no longer frightened the Colonists could be cool and reasonable. Now amidst the wild whirl of passion which this last conflict has raised, when the united voice of South Africa declares its approval of the policy of Sir Bartle Frere, and is clamorous for the final subjugation of every tribe with which they are anywhere in contact, I think to attempt

(1) *Blue Book on Affairs of the Northern Border*, 1879, pp. 99—101.

to press Confederation on the acceptance of the Cape Parliament would be as ruinous as it would be culpable. Left with the natives on its hands, the Dominion would have to deal with them by such methods as its resources would allow; and scenes would follow within a very few years which would lead to an explosion of further displeasure at home, and a demand which no minister could resist for intervention. When a Government is carried on in the Queen of England's name the English nation will not be prevented by constitutional cobwebs from insisting that it shall be a government which the national conscience can approve. And the effect of having set up a united and semi-independent South African State will be to find that we have erected a power with which we shall soon certainly be in collision, and with which it will be extremely difficult to deal. If we choose to send out British regiments to conquer the aborigines and take their freedom from them, we are bound to secure them a tolerable government, and no plea of convenience will permit us to shirk our obligations.

Twenty years hence Confederation may become again possible. Passion will have cooled once more; the European population may perhaps have increased: many things may happen in twenty years. Meanwhile we have taken the burden on our backs, and it seems as if we must bear it. Ten years ago the Imperial Government, safe behind its Kei and Orange River, believed that it had done for ever with Kafir and Zulu wars; Natal was forgotten, or remembered only as the diocese of Bishop Colenso. The northern boundary had been definitely fixed, and we had made up our minds never to go beyond it. Now between greediness for diamonds, negligence, and good intentions, we have a beautiful South African Empire, which we don't know what to do with. One great cause has been the traditionary theory at the Colonial Office about the Boers. It has been the ineradicable conviction of Downing Street that the Dutch farmers shoot the natives, flog them, kidnap their children and keep them as slaves, if they do not boil and eat them; that no one else does such horrid things; and that it has been the special business of the Secretary of State to denounce them and hold them up to reprobation. It was on this principle that up to five years ago the Colonial Office always acted. It was thus that forty years ago we came by that miserable Natal. Some thousands of Dutch families, having the same dislike of being subject to England, as we should have to being subject to the Hollanders, desired to keep their freedom. They crossed the Orange River into countries where they thought that we should not care to follow them. They fought their way to Natal, they obtained a cession of it from the then Zulu chief, they settled there and built Peter Maritzberg. We decided that where they went we must go too; so we took Natal, and we have

kept it till we have made it notorious by treating the natives there incomparably worse than we accused the Boers of treating them. In the same spirit we took the Diamond Fields from the Orange Free State, under the plea of protecting a native Chief named Waterboer, who pretended a claim to the spot where the diamonds were found. We had bound ourselves by a treaty, *only two years before*, not to interfere any more between the Free State and the natives; we yielded to the first temptation with no sense of the indecency of what we were doing; we took the Diamond Fields in the name of the Griqua Chief, and, having cracked the nut, we gave the Chief the shells, and ourselves kept the kernel. This brought us into fresh quarrels, which led at last to our taking the Transvaal. We had gone to the edge of a war with the Free State, and it was averted only by the prudence of the President; while the Colonial Office was so curiously ignorant of the state of the population in the Cape Colony, and knew so little who the Boers really were, that they chose the particular moment when they were irritating and exasperating these people to madness to pass over the whole Cape Colony with all its revenues and resources to its own Parliament,—not apparently having the slightest suspicion that the majority of the voters who elect the Parliament are but Boers themselves—the uncles, fathers, brothers, cousins, sons of the Boers of the north, and identical with them in character and sentiment. Must we suppose that Lord Kimberley and Lord Blackford, who were responsible for this unwise piece of statesmanship, imagined that the Boer was a form of animal which did not exist south of the Orange River? It looks extremely like it. The Boers of South Africa are like the Germans and the English there, not superior to them, but not in the least inferior. Neither they nor any of the settlers are in my opinion fit to manage the native races in the name of the Queen. But there was no occasion to meddle with those who had withdrawn beyond our frontier; while if the Colonial Office thought so badly of the Free States, why was the government of the Cape Colony passed over to the Boers of Stellenbosch and Worcester, of Marlborough and the Paarl?

The situation in which we are left is an absurd one. We hold an enormous territory, not an acre of which is of the slightest advantage to us, with a population partly disaffected, and all difficult to rule; and we have the comfort of knowing that we have come by it through our own officiousness: we cannot blame the Cape Colony or expect the Colony to relieve us. What is to follow next?

What in the first place is to be done with the late independent Kafir Land, the richest, most beautiful part of South Africa? Most of it has been proclaimed British territory. The Pondos are still free, and defending themselves by arms; and their annexation is

being eagerly clamoured for. As long as Pondo Land is unsubdued, it is supposed that there will be no safety for the rest. The Colonial Government and the Imperial Government are jointly responsible for the confiscation of the Kafirs' liberties; but to whom the land is to belong is still undetermined. The Colonial Parliament is talking about it in a bewildered manner. They will be satisfied to take charge of it if imperial troops may be sent to quiet disturbances, should disturbances arise; but to this they know that we shall not assent. It is not fitting, as we have already insisted, that a self-governed colony should hold subject States, as territories, which are not included under their constitution. They already hold Basuto Land on these terms, and we ought peremptorily to disallow any further additions of such a kind. The alternatives are unfortunately few, and to every course open to us there are serious objections. We may revert if we please to the state of things before the war, restore the independence of Kafir Land, give back Zulu Land to the Zulus and the Transvaal to the Boers, fix the Kei once more as the eastern boundary of the Colony, and hold Natal till we can otherwise dispose of it. With an Affghan war on our hands again, we might be glad to be rid of this miserable African business on any terms; and although to consent to such an arrangement would be to acknowledge before all the world that Sir Bartle Frere's attack on Cetewayo was a foolish blunder, this is no more than ninety-nine Englishmen out of every hundred already profoundly believe. To carry fire and sword through a country, however, and then to evacuate it, is not to leave it as it was. It is to leave it with every element of danger, which existed before, increased to ten times what it was. The native everywhere would construe our retreat into weakness, and would be at once ungovernable. It would seem then that we must keep these countries ourselves. It will be expensive, and for many years we can raise no revenue, or next to none, in any one of them. If we mean to tax the Transvaal Boers we must do it by distraint. Not a man there will pay a shilling into the Treasury with his own consent. But we can give the natives a firm and just government, we can educate them, we can train them in habits of industry, we can give them an opportunity such as no Negro race has ever had before of developing whatever faculty may lie in them. The Negro in the United States and our own West Indies had the old taint of slavery on him; we have set him free, but we still look down on him; and being free we leave him to sink or swim. Between us and the Kafirs and Zulus, on the other hand, there is and ought to be the mutual regard of peoples who have learnt to respect one another in the field; and if we ruled them kindly and equitably, and gave them free access to all the knowledge which we could teach them, the conditions would exist under which it could be seen whether any branch of the Negro

race can rise to the white man's level. If they can learn under our authority to be industrious and acquire property and submit to the laws without losing their natural courage and other good qualities, they can then meet the Colonists on equal terms, and the desired Union of South Africa may become a fact. Costly and laborious as such a course might be, we, who are not afraid to make ourselves responsible for the good government of Asia Minor, might reasonably do as much for our "black brothers," of whom we have so long talked so lovingly, and for whom we have yet done so little within our own borders except to kill them. The European Powers who have been watching our proceedings with some amusement would appreciate a disinterested effort to redeem our inconsistencies. The right and honourable course for us is to take the administration of all the countries now called British territory outside the Cape Colony, and to govern them as we govern India. It would be reasonable and prudent to restore the Transvaal to the Dutch; but to give it back would be a confession of mistake which Englishmen are always unwilling to make. We could undoubtedly keep both the Transvaal, Kafir Land, and Zulu Land in peace, and peace would of itself secure a gradual development of order and prosperity. The cost is an objection; but in these cases the effort to escape expense is often the surest road to fall into it. Glad we might be if we could shake off South Africa altogether, keep Cape Town and Simon's Bay, which are the only parts of it which are of real value, and leave the rest to go its way. Our task would be made easy also if we could reverse the action of 1872, withdraw the constitution of the Colony, and place our entire possessions under the Crown. The resources which we thus so heedlessly threw away would be available for the general government. Both these expedients, however, lie beyond the range of practical politics. We gave the Colony constitutional independence, and the Colony must keep it till it voluntarily surrenders its privilege.

If, however, we are unequal to the heroic alternative of bearing the burden of our acquisitions alone, there is one more way open to us which would bring some relief with it, while no constitutional engagement would be either violated or strained. When self-government was conceded to the Colony, a reservation was left, of which if we please we are entitled to take advantage. Our western and eastern provinces stand to one another in the same relation as the three southern provinces of Ireland to Ulster. The western division is Dutch, the eastern is almost exclusively English. The Dutch are numerically superior, and Port Elizabeth and Graham's Town have always resented an arrangement which leaves them at the mercy of the western majority. At this moment, owing to the active interposition of Great Britain in South African politics, there is an Eastern Ministry. But with the return of a normal state of things

numbers will again assert themselves, and the west will rule as it ruled before. At the time of the establishment of Responsible Government, the east petitioned the Colonial Office for separation. Were it not for the British connection, which forbids violent revolutions, the population of Port Elizabeth would long ago have forced their emancipation by taking possession of their own Custom House. Lord Kimberley did not reject the petition, but recommended the eastern English to try first the new arrangement. When their rivals come back to power the Union will be as unsatisfactory to them as before. The eagerness with which they have taken up the Confederation cry is only the old demand under a new form, for under Confederation they are promised a separate provincial government. No promise would be broken, and the Dutch of the Colony would have no fair ground of complaint if the request of the eastern province was now acceded to, and it was divided off as it so passionately desires to be. In this way, and in this way only, the policy of the Colonial Office can be usefully carried out. The danger of Confederation, as contemplated in the Dominion Act, lies in the construction of a constitution in which the Dutch party will be irresistibly supreme. They will insist on a native policy such as they themselves approve. They will not be amenable to English advice. They will not submit to be lectured and interfered with. And the Dutch methods of management which we have always repudiated will be carried out under an English governor. It is easy to say that security against high-handed measures can be taken beforehand. But no legislative provisions will form a protection when the administration is in the hands of men who can evade or disregard them. We should find ourselves in immediate collision with the Dominion Government, and we should then either have to sanction measures which would contradict our most deeply rooted convictions, or we should have to suppress the constitution as soon as it was made, or else we should have to withdraw our governor and abandon the country. That one or other of these results would follow in the present condition of colonial opinion is as certain as a mathematical demonstration.

But the same objection would not apply to a confederation between the eastern province, Natal, and the Diamond Fields. Here the English party would have their way, and the men of the eastern province would enter readily into the new connexion, if by entering it they could buy their deliverance from Cape Town domination. The west might then be left as it stands, with its own Parliament, its own Ministers, and its liberties unimpaired. It is far removed from the Borders where the native difficulty begins. The scanty coloured population of the old Dutch province has no connexion with the Kaffirs, and differs from them in race, language, and

character. It would be a pure homogeneous agricultural colony, occupied with its own concerns, ambitious only of being let alone, and not a single occasion could arise which would oblige us to interfere with it. The eastern province and the remaining States might meanwhile be amalgamated under a new constitution; and as a price for their relief from their present bondage, the eastern men would gladly agree to any reasonable terms which the Imperial Government might prescribe. There is no just reason, either political or geographical, for compelling Port Elizabeth and Graham's Town to remain in unwilling union with the Dutch of the western province, and divided from their fellow English of Natal and the Diamond Fields. A confederate English dominion, free from foreign intermixture, would be English in sentiment, and would bind itself to an English policy. The eastern province would bring with it two-thirds of the Cape revenue, and almost all the existing border police force. If left to themselves the English farmers of the frontier might be as hard to the natives as the Dutch. Probably in all our colonies something like the Dutch system would be adopted if the colonists could have things their own way; and in South Africa, without some support from home, they would be compelled to adopt it. But backed by English resources, on which they could rely for help in extremity, and with some active English co-operation, they could afford to be lenient. There would still be difficulties, but they would be no longer insuperable as in the larger scheme.

Even the Transvaal problem might be solved better in this way than in any other. To direct English rule the Transvaal will remain stubbornly irreconcilable. If confederated with the undivided Cape Colony, they will strengthen the Dutch element there, and infect it even more deeply than it is infected at present with their dislike of the connection with the "accursed Britisher." But if they saw that this could not be, and that they would not be permitted to reconstitute a separate State, they would probably consent to be parties in the eastern union, and acquiesce thus (as they never otherwise will acquiesce) in their position of British subjects. Their wool trade passes through Port Elizabeth and Durban; the Port Elizabeth merchants have lent the farmers money; they have their branch houses of business at Pretoria and Lydenberg, and have relations with the country of many kinds. I am still of opinion that it would be better for the natives and better for ourselves if we were to keep our acquisitions at our own cost. The expense would teach us to moderate our ambition after the annexation of fresh territories. We flatter ourselves that we are not as other men—unjust, extortioners, stealers of other men's lands—and the fatal evidence of the map of the world shows, in each new edition, that, as the Americans say, "no one swallows more of other people's land without choking than

John Bull." We shall be more cautious when we have to pay for such indulgences out of our own pockets, and are no longer able to hand them over to others. But if this is not to be, the plan which I have just mentioned is the most rational, and has the best prospects of success. South Africa would drift of itself into this combination if we were out of the way, and State arrangements are always the most effective which fall in with the natural tendency of things.

We most earnestly entreat the Colonial Office not to pass this suggestion by without an effort at least to consider it. British rule in South Africa has been marked hitherto by a series of miserable mistakes, culminating in the Zulu war, which has been the last and greatest. The circumstances of the Colony are peculiar. No serious attempt has ever been made to understand them, and the Office has been guided in its action towards it either by general rules, which do not suit with the facts, or by spasmodic impulses of benevolence, philanthropy, economy, or irritation. We have been alternately too busy or too negligent, while we have never cared to study what South Africa itself wished, or what its interests really required. It would have been far better if the provinces had been separated seven years ago. When we find that for every fresh mistake we have to pay in millions, the time has come for the country to speak out and insist that those who are responsible for the management shall address themselves intelligently to the problem which they have to solve.

As we close this paper the Cape papers bring news of another move among the politicians of the Colony. Struck apparently by the hopeless difficulties of the situation, a Member of the Cape Parliament has given notice of his intention to propose a petition for a legislative union between South Africa and Great Britain. The Colony is to send representatives, like Ireland, to the English House of Commons. The union with Ireland became a necessity when it was found that two Parliaments, neither of which was subordinate to the other, could not work together. The alternatives were either complete separation or a more intimate connection; and as separation could not be thought of, an Act of Union was the only resource. When responsible governments were granted to the colonies, it was with an impression that before long they would leave us and become independent. It is now recognised, both at the Cape and in England, that we can no more part with South Africa than we can part with Ireland. The position is of vital consequence to our naval supremacy. More than a hundred millions' worth of English property passes annually in English sailing vessels within two hundred miles of Simon's Bay, and we cannot risk the danger of allowing so important a harbour to fall into hostile hands. The reception of the proposal

by the Colonial Parliament will depend upon the view which is likely to be taken of it at home. We ought not lightly to refuse. We lost America by rejecting the same request when it was made to us by Franklin ; while to grant it might involve changes of enormous magnitude. If South Africa sent representatives to Westminster, it is not impossible that the Canadian Dominion and Australia and New Zealand might prefer a similar demand. A privilege which we had conceded to one colony could not be refused to others, and such a Reform Bill would become necessary as has not been heard of since 1831. The Americans admit their territories as constituent States when they are large enough to enter the Union. There is no reason in the nature of things why we should not admit our colonies on analogous terms, if they seriously wish it and ask for it. The time, perhaps, is not far off when the question may arise in a practical form, and we shall have to decide whether they shall leave us or be joined indissolubly with us on those conditions. Canadian statesmen have already hinted that they cannot stand alone. They must be one with us, or one with the United States. The present relations are too precarious to stand a strain. The colonies may be exposed to the trials and sufferings of a war through an imperial policy in which they have no voice. The inconvenience to the mother country is signally illustrated in this South African imbroglio. An Act of Union, if it could be ventured, would settle all difficulties in the best way in which they could be settled ; but a proposal so far-reaching must be weighed and scanned in many aspects before it is ripe even for serious discussion.

J. A. FROUDE.

THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

A VISIT to the Channel Islands in the course of the spring of this year gave me the opportunity I had long desired, of verifying the accounts which Mr. Barham Zincke and others have given of the small yeomen proprietors of these Isles. Their condition presents so many contrasts with that of the small tenant farmers of the United Kingdom, and especially of Ireland, that it will be worth while, at a time when attention is specially directed to such subjects, to explain and account for it. In doing so it is necessary to say a few words upon the history of the islanders, for their condition is the result of a well-sustained historic tradition, and is due not a little to the fact that while they have been conspicuous for their loyalty and attachment to their connection with England, they have resisted with equal persistency and success any attempt to interfere with their local self-government, or to introduce among them the principles of the English system of the tenure and inheritance of land. Their two qualities of loyalty to England and attachment to their own Island customs have, in fact, mutually sustained one another. For their loyalty to the Crown has induced successive Sovereigns of England to guarantee and preserve their special privileges and local institutions, and the fidelity with which these charters have been observed for many centuries, has confirmed the islanders in their attachment to England.

It is not easy to account for the fact that when the Duchy of Normandy was lost by the Sovereign of England, these Islands were retained. Moored off the coast of France, and within the great Bay caused by the projecting provinces of Normandy and Brittany, they seem to be marked out by nature as dependencies of that country; and to those Frenchmen who regard territorial arrangements from the point of view of scientific frontiers, or geographical annexations, or even from that of nationality, it must be somewhat galling that these Islands should not be subject to French rule. Originally part of the Duchy of Normandy, as founded by Duke Rollo, they were the special appanage of its Dukes, and were identical in race, religion, language, and law with the Norman people. The islanders still make it their boast that their relations with England commenced in conquest on their part, that they took their share in the Norman invasion of England, and that their connexion with their sovereigns dates from a period before the Dukes of Normandy became Kings of England. Their separation from Normandy took place when King

John lost his possessions on the Continent. It has often been observed with surprise how little resistance the Normans on the mainland, notwithstanding their hatred of the French, offered to the invasion of Philip Augustus, when executing the sentence of deposition from the Dukedom, declared against John for the murder of his nephew Arthur, and indeed what little effort the English King himself made to retain his provinces on the mainland.

Far different was it when the Channel Islands were threatened. After overrunning and subduing Normandy on the mainland, the French King landed a force in Jersey. Here, however, his troops met with a vigorous resistance. Twice they were driven back. John himself shook off his lethargy, and showed energy and spirit. He hastened to the Islands; he fortified the weak places which had been invaded by the French; he rewarded the people for their gallant conduct; he gave them numerous privileges and immunities; he freed them from all foreign dependency; matters which in the last resort had been carried to the Exchequer in Normandy, he directed in future to be brought before himself and his Council in England. All other matters he left to be determined by the local courts in the two principal Islands. He gave them a charter which has ever since been the security of their self-government and other privileges.

This charter exempted the islanders from taxation without their consent; it secured to them the privilege of free trade with England, the right of importing into England all articles of island manufacture and growth free of duty; it established local legislatures for Jersey and Guernsey; their bailiffs were to be appointed by the Crown, but twelve Jurats elected by the inhabitants of each island were intrusted with jurisdiction in all matters, civil and criminal; above all, it secured them from the encroachments of English law, and recognised and maintained their own customs and laws.

It is probable that John's charter merely confirmed, so far as the judicial authorities of the Islands were concerned, the previously existing state of things. The elective judges, or Jurats, existed in many parts of France, as in Aquitaine and Bayonne. The separation, however, of the Islands from Normandy placed them in a peculiar and to some extent independent position. They belonged to the Crown, but they formed no part of the realm; they were not represented in the Parliament of England. It was necessary to secure to them their new relation to the sovereign, and it is this which they have ever retained. The customary law of Normandy continued to be the law of the Islands, and to this day forms the basis of their laws, modified from time to time by ordinances of the Crown in Council, to which the assent of the Island legislatures has been obtained; and it is to the customs of Normandy that the people still

owe their system of land tenure, their laws of descent of property, and every other distinguishing feature of their law.

From the time of John, almost every successive King of England gave fresh charters to the Islands, confirming their privileges, securing to them immunity from English law, and recognising their local self-government. In all these charters reference is made to the loyalty of the islanders to their sovereigns, and to the dangers they had undergone. Thus the charter of Edward III. runs—

“We, remembering with pleasure how constantly and courageously our faithful and beloved subjects, the inhabitants of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark, have always hitherto continued faithful to us and our ancestors, the Kings of England, and how many dangers they have undergone, and what great charges they have been put to for the preservation of our rights and dignities therein, being, therefore, willing to honour them with our gracious favour, &c. &c.”

and the charter of Edward IV. runs—

“We, therefore, calling to mind how valiantly, courageously, and constantly the said people and community of the Island of Jersey have adhered to us and our ancestors, and how many losses and dangers they have sustained for the defence of the said Island and the recovery of our castle of Mount Orgueil, have of our grace, &c.”

and the charters of Henry VII., Queen Elizabeth, and the four Stuart kings, run in almost the same words.

That the inhabitants of the Islands had well earned these praises and favours no one who reads their early history can doubt. Attacks were constantly made upon them by the French, and as often were repulsed, more often without the aid of British forces than with it. Frequently, however, the French obtained temporary successes, and were able to get possession of Castle Cornet in Guernsey, or other strongholds, but they never succeeded in long retaining their hold; more often they contented themselves with ravaging the Islands and driving their inhabitants into their strongholds. So great was the misery caused by these constant wars, that an understanding was at last arrived at between the English and French kings, that the Islands should be considered as neutral territory, even when there should be war between the two countries.

On the application of Edward IV., and apparently with the consent of the French King, and of the Duke of Brittany, a Bull was issued by Pope Sixtus IV., in 1483, by which all who should in any way molest the inhabitants of the Channel Islands, were *ipso facto* excommunicated; and for many years, by virtue of this Bull, the Islands enjoyed a kind of privileged neutrality during the wars between England and France. Merchant vessels belonging to the Islands and taken by French cruisers were released by the French prize courts, and French vessels trading to Jersey were similarly released by the English courts. In the charter of Elizabeth it is

specially mentioned as a privilege of the Islands, that they had a right to trade with France during time of war, and that French traders coming to the Islands should be exempt from capture while in sight of the Islands. The privilege, however, gradually dropped out of practice, and William III., in declaring war against France, specially withdrew this exemption from hostile capture of French property while in the Channel Islands.

It is worthy of notice that twice only during their long connexion with England has there been any serious danger to the Islands of subjection to France, and on both occasions through treachery under very similar circumstances. When Henry VI. was at the lowest ebb of his fortunes, in 1461, his brave consort, Margaret of Anjou, crossing the Channel, sought help from the French Court; an agreement was made through her that, in consideration of assistance to be given to Henry, the Channel Islands should be given up to France, to be holden in future independently of the Crown of England. In pursuance of this arrangement, the Count de Maulevrier landed with two thousand men in England to assist Henry; and, on the other hand, a French force was sent to Jersey, where, by orders of Queen Margaret, the Castle of Mount Orgueil surrendered to it. The French force then succeeded in reducing about half the Island; the other half resisted the leadership of Philip de Carteret, Seigneur of St. Ouen. The French retained their hold upon the Island for no less than six years, at the end of which Sir Robert Harliston, Vice-Admiral of England, arrived in Jersey with a fleet, and co-operating with the loyal inhabitants, laid siege to the Castle, and after nineteen weeks compelled its surrender, and drove the French forces from the Island.

The other occasion was in 1646, when Charles I. was in the hands of the Parliamentary forces; his Queen, Henrietta Maria, and Lord Jermyn, the Governor of Jersey, appear to have commenced an intrigue with the Government of France for the sale of the Channel Islands. The negotiation did not proceed far, for on news being received in Jersey of what was being attempted, the greatest indignation was manifested. It was determined by the inhabitants to give up the Islands to the Parliamentary Government, and with their aid to resist any invasion of the French, rather than be handed over to their ancient enemy. Lord Clarendon gives an Act of Association signed by himself, then Sir Edward Hyde, and acting in Jersey as one of the Council of the Prince of Wales, by Lord Capel, Sir R. Hopton, and Sir Edward de Carteret, engaging themselves to oppose the alienation of the Islands to France.¹ The blame of the attempted transaction is thrown, in this document, upon Lord Jermyn, the Governor, but it is evident that he was merely the agent of the Queen, or, perhaps, even of the Prince of Wales. The proposed sale

(1) *Lord Clarendon's Papers*, vol. ii. p. 279.

of the Islands was the more unjustifiable as Jersey at least had shown the greatest loyalty to the royal cause. When the civil war broke out, the two Islands had taken opposite sides. Guernsey, impelled probably to the popular cause by its more pronounced Presbyterianism and by its abhorrence of Episcopacy, declared for the Parliament; Jersey, although it had also embraced Protestantism, was more mindful of the privileges which it had always enjoyed, and of its special relations to the sovereigns of England; it had suffered no grievances from the arbitrary acts of Charles I.; the powers of the Star Chamber had not extended to the Islands. It remained true therefore to the royal cause, and in 1645 the Jersey States issued a proclamation announcing their continued adhesion to the King.

In the course of this document they say—

“*Tout le monde scait assez que ceste Isle est ung resto du Duché de Normandie, quo les ancestres de sa Majesté possédoient ancienment devant que de passer en Angleterre. . . . On n'a jamais considéré ceste Isle comme partie du royaume d'Angleterre, et on ne lui peut attacher sans lui oster le plus ancien et le plus avantageux de tous ses privilèges, de sorte qu'il n'est besoin que nous nous meslions dans les affaires et les différents des Anglois. Il nous suffit de savoir que nos lois et nos libertés (qui sont différentes des leurs) ne nous permettent de prendre les armes contre nos princes.*”

In the following year, 1647, the Prince of Wales found refuge in Jersey, arriving here from the Scilly Islands; and here, on the execution of Charles I., he was proclaimed king. He again visited the Island shortly after his proclamation as king, and resided there some months. The Island remained in his hands for some years after, under the governorship of Sir George de Carteret. During this time the Island was the centre of activity for the Royalists; numerous privateers were fitted out to cruise against the commerce of England; they struck terror over the whole Channel; they interrupted trade, and seriously interfered with Cromwell's operations in Ireland by capturing vessels carrying stores for his army. The gains from this source enabled the Royalists to maintain a numerous garrison; and it was not till 1652 that Cromwell found time to direct a force against the nest of Royalists. A fleet was fitted out under Blake, and a force was landed on the Island in spite of a vigorous opposition; after a protracted siege Fort Elizabeth, at St. Helier, was taken, and the Island was brought under the power of the Commonwealth. The loyalty of the people, however, was fully acknowledged by Charles II. on his restoration, and a renewal of their privileges and immunities was secured to them by fresh charters, both from himself and his brother James II.

It is worthy of note, however, that Jersey did not dissociate itself from England on the occasion of the revolution of 1688. James II. appears to have roused the same dislike and distrust here as elsewhere. He had sent Papists to Jersey, who filled Elizabeth Castle

with soldiers of the same faith ; and when he fled from England the people of Jersey were under great alarm that this garrison of Papists would hand over the fortress to the French. To guard against this the magistrates persuaded the governor to admit inhabitants of the Island to mount guard in the Castle in equal numbers with its garrison ; and consequently, when William III. was proclaimed King in England, the change of government was effected in the Islands without trouble.

Thenceforward the history of these Islands is uneventful, and is not to be distinguished from that of England. So completely have they been identified with England, and so hopeless has appeared to the French the task of permanently securing them by conquest, that, although so near to their coasts, and although so great the loss inflicted on French commerce by privateers fitted out there, during all the wars that have occurred between the two countries since 1688, there was only one occasion when a serious effort was made to take possession of them.

In 1781 a considerable force was embarked at Granville under command of Baron de Rullecourt ; a portion of this, consisting of seven hundred men, landed in Jersey, in spite of very tempestuous weather, and marched across the island to St. Helier ; here they surprised the Deputy-Governor, Major Corbet, compelled him to capitulate the fortress, and to send an order to the troops in other parts of the island to deliver up their arms. Major Pearson, in command of the 95th Regiment, refused to obey these orders ; he summoned the militia of the island, and with their aid he attacked the French force in the market-place of St. Helier, and completely routed them. Both Rullecourt and Pearson were killed in the action.

There is extant an interesting report of the French officer who planned this invasion, which explains fully all the difficulties which the French have found in the past in making any formal attack on the Islands. He says—

“ Ces deux Iles font le desespoir de la France au début de chaque guerre par un corsairage très actif, qui commence toujours par enlever une grande quantité de vaisseaux et qui coupe et détruit toute communication et tout commerce entre les ports de la Manche avant que la France eut pu prendre aucune précaution pour protéger sa navigation côtière par des armemens.

“ La France ne peut essayer d'enlever ces Iles qu'au début de la guerre lorsqu'elles ne sont pas encore armées. Dès que les dispositions de défense sont faites elles sont trop difficiles à attaquer ; l'expédition coûterait plus qu'elle ne peut valoir ; il faudrait y destiner au moins dix mille hommes et proportionner l'escorte des bâtimens armés au nombre de bâtimens armés que les Anglais destinent en temps de guerre à cette station ; et ce nombre varie continuellement, sans que les Français puissent trouver moyen de le savoir. Le Château Cornet à Guernsey et celui de St. Helier à Jersey sont presque inabordables. Les Français ne pourraient les bloquer, ou les attaquer par

mer que dans le cas où ils auraient une flotte supérieure dans la Manche ; alors il aurait des opérations plus essentielles à faire, et ils ne consommeraient pas leurs grands moyens à attaquer ces petits rochers.

“ L’habitude de braver les dangers de la mer rend les habitans très braves. Ils forment un corps de milices bien discipliné ; bons tireurs, et qui seraient en état presque seuls de repousser l’ennemi qui serait descendu. Leur attachement au gouvernement Anglais est très-fort et proportionné à leur intérêt. Bons voisins pendant la guerre, liés même assez étroitement par la contreband, qui les enrichit, avec les habitans de la côte de Normandie et de Bretagne, qui les avoisinent, ils deviennent des ennemis très dangereux dès que la guerre se déclare ; ou plutôt ils sont toujours en état de guerre tantôt contre les douaniers tantôt contre la marine marchande Française. Une pareille population ajoute encore à la force naturelle de ces Iles.”

It was probably arguments of this nature which induced Napoleon to refrain from any attempt, during the long years he was at war with England, to conquer the Islands. To insure success, the command of the sea was necessary ; and with the command of the Channel an invasion of England itself was possible.

From the earliest times the inhabitants have been trained to arms ; and even in times of peace every male in Jersey between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five must serve in the militia, and muster with this force for drill during six days in the year. A very respectable force of nearly 3,000 men is thus organized in Jersey, and a proportional force in Guernsey. A British regiment usually quartered in the Islands serves as a nucleus ; and it may be confidently stated that thus armed the Islands will successfully resist any force which may reasonably be expected to attack them at the commencement of a war. They have not the less been the subject of constant panics at the War Office. They bristle with forts and armaments. In Guernsey and Alderney alone no fewer than 550 guns have been mounted within the last twenty-five years. They are already, however, out of date, and would be utterly useless against ironclads and more recent artillery. The real defences of the Islands are the loyalty of their people, and their determination to resist any attack till aid can be sent them ; and the command of the sea by the British fleet. Without command of the sea it would be impossible for England to hold the Islands ; with command of the sea it is equally easy to prevent the French from maintaining any force there, even if they should temporarily obtain possession of them.

Looking back then at the history of the Islands, we cannot fail to be struck on the one hand by the loyalty shown by their inhabitants to their sovereigns and to their connection with England, and on the other hand by the good faith which the Government of England has observed towards the islanders in leaving to them their local government, their own laws and institutions, in conceding to them immunity from English law, and yet allowing to them all the privileges of the empire.

It is to be remarked that the governments and laws of the two Islands are quite distinct and independent of one another. Each has gone its own way from the time of King John to the present; there is no connexion between them save that of the Crown. They have each retained, however, the principles of the old Norman law, and in the main their constitutions and governments are identical. In each Island there is a Lieutenant-Governor, generally a military officer, in command of the forces, and with certain limited civil powers as representing the Queen; there is a bailiff, a civil administrative officer, appointed by the Crown, who presides over the Royal court and the States. In both, the States are composed in part of representatives elected for a term by the inhabitants, in part by the Jurats or judges, who also are elected by the inhabitants for life, and in part by the rectors of the various parishes, for the Church of England is very firmly established by law. By strict law Orders of the Queen in Council, and probably also Acts of the British Parliament, which specially mention the Islands, prevail even without the consent of the Island States; but the long-observed custom, sanctioned by repeated charters, has been to consult the islanders through their States before passing such orders.

When an Act of the Imperial Parliament is passed, which in the opinion of the Home Secretary should be extended to the Channel Islands, the practice is to send a copy of it to the Lieutenant-Governors, with the request that it may be submitted to the States, with a view to a subsequent Order in Council; but not unfrequently, through remissness, an Order in Council is passed in England without such previous consent of the States, and when this occurs the Island authorities, jealous of their privileges, find it their duty to discover some defect in the Order, and return it with the request that it may be amended, after obtaining the approval of the States. In this way the privileges of the Islands and the rights of the Crown are maintained without serious conflict.

By degrees an assimilation has taken place of the Island law to that of England, in respect of most of the modern requirements of government and administration. In respect, however, of their land laws, the tenure of property, and the law of inheritance or bequest, their laws remain much the same as they were before their separation from Normandy. To find the full explanation of these laws we must still have recourse to treatises on the customary law of Normandy before the French Revolution.

It should be recollected that the customary law of Normandy applied only to the common people; there were also the feudal laws

which regulated the descent of property, and other privileges of the nobility. In Normandy these feudal laws had a wide application; the foudal manors were numerous and important; the nobility were powerful and wealthy. They had their laws of primogeniture and of entail, their manorial courts, and numerous privileges exempting them from taxation; these were swept away by the Revolution of 1789; but many of these laws, which in this country are considered to be the special offspring of the Revolution, were in fact the customary laws of the common people throughout the greater part of France, and affected all those who were not of the privileged classes. Thus it was with Normandy, and the common law of this province was that also of the Channel Islands. The feudal laws have also left their trace there, but a very slight one. There were feudal manors in Norman times, and a class of nobles; but when the separation took place most of the nobles having property on the mainland, threw in their lot with the French, and their manors in the Islands were confiscated by King John. There remained only four important manors in private hands which retained, and retain to this day, the privileges of primogeniture and other feudal rights.

Thus it happened that the Islands practically escaped from the feudal system, and were subject only to the customary law of Normandy. This customary law, in respect of property, is not very different in principle from the law made universal in France by the great Code, which goes by the name of the Code Napoleon, but which in fact was mainly the work of the revolutionary government. The Island law aims at division of landed property, and is opposed to its accumulation. On the death of the owner of land, his property must be divided among the children in a certain proportion, and there is no power of disposing of it by will, if there be children. The eldest son has, however, a certain slight advantage; he gets the principal house and two acres of land. The remainder is divided in the proportion of three-fifths equally among the sons, and two-fifths equally among the daughters; but with a further provision that a daughter's share is not to be larger than a son's share. The widow, however, receives the income of one-third for her life, when it is divided among the children; and as her right of dower to all landed property belonging to her husband at the time of marriage is indefeasible, without her consent, the necessity for marriage settlements is avoided. Till the year 1851 no land could be subject to a testamentary devise, but a law was then passed permitting the devise of land which has been acquired by the testator, provided he has no children, and in respect of inherited land, provided there be no descendants of the original purchaser. Under these restrictions it is obvious that bequests of landed property must be very few. In respect of personalty the rule even more closely approximates to the French law. If there

be a widow and children, the testator may dispose only of one-third of his personalty by will. One-third goes to the widow, the remainder equally to the children. If there be no children the testator may dispose of one-half of his personalty, the remainder goes to his next of kin.

Entails are not permitted, just as in Normandy they were prohibited except to the nobility. There was a time in the history of the Islands when public opinion seemed inclined to favour the introduction of entail. In the year 1617 there appears to have been great distress in the Islands due to the decay of the stocking trade; the Jersey States petitioned the Crown to the effect that the Island was much weakened by means of the continual partition of lands among co-heirs, and they prayed the King to grant them liberty to entail their lands, rents, and tenements upon their heirs, to remain impartible, for the better maintenance and continuance of their houses. An Order in Council was accordingly passed authorising the Governor, Bailiff, and Jurats to give patents to all persons who should desire it, to entail so much of their lands and rents to remain impartible as they should think fit, provided that the greatest entail was not to exceed the annual value of one hundred quarters of wheat. Under this law a certain number of estates were entailed; but apparently not in such a way as to prevent their being alienated or encumbered, and the practice has long ago fallen into disuse. When in 1850 the law was passed authorising devises of real estate, subject to the limitations already described, it prohibited the creation of successive estates for life.

There are other peculiarities of law or custom which are worthy of notice, and some of which facilitate the creation or maintenance of small ownerships. There is a curious system under which land can be charged with the payment of "rents." The owner or purchaser may burthen his property with rents up to three-fourths of its value. These rents are a permanent charge upon the property. The non-payment of them justifies the rent-holder in selling the property. He cannot, however, call in the principal, neither can the owner of the property pay them off directly, but he may discharge his property of them by substituting rents on other property (which he may buy in the market), and the holder is bound to take such substituted rents, provided they are of the same value and security. These rents are treated as real property. They have the advantage that they offer the means of investing small sums in the purchase of real property, without the inconvenience of their being liable to be paid off like a mortgage. The debtor, on the other hand, instead of being obliged to wait until he has accumulated a sum sufficient to pay off his mortgage, may disencumber himself of the debt by buying and assigning to his creditor small sums of rent as low as £8 to £10 at a time.

The Jersey freeholder who has bought subject to rents, has the advantage of being independent of the rent-holders as long as he can pay his rent. On the other hand, an English mortgagee can call in his mortgage at any time, to the great inconvenience, and even distress, of the mortgagor. By law, in Jersey a purchaser must pay one-fourth of his purchase money in cash, but may leave the remainder as a charge on the property in rents. This facilitates the disposal of real property, by extending the sphere of competition and enabling many to become freeholders who could not under a different order of things. Most of the freeholds in Jersey are more or less encumbered with these rents, but if the owner is an industrious man, he pays them yearly, gradually reduces their quantity, and instead of being liable to be turned out of his farm, as in England, has all the security and all the status and incentive to improve his land of a freeholder. There are, however, disadvantages connected with this system, the chief of which is that the rents may be split into mere fractions, and that the expense of collection becomes heavy; there are proposals now before the Jersey States for amending the law.

Another and much more doubtful law is that which is called "Retraite lignaner," under which, where the owner of land sells his inheritance (not his acquired property), the next of kin, or, upon his neglect or refusal, the next after, and so on to the seventh degree of kinship, may, at any time within ten years, redeem the inheritance, on paying down the full sum for which it was sold, with all the charges. If the inheritance be sold by decree of the Court for payment of debts, the next of kin has but a year and a day to make his claim, and if he neglects to do so within this time he is excluded from his retreat. The case is the same if the purchaser registers his deed, and as all property deeds are registered, this practically limits the custom of retreat to a year and a day. This custom, together with another, which renders the purchaser of land liable in certain cases for debts incurred by previous vendors, makes the purchase of property by strangers a difficult and hazardous operation, but as between islanders who know the previous history of each little property, there is little danger. The costs of transfer are inconsiderable, and the system of registration of deeds and rents greatly facilitates it.

Another old custom, descended from Norman times, is also interesting, though it does not bear upon the question of the tenure of land. The "*Clameur de Haro*," or the appeal to Rollo, is attributed to Duke Rollo of Normandy, who gave to his people a personal appeal to himself and his successors in certain cases of wrong. To this day in the Islands, if there be a question of encroachment on the right of property, such as the wrongful building of a wall or the removal

of a boundary, the custom is that the injured person may make his appeal to Rollo on the spot, by falling on his knees in the presence of witnesses and exclaiming in the prescribed words, "*Haro, Haro, à l'aide, mon Prince, on me fait tort!*"—Haro being the abbreviation of the words, "*Ah, Rollo!*" On this invocation, the workmen employed in the work are bound to cease, and cannot proceed with it until the Royal Court has investigated the matter and pronounced judgment. If the person thus appealing is found on inquiry to be in the wrong, he is fined by the court for having, without just grounds, called in the name of Rollo. A notable case of this *Clameur de Haro* occurred in Normandy at the funeral of William the Conqueror, and accounts for the scene so graphically told by Mr. Freeman, though he does not connect the incident with the peculiar custom or right of appeal. In order to provide a site for the great Abbey of St. Stephen at Caen, the Conqueror had taken the property of several persons, one of whom complained that he had not been compensated for his interest. The son of this person, Ascelin, observing that the grave of William was dug on the very spot where his father's house had been situated, went boldly into the assembly collected at the grave for the funeral, and making his appeal to Rollo, forbade further proceedings until his claim of right was decided. He addressed the company in these words:—

"He who has oppressed kingdoms by his army has been my oppressor also, and has kept me under a continual fear of death. Since I have outlived him who injured me, I mean not to acquit him now he is dead. The ground whereon you are going to lay this man is mine; and I affirm that none may in future bury their dead in ground which belongs to another. If after he is gone, force and violence are still used to detain my right from me, I appeal to Rollo, the founder and father of our nation, who though dead lives in his laws. I take refuge in these laws, owning no authority above them."¹

This brave speech, delivered in presence of the Conqueror's son, Prince Henry, afterwards Henry I., wrought its effect. Compensation was immediately given to Ascelin for the value of the ground occupied by the grave, a further sum was promised for the remainder, and the opposition ceasing, the dead king was duly buried. Mr. Freeman thinks it improbable that William should have wrongfully taken the land; it was not his character to commit acts of mere robbery; but there may have been a dispute of right, and Ascelin, having made his appeal to Rollo according to the custom, the funeral could not have been proceeded with; it may well have been then that it was found more convenient to compensate him on the spot, than to delay proceedings and disappoint those who had come for the ceremony.

(1) I have taken the speech as given by Paulus Æmilius, which differs from that in Mr. Freeman's account, taken from Ordericus Vitalis, and which seems to me to lose the point by omitting the appeal to Rollo.

Reverting to the laws affecting the tenure of land, it will be seen that they greatly favour the distribution and division of property. Practically, the principle of compulsory heritage, which prevails throughout a great part of the Continent of Europe, and under which land must be apportioned among the children, prevails also in the Channel Islands, subject to a very slight advantage in favour of the eldest son.

The Islands have been saved from the introduction of the feudal law upon any such scale as to have any practical effect. They have also resisted any attempt to introduce the English system, with all its intricacies of family entail, successive remainders, vested and contingent, and its executory devises, and have avoided the multitude of perplexities which arise from them. The people of the Islands are devoted to their system of land tenure. They attribute to it the fact that property is distributed so widely, and they assign it as the cause for the universal thrift and industry and saving habits of the people, which have led to such remarkable results in the aggregate wealth and prosperity of the Islands.

In the *Falle's History of Jersey*, edited by the Rev. Edward Durell, which gives the best account of the special customs of the island, the following passage occurs, which fairly represents the prevalent view in Jersey upon this subject :—

"If the descent of property had been regulated here as in England, the island would long ago have become the property of a few powerful families, which would have left no intermediate class between the large landlord and the dependent rack-renter. It is to the land laws that we owe the substantial Jersey freeholders, who are at once the boast and the protection of the country. . . . Under this system the country has flourished. Perhaps no population anywhere possesses collectively a greater aggregate of wealth; at the same time that there is scarcely any other place where a population of equal numbers could show so few very splendid fortunes. The system corrects itself. Where the shares are small the younger children do not think of farming them, but sell them to the older brother for money or rents, and go into business. It is, therefore, so far from being correct that estates are reduced almost to nothing, that very few indeed could be found which are materially reduced by partitions, and none whose relative agricultural produce is affected by them."

This was written in 1837, before the Islands had, by means of steam communication, obtained a market in London for their products of fresh vegetables and fruit, to which it is customary to attribute their present wealth. It represents not less now than then the condition of things, and it embodies the almost universal opinion of the best-informed people in the Islands as to the cause of their prosperity.

Of the actual condition of the Islands it is not necessary to say much. It has been fully and faithfully described in the pages of this Review, by Mr. Zincke.¹ I can bear testimony to the accuracy

(1) See *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1876.

of his account. In the civilised world it is probable that there is no community where there is greater wealth in proportion to the people, or more widely distributed, than in the Channel Islands.

The area of all the Islands together does not exceed 50,000 acres, of which nearly one-third is irreclaimable. The population is under 90,000, or relatively about three times more numerous than that of the Isle of Wight. In Jersey the population is 57,000, of whom 30,000 reside in St. Helier, leaving 27,000 as the rural population. Its cultivated land does not exceed 20,000 acres, and there are 2,500 owners of land, with an average of about 8 acres each; these for the most part cultivate their own property, and probably one-half of the heads of families in the rural districts are in this position. In the parish of St. Peter, which is a purely rural district, consisting of 3,030 acres, there is a population of 2,150, or 530 families, and there are 404 persons registered as owners of land, or "rentes." The rateable value of the parish is £13,000 on land, and £1,500 a year for personal property. There is very little pauperism throughout the Island.

The soil of the Island is good, and the climate is mild, but these conditions are not more favourable than in many parts of the south of England. The amount of their production is most remarkable. Till a few years ago they were dependent on their dairy produce and their apple-orchards, but of late years the opening of steam communication has enormously developed the cultivation of vegetables and fruit for the London markets. In Jersey alone upwards of 4,000 acres are planted with early potatoes, at a cost of cultivation often of £40 an acre, and the produce is said to be worth £300,000 in good years. Land suitable for this cultivation sells for over £200 an acre. In Guernsey every small farm has its range of glass-houses, where the owner grows grapes for the London market. The grapes are generally grown without artificial heat. The valuable breed of cows of the Island forms a very important export.

What most strikes a visitor to the Islands is the manner in which their population is housed. In Jersey small but most comfortable farmhouses are spread over the whole country, at short distances from one another. They give evidence of care and of a sense of beauty. There are few cottages in the ordinary acceptance of the term, or that remind one of those so common in rural England. The people have solved the question of cottage accommodation by housing themselves, and the capital thus invested must be very great. Few persons are there to remind one of the English agricultural labourer. Such rare specimens as there are to be found are imported. The small yeomen farmers form a body of intelligent and independent men. Many of them boast of an ancient lineage. I have

the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor for saying that the militia, which is largely composed of these yeomen, is as fine a body of men as could be desired for defence. The Islands are greatly favoured by exemption from Imperial taxation; they pay the expense of their own administration, and the charge for public works is not low; the tax for the militia, which amounts to a week's service for every able-bodied man, is not to be disregarded.

Everything tends to show that the aggregate wealth of the population is very great. The imports and exports are very large in proportion to the population. In Guernsey, the population of which does not exceed that of an average small county town in England, it has been found possible to raise very large loans for public works. The harbour of St. Peter's Port alone cost more than £300,000, which was wholly raised on loan in the Island; the savings banks show deposits three times more than the relative amount for England.

What then is the cause of this general prosperity, of this widely diffused wealth, and of the universal industry and thrift which is so remarkable? Is it due, as the Island thinkers believe, to their land laws, which discourage the aggregation of property, and favour its distribution among the members of a family, and to the fact that the Island people have never permitted the introduction of the English Land Laws, which they believe to have an opposite tendency? What also, we may speculate, would be the present condition of the Islands if the system of English law had been introduced? if in early days the feudal law, with its primogeniture and entail, had succeeded in making its footing in the Islands, and had driven out the customary laws of Normandy, as in England they superseded the old Saxon laws of equal inheritance? and if they had been followed as in England by all the subsequent complexities of law and difficulty of transfer of land? Can there be any reasonable doubt that the Island authorities are right in supposing that in such case the result would have been much the same as in England, namely, a continually decreasing number of yeomen farmers, until the class itself should be almost extinct; and until people try to persuade themselves that such extinction is due wholly to natural causes, and is in no way the result of positive law?

It is almost impossible, and therefore almost useless, to conceive of the English system of large farms in an island like Jersey, with a cultivated area of only twenty thousand acres, in substitution for the existing small farms; but it is not difficult to conceive the substitution of the Irish system of small holdings farmed by tenants. There are very many estates in Ireland belonging to single individuals, of a larger size than either Jersey or Guernsey, and farmed by a tenantry almost as numerous as the small owners of these Islands. Some of these must be almost as fertile; but

let us suppose one of average Irish fertility, which is considerably below that of the Islands. Is the production of such average Irish property what the land is capable of? Are the tenants prosperous and contented? Are the rights of property safe and as unquestioned as they are in the Channel Islands? On the first of these points, the production of the land, the latest and best authority we have is that of Professor Baldwin, head of the Agricultural College of Glasnevin, who has recently written an interesting paper on the result of the competition for the prizes offered by Lord Spencer and others for the best cultivation by the small farmers of Ireland. It is worth while to refer to it, as the contrast with the state of things in the Channel Islands is most remarkable. I find in it the following passages:—

“In most parts of Ireland the agricultural practices of the small farmers are very defective. In some places they are quite primitive. Vast numbers of the occupiers are very poor, while wide areas of land are not yielding a fourth of the produce which could be obtained from them.”

* * * * *

“The dwellings of a vast number of small farmers in Ireland are wretched. In this age of progress it is unsatisfactory to find that there are in Ireland very many small farmers with large families whose dwellings consist of one apartment, in which cattle and pigs are also housed.

“There are four millions of acres of medium land now growing poor herbage, which often contains more weeds than grass, and which would pay far better in tillage. At present the gross return of these four million acres does not amount to twice the rent; if put under a proper system the yield would amount to five times the rent, and the wealth of the country would be increased to the extent of several millions.

“The state of the cultivated land of Ireland is also very defective, as is well known to all persons of experience. It is notorious that on the vast majority of farms the tillage is shallow and imperfect, and that the general management is extremely defective. . . . Tillage is done in a slovenly fashion. . . . The live stock of Ireland is not made as profitable as it ought to be. . . . The want of drainage is a crying defect in Irish agriculture. In Ireland at least six millions of acres are in need of drainage. This work could be effected at a cost of £5 an acre. The annual letting value of the year would be increased thereby by £3,000,000 a year. Many persons will ask, where is all the capital to execute this work to come from? I answer that the greater part of it is in the labour of the people. The working farmers of Ireland have a great deal of labour in their families which could be most usefully employed in draining their land.

“Every experienced agriculturist who carefully considers this category of defects, will agree that the smaller farmers of Ireland could, by adopting modes of management which are within their reach, double their income.”

· Of the district of Monaghan, Mr. Baldwin says:—

“No person appears to take any interest in improving either the agricultural practices of the district, or the condition of the people. I passed tract after tract of land which is not yielding a fourth of the produce which ought to be extracted from it. The rents are low. In some cases neither landlord nor agent has been on the land for years. Yet a land agent on an extensive property, to whom application was made for a contribution to the prize fund, wrote that he thought the money could be better expended.”

The result, however, of the competition for the prizes among the farmers brought out many cases which showed that with industry and thrift the small farms of fifteen, or even ten acres, were quite capable of producing results most satisfactory, and which in production and profit to their tenants, are far beyond the average. In many parts of the country, Professor Baldwin states that he found the greatest objection even to compete for the prizes thus freely offered for good cultivation, arising from a prevalent feeling that the rents would be raised of those successful in the competition, and that the co-operation of the landowners was the result of a settled desire to use the system "as a cloak for raising rents." Everywhere we are met with the same difficulty and hesitation; the owner cannot supply the necessary capital, the tenant will not do so through fear of rents being raised; he will not even cultivate his land to the best of his ability through the same fear; there is, therefore, a vicious circle, from which there seems to be no escape.

Comparing, then, this result with that of the Channel Islands, we find in Jersey and Guernsey production evoked to the furthest limit which the land is capable of; we find an universal spirit of industry and thrift; we find content in the highest degree; we find the rights of property never questioned. Is it not, then, a safe inference to draw from the comparison that, in the one case, this happy state of things is due to the stimulating influence of a distributed ownership of land; and that, in the other case, the low rate of production, the chronic discontent, the want of industry and thrift—above all, the fear of improvement lest the rent should be raised—are due to the very limited ownership of land, to the fact that for centuries the law and administration of Ireland have tended to discourage the existence of a numerous proprietary, and to accumulate land in the hands of the few?

The small landowners of the Channel Islands are scarcely of the class which we should call peasant proprietors, they are rather of the class of small yeomen. In proportion to the size of their farms, their land is of considerable value; they rank in status rather with the small farmers of this country than with the agricultural labourer. Their cultivation involves often a great outlay of capital in plant and manure—they are therefore capitalists; they are not above working in the field themselves—they are therefore labourers; the land is their own—they are therefore landowners, and have the pride and sense of responsibility and status due to such a position. In fact, they combine together in one person the three functions of landowner, capitalist, and labourer. It is by reason of their combination that there can be no separation or opposition of interest between these functions. English law appears to be framed too much on the principle that these three functions are necessarily distinct, and that

the best result must be where they are separated and brought to bear upon the land by three different persons or classes. The hypothesis is then put forward that the interests of these three classes are identical, that they pull together in the same boat, contribute to the same object, and that therefore there is the greatest inducement to all of them to do their best. The hypothesis, however, is founded on an imperfect view of human nature. In the process of working together, the three classes have separate interests; and find themselves in a certain sense in opposition. So long as human nature is what it is, and so long as self-interest prevails over the best ideal of an enlightened regard for the interests of others, so long will men work better for themselves than for others. The agricultural labourer working for wages by the week on another man's land will not work so effectively, or with so much intelligence, or with such a sense of satisfaction, as when working on his own land and conscious that he must reap the full benefit of his labours. He requires strict supervision, but supervision must be paid for, and its cost must be taken into account; or else he must be paid for by piece-work, but there are many operations in farming which cannot be paid for by piece-work. In illustration of this point, I may mention that in one of the small Guernsey holdings I found the owner thinning his grapes. I asked him how he compared his work with that of hired labourers; his reply was that he could do from twice to three times the amount of work which any hired man could, or rather would, do in the same time; and he believed it to be the same with most of the vine-growers. For similar reasons deduced from the same imperfect condition of human nature, men will not as a rule expend their capital so freely on the land of another as on their own.

From these considerations it appears not difficult to explain why it is that the combination of landowner, capitalist, and labourer, in one person in the Channel Islands has produced so remarkable a result. It promotes the saving of capital, and therefore creates it; it promotes the efficiency of labour, and therefore multiplies its results, and as the most certain mode of creating capital is by the storage of the results of labour, it increases capital in this direction also; it spreads through a large class the pride of ownership, the feelings of citizenship, and the sense of equality. Nor are its results confined to the class immediately interested in the land; they permeate through every class of society and spread the habits of saving, thrift, and self-restraint.

G. SHAW LEFEVRE.

A REPLY TO "FALLACIES OF EVOLUTION."

I PROPOSE to write a short reply to an essay entitled "The Fallacies of Evolution," which was published in the July number of the *Edinburgh Review*. This essay aims at nothing less than stemming of the whole tide of modern philosophy by the material supplied in some thirty diffusely written pages. It aspires to show that the whole theory of evolution is a monster-birth of irrational minds, and, as may be anticipated from such an estimate of this theory, the essay is written by a man comically ignorant of the subject which he presumes to expound.

Lest it should be thought that I am overstating the aim and intended scope of the essay in question, I shall begin by presenting them in the writer's own words. "We must refer our readers, if they desire to master the anatomical details of the problem, to these works themselves. It is not our intention critically to review them. We desire rather to point out, on broader philosophical grounds, how very slight and insufficient the basis is on which so vast a super-structure has been reared, and by what a strange perversion and misuse of the reasoning faculties man is called upon to abdicate whatever most distinguishes him from the brutes."

Such is the essayist's introduction; and that he deems his ambitious project to have been triumphantly accomplished is evident from the words of his conclusion:—"But it is unnecessary to pursue this point any further. We have already said enough to satisfy our present object, which is simply to expose the weakness of the reasoning (if reasoning it could be called) by which the theory before us is assumed to be maintained. The question is essentially one to be decided by the exercise of the judicial faculties, . . . and if so dealt with, apart from all fanciful speculation, we feel no hesitation in asserting that the conclusion will be that at which we ourselves have long since arrived, viz., that development by evolution is merely a rhetorical expression, a form of words, and nothing more."

It will thus be seen that the reviewer's purpose is sufficiently sweeping; and considering he is not blind to the fact that the weight of competent authority is against him (p. 225), we must at least be startled by the boldness of the man who, without any armour of fact either on the right hand or on the left, rushes like David full of self-confidence against the Goliath of modern thought. The stone which is hurled is indeed in one respect a stone of tremendous weight, the style of the article being ponderous to a

degree that borders on pomposity. But unfortunately, if there is a hole in the armour of the giant, the stone has certainly failed to hit it; and as the modern champion of Israel has evidently found the armour of fact too heavy to put on, he must not now object to receiving some rough treatment at the hands of the foe which he had the courage to attack.

The allusion to the writer's evident ignorance of science leads me to say at the outset that it is not my intention to waste time by troubling him upon this subject. He expressly says in the passage already quoted that he does not intend to contemplate matters of scientific fact, but to discuss the whole question of evolution "on broader philosophical grounds." It is impossible not to recognise the wisdom of this resolve. When a man supposes that elemental matter is now affirmed to be only one substantial form, at present subsisting in the condition of a gas (the hydrogen) (p. 221), or that it is the rule "in the case of ophidian reptiles, serpents, &c.," that "the places assignable to the arms and legs in other animals are occupied by rudimental representatives of those organs imbedded in the surrounding tissues" (p. 228); that palæontology reveals only "a solitary case of approximation to the equine species;" that the sum total of animal species amounts to only one hundred and twenty thousand; and so on—a man, I say, who supposes such things, is no doubt wise to abstain from "critically reviewing" scientific facts. I shall proceed to show that he would have been still wiser had he also abstained from trespassing "on the broader philosophical grounds" of scientific theory.

Taking the features of his article *seriatim*, we may first observe that in his opening paragraphs he displays an altogether erroneous estimate of what is meant by the faculty of scientific observation. He makes a broad distinction between the "faculties of *observation*, and of *ratiocination* or *reasoning*," and states that "they are, in fact, the distinctive characteristics of two different classes of men, regarded with reference to their intellectual endowments. The man of observation, prone to notice and apt to discern the peculiarities of form and substance—all, in short, that comes within the cognisance of the senses, is by no means equally apt to discern or competent to appreciate the conclusions to which they are calculated to conduce; while, on the other hand, the man of reasoning, accustomed to deal with the suggestions of the mind rather than of the senses, prone to speculation rather than to experiment, is comparatively unfitted for the more matter-of-fact employment of investigation and research. Both classes of minds and of men are equally essential to the progress of scientific discovery, though it cannot be said that both stand on the same level in the estimation of their respective faculties. The faculty of observation, important as it is, is a faculty common, not merely to

all men, but more or less to all animated beings, whereas the faculty of reasoning, at least in its higher grades, is peculiar to man alone."

Now, that there is a distinction to be drawn between an observant and a contemplative mind—between a man who sees and a man who thinks, there can be no question. But that the distinction is of the kind here drawn, no one in the least degree acquainted with experimental research could for a moment suppose. The idea of the writer seems to be that all scientific observation consists merely in a refined use of the senses, the things to be observed lying in Nature already formed, like shells upon the beach. Such an idea is applicable only to the pursuits of a species-hunter, or "systematist"—a man who holds merely the rank of a private in the scientific army. For the discovery of all that deserves the name of scientific truth, for the classifying of hidden analogies and the unveiling of general principles, the highest faculties of the human mind, in the highest degree of their development, must be taxed to the highest degree of their power. With a clear perception of the problem to be solved, a man of science must either think out the particular conjunction of conditions occurring in Nature, which, if found to occur, would give an unequivocal solution, or he must devise such an artificial conjunction of conditions as may lead to the same result. And whether, as in astronomy and geology, the former method be employed, or the latter method be employed, as in all the experimental sciences it must be, I fearlessly affirm that in no department of intellectual activity is there a greater demand made upon that particular faculty of mind which our author terms the faculty of ratiocination. If we follow the intellectual operations by which any of the greater results in science have been achieved, their most conspicuous feature will always be found to consist in the number, the length, and the intricacy of the chains of reasoning converging now upon this point and now upon that, as each is made the securely-fastened point of attachment for the next. The great distinction between the reasonings, say of the metaphysician and the man of science, consists, not in any difference of degree, but in a difference of subject matter. For while the man whom our author calls the "man of reasoning," has no other test by which to estimate the accuracy of his conclusions than the subjective processes of reason itself, "the man of observation" has the uncompromising court of objective fact whither to bring his conclusions for a trial that is sure to be remorseless, and for a judgment from which there can be no appeal. And because the court of Nature is alone infallible, the man of science shows his wisdom as a seeker of truth by directing his best faculties of thought towards the arguing of his case in such a way that the judgment of this court upon the issue presented shall be final. The issue is that concerning the truth of a laboriously reasoned hypothesis; the argument is a perhaps no

less laboriously reasoned experiment; and the judgment is either a triumphant verification or a crushing non-suit with costs—the latter being now happily to some extent defrayed by Government. In a word, to disparage those faculties of mind which elaborate scientific generalization, as contrasted with those which elaborate philosophic speculation, is surely too preposterously absurd to be entertained even by the most benighted reader of the *Edinburgh* or any other Review.

The author of this attempt appears, from the authoritative style in which he writes, to regard himself as among the favoured "men of reasoning, prone to speculation rather than to experiment." That he would be "comparatively unfitted for the more matter-of-fact employment of investigation and research," we cannot entertain the shadow of a doubt, and therefore I see no reason why we should hesitate to place him in the category of those who are "accustomed to deal with the suggestions of the mind," without condescending to bring these suggestions to the test of fact. If so, I grieve to observe that in this case the suggestions of the mind have certainly been of a most unfortunate character.

He first briefly considers the present balance of authority regarding the question of spontaneous generation, or the development of living from non-living matter. On this subject I have no remark to make, except that so far as the doctrine of evolution is concerned, there is no *a priori* reason to anticipate the occurrence of spontaneous generation within the limits of time that are possible to human observation. Miserably small as is our knowledge of protoplasm, we at least know enough to be astounded at its enormously complex chemical constitution, and the no less enormously complex physical properties with which it is endowed. The numerous species of elaborately sculptured shells which owe their varied and intricate forms to the vital activities of protoplasm; the fact that all cells, and therefore all organizations, ultimately owe their forms and their functions to the apparently same material; and lastly the fact that all specific organisms spring from minute specks of this substance, which specks therefore contain and transmit the vital record of billions on billions of hereditary qualities, specific and individual—these things show that the term protoplasm must be considered as merely a general term for all living matter, the constitution of which may perhaps in some cases be comparatively simple, while in others it must be immensely complex, the only common feature of protoplasmic material being that its constitution is too minute for the microscope to analyse. But even if we suppose that the constitution of the simplest form of existing protoplasm—whatever that may be—is as simple as we choose to suppose, it must at least be enormously complex as compared with any known form of non-living matter. Therefore an evolutionist, or a man who believes in the doctrine of

gradual development in Nature, is certainly not the man who would be prepared *a priori* to expect the spontaneous production of protoplasm within any period that it is competent for experiment to span. If experiment should ever succeed in unequivocally producing protoplasm by artificial means, the fact would, of course, be an immense gain to science, and by bridging the chasm between the physical and the vital would be also a gain to the doctrine of development. But the absence of any such experimental proof of continuity is no presumption against that doctrine, so long as the presumption remains that if the passage from the non-living to the living ever took place it must have taken place by slow degrees.

Passing over the reviewer's comments on the theories of Lamarck and the author of the *Vestiges*, I shall at once proceed to examine the main portion of his review, which is simply an attempt at a criticism of Mr. Darwin's work. Here he says: "With the facts our only concern is to understand them, that we may be able to reason from them. Our business is with the conclusions, to test their correctness in accordance with the recognised principles of right reasoning, that error may be eliminated and truth secured." We shall see that it cannot well be said whether it is in understanding the facts, or in testing the conclusions, that this writer has shown himself the more deplorably incompetent.

First he undertakes to expound and to criticise what he properly terms the distinctive "peculiarity" of Darwinism—the doctrine of natural selection. It may well be thought incredible that at the present day an educated man, writing in a respectable review on the subject of Darwinism, and introducing his criticism with all the solemn flourishes of pedantry that I have quoted, should at once proceed to show that he is entirely ignorant of what the doctrine of natural selection is. Yet such is the fact, and the heavy charge of uninstructed arrogance which I thus level at the writer in question, is but too easily maintained by the following quotations (pp. 225—227) :—

"This instrumentality was at first supplied in the theory of Dr. Darwin by the 'struggle for life,' occasioning the disappearance from the scene of the feeblest and the 'survival of the fittest' to carry on the race. The notion is a striking one; and with the advocacy of its able author, his charming style, and the interesting illustrations by which it was supported, naturally produced a powerful impression upon the public mind. A little consideration, however, gradually weakened the first effect. It was presently observed that such a description was only properly applicable to a certain class of animals—the *polygamous*, in which one male in the herd or flock assumes possession of all the females; and to that class but imperfectly, making no account of the females, whose influence in determining the condition of the offspring is at least equal to that of the males. . . .

"With regard to the two propositions upon which the Darwinian theory essentially depends, we have already alluded to an apparent objection to the first mentioned, the 'struggle for life,' and which is indeed equally predicable

of the other, the principle of 'selection in relation to sex'—namely, that it is limited in its application to certain classes of animals, and those neither the most numerous nor the most important. For we confess we cannot understand how either of them could be supposed to prevail at all in at least one whole department of animal life—the *aquatic*. Surely there is but scant room for the hypothesis of a 'struggle for life,' and still less for that of 'selection in relation to sex' among fishes! And these, with the other denizens of the deep, constitute more than one-half of the animal kingdom. But there is yet another point of view in regard of which both the conditions in question are obviously inadequate to the conclusion that is built upon them—namely, that it is only in the already advanced stages of animal subsistence that they come into operation at all. The 'struggle for life' and 'selection in relation to sex' could have no scope for exercise among the lower forms of life; many of them without the power of locomotion, incapable of either seeking their food or choosing their mates. And yet these are, in the theory before us, the foundation of the animal superstructure, comprising the earlier stages of that progressive development which by those means is supposed to be accomplished."

From these passages we can only suppose that their writer believes what he states, viz. that Mr. Darwin's theory of natural selection in the struggle for life is limited to natural selection in what Mr. Darwin has called "the law of battle." In all animals that fight among themselves Mr. Darwin supposes that strength, courage, and all other qualities conducive to success in battle, are some of the qualities which in such animals constitute that "fitness" to survive which is laid hold upon by natural selection in the struggle for existence, and perpetuated in advancing degrees by heredity. But to suppose that the struggle for existence is limited to a literal fighting among animals is a misconception so extraordinary that it could scarcely be suspected, were it not so carefully enforced by the writer himself. Why else should he mention only "the feeblest," as those individuals which must disappear in the struggle for life? or why else should the process of natural selection be restricted in its operation to such animals as are "polygamous"? And how else can there be any meaning in the statement that "we confess we cannot understand how either of them could be supposed to prevail at all in at least one whole department of animal life—the *aquatic*," or "that the struggle for life could have no scope for exercise among the lower forms of life," &c. &c.? The truth can only be that this writer has either never read Darwin at all, or that he has forgotten the most distinctive principles of which Darwinism consists. For it would be needless to tell nine persons out of ten who may read this Reply, that Darwin is most explicit in assigning a very subordinate place to the function of actual contest in the struggle for existence; he supposes a host of other agencies to be of far more importance in determining the fitness of the survivors—a host, indeed, which it is literally true that no man can number. Doubtless the poetic force of Mr. Darwin's metaphor has ludicrously misled his critic; and if the latter were to substitute for it some such term as Competition for Life, it is impossible that we could hear

anything more even from the "feeblest" unfortunate among the strugglers against Evolution, about being unable to understand how the principle could apply to the lower forms of life.

The remarks, then, which I have quoted concerning natural selection clearly prove that that writer has either never read, or has entirely forgotten, the *Origin of Species*. His remarks simultaneously quoted concerning sexual selection further prove that he has either never read, or has entirely forgotten, the *Descent of Man*. Otherwise it would have been impossible for him to write, with all the added emphasis supplied by a mark of admiration, "Surely there is but scant room for the hypothesis of a 'struggle for life,' and still less for that of 'selection in relation to sex,' among fishes!" A reviewer has a perfect right to differ to any extent he pleases with the writer whom he reviews, provided that he gives some evidence of having read the works of that writer; but a man who, "listening to the suggestions of his own mind," thinks that he is making a strong point by propounding as a *reductio ad absurdum*, a belief which the author he reviews has brought a large quantity of evidence to support—such a man can only be deemed a foolish adventurer in the province of criticism. Whether or not sexual selection obtains among fish may properly be regarded as an open question, and the supposition that it does may, perhaps, seem to some persons unlikely, even after they have read all that Darwin has to say upon the subject. But any dubiousness of the doctrine itself does not affect the evidence, which is supplied by the *reductio ad absurdum* form, that the reviewer is ignorant that Darwin has seriously advocated the possibility of sexual selection occurring among certain aquatic animals.

Having spoken of the reviewer's ignorance of the *Origin of Species* and the *Descent of Man*, I may next allude to his ignorance of the *Variation of Plants and Animals under Domestication*. Here, at least, total ignorance of the work he names is the most charitable construction that we can put upon the following passage:—

"We cannot admit that anything deducible from such premises can have any application in the case before us. What we are here concerned to determine is the effect of the operation of the laws of nature in the state of nature; and this cannot be affected by anything that could be achieved in a state in which those laws are superseded by *un-natural* restraints. The conditions of existence in a state of domestication, whereinsoever they differ from those in the state of nature, are by their very definition peculiar to the state of which they are predicated, and consequently out of place in an argument that concerns the ages which preceded the advent and dominion of man. Granted the very utmost that is sought to be established by such means, even to the extent of the actual production of a new species—and nothing of this kind is pretended to—it would leave the question of development by evolution (in the abstract) wholly untouched."

Whether or not this passage has been written after a perusal of the *Variation*, it displays an inability to appreciate the function of experiment that to most persons will appear, and rightly appear,

lamentable. Comment on so astonishing a passage would be useless, for nothing that I could say could throw its condensed absurdity into any stronger relief. As well might it be said that all our study of electricity is useless for the purpose of furthering our knowledge of natural forces, except so far as observations on the subject are confined to the phenomena of lightning.

Next in order we come upon the writer's estimate of the argument from classification.

"The validity of this argument," he says, "disappears altogether in view of the fact that just the same state of things would be practicable in the case of a creation according to the vulgar hypothesis of an exercise of the divine power. Considering the mass of animal life to be dealt with, amounting, as just observed, to 120,000 different species, it is almost of necessity that they should be formed upon one or more types or models, implying a certain uniformity of character among the members of the same typical construction, which it is not unreasonable to suppose intended to be evidenced in those animals that were apparently least amenable to it, by the otherwise inexplicable indications of imperfectly developed organs."

Disregarding the error that it is not only in such animals that rudimentary organs are present—seeing that, on the contrary, their occurrence is so general that almost every species presents one or more of them—the idea which is conveyed by this passage is one of the wildest attempts at criticism that I have ever encountered. The instances of affinities in the animal and vegetable kingdoms would, if they could be enumerated, run up into the thousand millions, and extend to the most complex and delicate traits of structure that it is possible to imagine. That such a state of things may be due to intelligent design, is a sufficiently reasonable hypothesis, and as such may be properly opposed to the hypothesis of hereditary descent. But the supposition that such a state of things can be due to any "necessity" arising out of "the mass of animal life to be dealt with," is a supposition that could only occur to a mind altogether unacquainted with anatomical science. The marvel always is, not the accidental similarity of organs, due to the exigencies of their performing similar functions, but the adaptation of anatomically homologous organs to the performance of widely different functions. To take only one instance by way of illustration. Where is the "necessity" that no one among the many species of bats should not have the wing formed in any other way than by the highly peculiar and distinctive modification of the hand? Or where is the "necessity" that all the still greater number of species of birds should have their wings formed by another highly peculiar and equally distinctive modification of the arm? Both structures serve equally well for flight; as, indeed, do the wings of insects and did the wings of the pterodactyl. So far, then, as the exigencies arising out of "the mass of animal life to be dealt with" are concerned, there is no reason why these four types

of wings should not occur indiscriminately among the four classes of animals in question—and this even if we follow our author in confining the possibilities of creative invention to the anatomical structures of which we are cognizant. This, of course, is but a general refutation. The absurdity of the argument from "necessity" becomes the more apparent the more numerous and more minute the homologies of structure are found to be within the limits of the same type, without ever transgressing on the equally numerous and minute homologies of any other type. But the fact that homologies never thus commingle—that no one of a vast congeries of organs characteristic of one group of organisms ever appears in any other group of organisms—this fact is of such overwhelming force as evidence of genetic descent, that its supposed failure of application in one solitary instance was, as Sir Charles Lyell wisely observed, to his mind the strongest argument against evolution with which he had met. This solitary case of failure had reference to the eye of a mollusc (the cuttle-fish), which was alleged to be anatomically similar to the eye of a true fish. The allegation proved to be wholly false; but so far as any "necessity" arising from the difficulty of inventing new forms is concerned, there is no reason why the allegation should not have been true.

Our reviewer next treats of the argument from Embryology, and in doing so his ideas present that same crudity of cast which gives to his whole essay its grotesque character. He says: "Certainly these remarks are exceedingly curious, and even in a sense imposing. . . . But these resemblances, be they never so close, infer no real connection between the objects thus heterogeneously associated. It is not pretended that the objects compared together are ever entirely alike—that the unborn young of the higher animal is, at any stage of its development, identical with any of the lower animals, but only that some of the features of the one are like the analogous features of the other." "That some such resemblance should, in fact, be found to prevail is only what might naturally be expected, considering that each full-grown individual is itself the result of a process of gradual development from a sizeless and shapeless germ, in which development all its organs equally participate," &c. Here, again, we encounter the same argument from "necessity" that has just been considered; and here, again, it is no less preposterous than it was in its previous connection. For to an embryologist nothing could appear more ridiculous than the statement that "in such a case of gradual development it follows, almost as a matter of course, that both the entire animal and all its component members should, in their advance to maturity from a mere *punctum saliens*, exhibit some faint resemblance" to other and allied animals. As a matter of fact, the resemblance is never "faint" but profound, affecting all the structures which constitute the essential framework of

the organism. The kind of resemblance on which the reviewer would appear inclined to place most reliance would be a superficial resemblance of specific details. But although even this is supplied by many facts—such as the hair on the unborn child, clothing the body except on the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, which are also denuded in apes—it is not of so deep a significance to a philosophical mind as are the deeper resemblances of anatomical structure. Hence, even if the unborn young of a higher animal were, "at any stage of its development, identical with any of the lower animals," the fact would not speak so strongly in favour of its derivation from a lower form as does the fact of its passing through a whole series of changes, each stage of which refers, in some point of anatomical significance, to some stage in the existing grade of animal organizations. Actual *identity* is not what the theory of descent with modification would lead us to expect, seeing that, according to this theory, the comparable features usually refer to features that are derived from a common ancestor lower down in a branching stem of descent. In a family tree we may expect the constituent members to inherit in common some peculiarities possessed by their common ancestors, but we do not expect the personal appearance of all the individuals to be identical. Lastly, when we consider the enormous complexity of organisms, the marvel is how the more complicated, in attaining their higher complexity, mimic so closely the anatomical structures of the organisms lower in the scale of complexity. Far from its being "almost a matter of course," it is in the last degree astounding that a vertebrated animal, for instance, should begin its course of development by the same process of yolk cleavage that occurs in the rest of the animal kingdom, that its first differentiation of body-layers should present the essential anatomical features of the body-layers that characterize the jelly-fish, and so on. In short, when any one at all acquainted with the facts of embryology regards them *en masse*, the last of all notions to enter his mind will be that they must be as they are "almost as a matter of course." Rather will he be constrained to ask, "How can these things be?" and it is fortunate that there is now a voice of authoritative teaching to answer, "Art thou a master in Israel and knowest not?"

Next we come to the argument from geographical distribution. Here the alleged fallacy of evolution is as follows: "If the environment be taken to be the cause of the specific characters of the animals, similar environments ought to be productive of similar species. But this is very far from being the case." This is, perhaps, as good an instance as we have met of our author's inability to view all the area of an extensive problem. His idea of what constitutes an "environment" is about as adequate as the idea of space that a baby shows when it tries to grasp the moon. The following expresses his idea: "If the environment be taken to be the cause of

the diversification of the species, how is it that where the scope for diversity of environment is apparently the least, the greater is the variety of species? We have before observed that there are about 120,000 species of animals; of these more than one-half are aquatic, the inhabitants of seas, lakes, and rivers; to which distinction, combined with temperature, the grounds of diversification seem almost exclusively confined." This is really exquisite—so exquisite that it seems a pity to mar its comicality by a prosaic answer. But even though I may spoil the joke by explaining it, I must at least explain to the author himself how good a joke he has made.

First, then, besides varying in temperature, the ocean, in its different parts, varies somewhat in depth, in the nature of its bottom, the strength of its currents, the degree of its saltness, and its relations to the land. Next, as contrasted with the land, the water on the globe presents an immensely greater—not only area—but cubical capacity for sustaining life. Again, and of still greater importance, it is a matter of fact, whether or not the doctrine of evolution is true, that geology reveals the existence of multitudinous forms of aquatic life as preceding in time the advent of terrestrial life. And as the theory of evolution supposes that all the latter forms of life are the lineal descendants of the former, it is clear that by the terms of this theory, no less than by those of geological fact, far more *time* has been allowed for the differentiation of aquatic than for that of terrestrial species. Indeed, looking to the degree in which water, as contrasted with land, has thus been favourably handicapped in the time allowed for the production of species, the only wonder is that the water does not show a greater comparative wealth of specific forms than it does. But lastly, and most important of all, it is a huge blunder to imagine that an "environment" consists merely in the physical conditions as to medium, climate, &c., to which an organism is exposed. Of far more importance are the innumerable complex relations of the organism to its neighbouring organisms, whether of its own or other species, to which must be added the effects of hereditary endowment from a long line of ancestors occupying other and changing environments, to all of which these ancestors must have been structurally adapted. The word "environment" is a term of the most comprehensive kind, embodying in every case that it is used an assemblage of conditions presenting an amount of complexity that is not only inconceivable but wholly unnameable. It is nothing less than amazing to find a man at this time of day seeking to argue that environments cannot "be the cause of the diversifications of species," on such grounds as that different species flourish in "parts of South Africa and Australia which are wonderfully similar in their soil and climate." Indeed, not to prolong the discussion of nonsense, I will conclude this part of my Reply

by quoting the sentence with which he concludes his statement of this particular "fallacy of evolution." I do so because while he appears to think that the question is of so unanswerable a character as to deserve the place of anti-climax in his argument, it really presents as good an example as could anywhere be found of misconception blatant. Here it is: "And then, what is to be said for the multitude of species to be found in the same localities, the same forests, the same jungles, the same lakes, the same streamlets, where there is literally no room for any difference in the environments at all?"

After an *exposé* of ignorance so crass, I do not think that I should be performing any useful function by following the writer any further in his luckless floundering. The rest of his article consists in a trite statement of the facts that species are not producible by artificial selection, and that some specific forms have remained unchanged through long geological epochs—neither of which facts has the smallest tendency to negative the doctrine of descent.

He also devotes a page or two to sustain the theory that the lake-dwellers and other pre-historic men were the "degraded descendants of a civilised ancestry." Of course in so doing he has no facts to adduce—merely maintaining that "it is just as possible, just as likely, that the artificers in stone, and the dwellers in the caves of the earth, were the degraded descendants of a civilised ancestry, as the barbarous ancestors of a civilised posterity,"—forgetting, on the one hand, that if the general theory of evolution be true, this is *not* so possible or *not* so likely, and, on the other hand, that it is a very unfortunate fact for the possibility and the likelihood in question that the "civilised ancestry" should have been so much less fortunate in leaving behind them relics of their existence than have been their "barbarous posterity." Next he treats of "the distinction and equable distribution of the sexes." This is, indeed, a subject which the theory of evolution has not yet been successful in completely explaining; but our author, by again displaying his ignorance of Mr. Darwin's writings, has not made so strong a case as he might have made. He appears to think it self-evident that over such things "the struggle for life and natural selection must be equally powerless"—a statement which is self-evidently absurd; for although a man may doubt whether the alleged cause (natural selection) is competent to effect all that Darwinians here suppose, this writer only weakens his own case by showing that he is ignorant of such a cause having been alleged. And no less unfortunate is he when "attending to the suggestions of the mind" in the matter of protective colouring. For, after stating one or two cases of protective colouring, he makes the startling announcement, "Here, then, are examples of the adaptation of the species to the conditions of their existence which cannot . . . be by virtue of any law of nature; for

we neither know of any such law, nor can we conceive of any that could produce the effects in question exclusively in the case of the few species alluded to without regard to the multitudes inhabiting the same localities." Here, again, the most charitable supposition we can make is that the writer has never read the doctrines which he undertakes to criticise. For if, after having read all the evidence in favour of protective colouring, he could think to dispose of it by so absurd a criticism as this, we must refuse to consign him a place even among those whom he calls "men of reasoning." If three animals—A, B, and C—inhabit the same locality, and if A is protectively coloured, while B and C are not, what must we think of the reasoning which from these premises alone definitely concludes that the imitative colouring of A cannot conceivably be due to the operation of a natural law? There may be a thousand and one reasons why B and C should not be affected by the law of protective colouring; yet, merely on the ground that all animals in the same locality are not so affected, we are told to conclude that all the thousands of cases in which animals are thus affected, constitute no evidence of the operation of a natural law! Did ever our "man of reasoning" hear of a method of reasoning called the method of concomitant variations?

Lastly, the reviewer enlarges upon the absence of palæontological evidence of connecting specific forms; but, as we have already sufficiently gauged his competence to deal with such subjects as the imperfection of the geological record, I will not occupy further space by considering what he says, further than to show by one concluding quotation the truly appalling state of things, which "it can require but little reflection to perceive" would have been the result of organic evolution, had the world been so unfortunate as to have been subject to such a process. "It requires but a very small stretch of thought further to perceive that, so far from such a principle of creation affording reasonable grounds for the inference of the development of the *species*, according to the present intent of the term, the result must have been the absolute exclusion of all *species* whatever—the production of an indiscriminate mass, or rather *mob* of animals, extending in indistinguishable series from one end of the creation to the other."

Here I gladly stop. It is not to be expected that the majority of those who read the criticism can themselves be in a position to estimate the full extent of its impudence; and for this reason I have taken the trouble to show how as a criticism it is beneath contempt—useful only as a warning to those whom it concerns to abstain from meddling with any subject which, neither by mental constitution, thought, nor training, are they in the lowest degree competent to treat.

GEORGE J. ROMANES.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA.

It must be accounted one of the notable facts in the history of the Anglo-Saxon race, and likewise in the annals of representative institutions, that the Government of the United States, formed originally for the needs and exigencies of three millions of people, inhabiting a narrow strip of seaboard, has remained without any material change for nearly a century, and is found to work as well for a nation now fifteen times as numerous, occupying a territory fifty times greater. Indeed, it may truthfully be said to work with less friction and more general satisfaction now than then. Its infancy was embroiled with controversies, respecting the interpretation of the Constitution, so fierce that the Union was more than once in real danger before it had come of age. Some of the States had to be dragged into the Federal compact, and others were threatening to go out long before the institution of slavery became a rock of offence between North and South.

The task of statesmanship during the first quarter of a century was not so much to make it work well, as to make it work at all. At the present time nobody looks upon a separation of the States as possible, and none desire it except a few struggling adherents of the Lost Cause, whose voice is as ineffectual and unheeded in the general movement, as that of the irate Tory at the creation of the world who demanded that chaos be preserved.

How far this contentedness with existing institutions is to be ascribed to material prosperity, how far to the excellence of the institutions themselves, and how far to the inherited Conservatism of the race, it would be futile to inquire. The country has advanced in wealth with great rapidity, notwithstanding temporary checks, during the whole period of the national existence; and few people desire to change their condition when they are well off. Apart from this, the Americans are at heart, and perhaps without knowing it themselves, among the most conservative peoples in the world. Although nobody is readier than the Yankee to devise and adopt new modes of doing things, and while the earth does not contain a more ubiquitous traveller or daring speculator, nobody offers a more angry resistance to anything in the nature of organic change. The wicked persecution of the Abolitionists during a quarter of a century was part and parcel of the national tendency to cling to whatever is, for not one in twenty of the Northern people who participated in it, and voted with the slaveholders, had any pecuniary interest in slavery direct or indirect. The uprising in behalf of the Union was a conservative

rather than an anti-slavery uprising. President Lincoln uttered the voice of the majority of the nation when he said that if he could save the Union by freeing all the slaves he would do that, and if he could save it by freeing none he would do that, and if he could save it by freeing some and not freeing others he would do that. Catholic emancipation was carried in England half a century ago. It was not carried in the State of New Hampshire until a few years since, if indeed it has been fully effected even yet. The laws of Rhode Island regulating the Right of Suffrage were, until a recent period, as fantastic as those of England before the Reform Bill, and the States of Vermont and Connecticut are full of rotten boroughs to this day—each town electing one member of the legislature without regard to population.

It may be said that national vanity is accountable for this fixedness of attachment to national institutions. It is immaterial what name it is called by. The Conservatism of one country is most commonly vanity in the eyes of another. The English fondness for titles and a State Church is a preposterous vanity to Americans, and the rock-ribbed Conservatism of China is vanity to all the world else. It makes no difference what name is given to the set of ideas which cause a people to cling tenaciously to their own fashions. It remains a fact that the Americans are an extremely conservative people, while not desiring to be considered so.

To the great majority of Americans it is a matter of no consequence whence they derived their institutions—in what ancient quarry their forefathers digged. The popular Fourth of July conception is that they were invented, made out of whole cloth, struck out at a heat; that they sprang into existence Minerva-like without gestation or heredity. It needs no professor of evolution to tell us that this kind of birth for a government as for an individual is impossible. Historically the American form of government is the British government of the last century with hereditary succession left out. I am speaking now of the *form* of government, and not of the machinery by which it is kept going; of the legislative, executive, and judicial processes, not of the distribution of the suffrage or the sources of power. The form of King, Lords, and Commons was adopted not only for the Federal Government, but for each of the thirteen original States, and has been copied in regular succession by twenty-five additional States—King, Lords, and Commons without hereditary succession, and of limited tenure.

Since the adoption of this form of government, far greater changes of substance have taken place in England than in America. The powers vested in the President, Senate, and House of Representatives, and in each of them, are no whit less now than they were under George Washington. Those of the Crown and the Lords are

vastly less than they were under George III. So attenuated have these become that it is a matter of dispute whether they have any direct powers left that can be successfully asserted against the Commons. Indirect powers they have, undoubtedly, of considerable magnitude and import, the greatest being the influence exercised by the Lords upon the elections of the Commons. This, however, is the influence of landownership rather than of lordship. The House of Lords a short time since rejected the Irish Volunteer Bill after its passage by the Commons. Possibly they may reject it a second time, for it will surely come up again. But after its third passage by the Commons the Lords will pass it also, not because they will like it any better than before, but because they must. And so it would be with any other bill about which the Commons should show any decided purpose and determination. The Senate of the United States would reject any bill from the House which the majority of its members did not like—would reject it thirty times as easily as once. On the other hand, the House, finding its measure rejected once, would not pass it a second time until changes in the *personnel* of the Senate should give indications of a change in its temper.

The difference between the executive modes of the two countries is still more marked. Any measure which passes the Commons is supposed to have received the royal sanction in advance at the hands of her Majesty's Ministers, or failing that at the hands of her Majesty's Opposition, who straightway become Ministers. Hence the subsequent approval of the bill is a matter of form, and a matter of course. But the President of the United States would veto a bill without hesitation as many times, and under as many different forms and guises, as Congress should pass it—as President Hayes did during the recent session of Congress; and in so doing he would be sustained by public opinion as exercising a lawful discretion. The country might think the discretion erroneously exercised, but the right to exercise it would never be questioned. As a matter of fact nine-tenths of all the executive vetoes in the annals of Congress have been salutary and conducive to the public weal; and probably the same proportion will hold good as to the vetoes of the State governors. The veto power is a conservative force which has nothing corresponding to it under existing English practice. The unqualified power of restraint which the Upper House exercises over the Lower in the United States is also one of the lost arts of government in the United Kingdom, and I suppose very few desire, and none expect, to see it restored.

The question whether the United States might usefully engraft upon their system of government the principal improvement wrought in the English system since the separation of the two countries, has been a good deal discussed in pamphlets and on the rostrum of late years. Reduced to its simplest terms, the question is whether it

would be wise for the United States to have one government like the House of Commons, upon which public opinion can impinge and concentrate readily and effectively, or three governments, to wit, President, Senate, and House of Representatives, upon which public opinion is dispersed and unable to act effectively except at certain periods fixed in the almanac, and even then not simultaneously upon all three—a question not so easily answered as this statement of it would seem to imply. To accomplish such a change it would be necessary to give the members of the Cabinet seats on the floor of Congress, to confide to them the initiative of the principal measures of legislation, to hold them collectively responsible for everything, and to send them adrift whenever for any reason they should fail of the support of a majority of the popular branch of the legislature. Mechanical difficulties in the way of such an arrangement, which are very considerable if not insurmountable, will be noticed hereafter. An initial step has been proposed in the form of a bill in Congress by Senator Pendleton, of Ohio, which presents no difficulties at all except the difficulty of getting a majority to agree to it. The bill provides that seats shall be assigned to the Cabinet in both branches of Congress; that they shall be free to occupy them at all times, and required to be present at certain times to answer questions propounded to them, in the same way as her Majesty's Ministers are catechized by members of the House of Commons. The right to participate in general debate is not recorded by the bill, and the right to vote is denied by the Constitution.

Looking at the general run of questions and answers in Parliament where members are at liberty to ask the Rt. Hon. Secretary of This what he thinks about the deterioration of the quality of Irish butter, and the Under-Secretary of That whether the survivors of Rorke's Drift have been allowed an extra flannel shirt and trowsers as a reward for their gallant conduct—two questions which, with others of like gravity, were propounded in the writer's hearing at the sitting of the 16th June last—it would seem hardly worth the effort of passing Mr. Pendleton's bill in order to get so little as he offers to give. I have attended many spelling schools that were livelier and more entertaining. The right to join in general debate saves the Ministerial bench from becoming a mere class in conundrums. Indeed, it would seem impossible to draw a line between answers to questions and general debate thereon. In the greater number of cases where information is sought by the legislature concerning the acts of the executive, what is especially wanted is the reason for the act. When the head of a department is asked for his reasons for a particular line of action, he must be allowed to choose his own words and decide for himself how much time is needed for his explanations. It is impossible to open the mouths of the Cabinet in Congress, and

close them at the same time. The Cabinet would probably decline to occupy the seats offered to them on such conditions, and the power to compel their attendance is at least doubtful.

Mr. Pendleton expressly disclaims the intention to introduce or even to pave the way for the English style of parliamentary government. The advantage he ascribes to his measure is that it would greatly facilitate and expedite the business of Congress to have the heads of the executive departments within reach, when information is wanted; and here it must be allowed that the argument on his side is strong. Under existing methods the procuring of information from a department for the use of the House is most cumbersome and dilatory. Some member of the House, on Resolution Day (which comes once a week), offers a resolution calling for it. The House may adopt the resolution or reject it, or refer it to a standing committee. In the latter case the committee can report it back when the committee is called in its order, which will happen about three times in the course of a session, the mover having meanwhile lost all responsibility for his resolution, and the committee having assumed it. Most commonly, however, the House adopts or rejects the resolution without referring it. It is then engrossed by a clerk, signed, and certified, and conveyed by a messenger to the Secretary of the proper department, who refers it to a bureau where manuscript is accumulated upon it more or less. Then the answer is sent back to the Secretary, who takes time to consider whether the information ought to be given at all. Before it actually reaches the House all interest in it has perhaps evaporated, or if it be still alive, the time when it would have been most useful has gone by. It frequently happens, however, that some part of the desired information is wanting, or is furnished in such shape that it is unintelligible to the member who called for it, so that a supplementary resolution of inquiry must be sent through the same devious channel. By this time, probably, nobody cares whether the question is ever answered at all.

Evasion of the point of an interrogatory is not uncommon when the answer is communicated in writing. If the Secretary is reluctant to give the information, or if he wishes to puzzle a political adversary, or wear out his patience, or do anything except deal frankly and openly with him, it is very easy to employ words which seem to answer but do not. Such trickery is impossible when the parties are brought face to face in an open court of two or three hundred practised dialecticians. A good illustration is found in the colloquy which took place in the House of Commons on the 14th August, when the Secretary for the Colonies was asked whether it was true that a price had been put on King Cetewayo's head. Of course the gravamen of such an inquiry was whether her Majesty's Government sanctioned assassination as a means of getting rid of an

enemy in war. The Rt. Hon. Secretary replied that he did not know whether a price had been put on Cetewayo's head or not. He was evidently apprehensive that the thing had been done, and he hesitated to condemn the practice lest he should cast censure upon the Commander of the Forces in South Africa. The Opposition saw the opening, and rushed at it. After a brief skirmish the Chancellor of the Exchequer was fain to admit that assassination was an unjustifiable mode of warfare, and to pronounce against it in unqualified terms. Under our system it would have been impossible either to get a satisfactory answer from an unwilling secretary, or to punish him for withholding it.

Committees of Congress have a more expeditious way of obtaining information. They invite the Secretary to attend their sittings, and although he may come or not as he pleases, he generally does come, and through the medium of questions and answers and verbal colloquy, he soon puts the members in possession of all the facts they desire to know, and of his own reasons and opinions also. But what transpires in a committee-room is supposed to be secret. None but members of the committee are enlightened in this way. Congress itself is as much in the dark as the public in reference to the proceedings of committees. In fact Congress depends upon the newspaper reporters for the details of such proceedings, which are wormed out of members with every variety of inexactitude. Now, publicity and responsibility—responsibility for the question, and responsibility for the answer—are as desirable as expedition in the obtaining of information, and precision in its character when obtained; and all these desiderata may be secured by Mr. Pendleton's bill. But it is hardly conceivable that the reform proposed should be merely a change of vehicles by which information is conveyed from the departments to Congress, like substituting the telephone in place of pen and ink. The tendency to a change of substance—a change in the relations which the legislative and executive branches of government hold towards each other—would grow stronger with each day's wrestling in the arena of congressional debate. Indeed, it is only in this view that the measure calls for any philosophical attention. Personal contact is a step toward fusion of the two bodies brought together. There will still be a wide difference between English and American methods of administration, but less difference than before. If the American Cabinet is ever to become what the English Cabinet is—an executive committee of the popular branch of the legislature—the first step in that direction will be something like Mr. Pendleton's bill. It is proposed now to glance at the principal advantages and disadvantages of such a change.

The principal advantage would be the establishment of harmony between the legislature and the executive, so that they might always

be pulling in harness together, instead of contrariwise as now often happens. Under existing arrangements a Republican president can usually be relied upon to be at cross-purposes with a Democratic Congress all the time, and with a Republican Congress half the time. President Johnson's administration was a continued scene of conflict between the executive and legislative branches, growing out of differences respecting the reconstruction of the Southern States; and the fact that both President and Congress belonged to the same political party served rather to intensify than to mitigate the bitterness between them. President Grant commenced his civic career with a prodigious quarrel of the same sort, growing out of the attempted annexation of San Domingo, leading to the ostracism of such men as Sumner, Schurz, and Trumbull, the evil consequences of which have not even yet disappeared. The relations between Congress and President Hayes were those of mutual suspicion and aversion until a very recent period, when active hostilities broke out, and veto messages followed each other like the discharges of a Gatling gun. In the cases of President Johnson and President Grant the civil service was used unsparingly to tempt the weak and break down the strong among their opponents in Congress. The public offices furnished ammunition for the fray, and demoralisation was spread far and wide. The course pursued was very much in harmony with the precedents of George III., and the personal quarrels of that monarch with the most eminent men of his day. It is much to President Hayes's credit that he has abstained from such exhibitions of spite, but we have no guarantee that his next successor may not arm himself with the carnal weapons of eighty thousand offices when he comes in collision, as he probably will, with the politicians at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. Civil service reform is the crying problem of the day, and the difficulties that beset it would be diminished by any step which should ensure to the executive a majority in the legislature, or to the legislature the control of the executive, whichever form of expression be preferred.

The independence of the two, or rather of the three, branches of government is so inbred and ingrained among American conceptions, that the idea of the President controlling Congress, or Congress controlling the President, is repulsive at first sight. But seeing that both are elected by the people at regular and short intervals, the evils arising from such a condition, whether more or less, cannot be dangers to liberty, and they may be wholly imaginary. The objection oftenest raised to the plan of bringing the Cabinet officers into Congress is that the power of the executive would be unduly augmented; that this power is already swollen beyond reasonable bounds by means of the patronage; that members of Congress are already sufficiently under executive influence as sharers of the patronage; and

that under the proposed *régime* the powers of Congress would be submerged under those of the President. This objection is not only fallacious in itself, but it involves a complete misconception of the objects sought to be attained. These objects are avowedly to blend the two functions of government together, which is not the same thing as overthrowing and destroying one of them. But experience shows that parliamentary government tends to the absorption of executive power by the legislature, rather than of legislative power by the executive. The course of English history is conclusive upon this point, and that of French history has furnished some notable illustrations of it since the establishment of the Republic. If we suppose the seven members of the American Cabinet to be placed upon the floor of Congress with all the rights and privileges extended to delegates from the territories (who are likewise extra-constitutional members), their influence and standing would depend upon their ability, experience, and force of character. At first the President might choose a Cabinet of his own cronies, as General Grant did, without reference to their training, their eminence in public life, or their acceptableness to anybody but himself. A selection thus made may answer its purposes without any great harm in mere routine work, already organized in bureaux and divisions and circumlocution, and especially in a country which needs more than anything else to be let alone. But when brought into the rough and tumble of parliamentary life the House will soon find out which of them are fit for their places, and which are not. The jackdaw with peacock's feathers in his tail was soon plucked by the nobler fowls in the farmyard, and so it would be with any pretender of statecraft who should be thrust into competition with three or four hundred of the shrewdest and most active, if not the most highly trained intellects of the country, and required *ex officio* to be a leader among them. His position would soon become too miserable to be borne. The law of natural selection would come in play, and after more or less floundering and groping, which must be looked for in any political transition, the President would learn to choose for his Cabinet men who were acceptable to the House, and capable of leading it. Thus the Cabinet would be virtually the choice of the House, although nominally that of the President. The President would still be their chief, and eventually his will must prevail over theirs, within constitutional limits, but the success of his administration would depend upon his having a Cabinet capable of leading the House, and *ex necessitate rei* in harmony with it.

The next advantage claimed for the plan is that it would bring the whole framework of government more within the range and influence of public opinion. Whether this would be a real advantage under our system of universal suffrage is a debatable

question, which will be considered further on; but that it would have the effect mentioned cannot be doubted. At present the administration can be brought to account only once in four years. Its measures are often taken with indifference to public opinion, oftener still in ignorance, and sometimes in defiance of it. The people seldom or never rule effectively with reference to a particular measure, but only with reference to a sum total and average of all the measures for which an administration or party can be held responsible. Instances might be enumerated where the people have voted against measures after they were passed, and when opposition to them had ceased to be effective. The mischief had been actually done, and the after-indignation of the public served perhaps to punish, but not to prevent or cure. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the so-called "Back Pay Grab" were cases of this kind. Neither the annexation of Texas nor the purchase of Alaska could have been accomplished by popular vote, or under any system where the judgment of the people could have been brought to bear upon them in good time. Chastisement is often a good thing, but prevention of the offence is better. Most commonly the offence itself is forgotten before the election comes around, having been superseded by some new excitement. Moreover the periods for settling accounts with the three branches of government are not the same, the nearest approach to a general verdict being the quadrennial election for President, at which time one of the biennial elections for Members of the House of Representatives occurs. The Senators are elected at no particular time; but one-third of the whole number must go out every two years.

Public opinion is thus greatly scattered and frustrated in its action upon particular measures, being much less prompt and effective than its action in England, where it strikes the whole government at once through the House of Commons. Geographical distance and preoccupation with State affairs are accountable, in some degree, for the slower and less energetic movements of public opinion upon Washington City; but still more is this sluggishness chargeable to the division of responsibility at Washington, and to the fact that nobody's term of office can be shortened by any amount of public clamour, unless for some impeachable offence. Now if it be desirable to make the government more amenable to public opinion than it is, and to give the people a chance to act upon particular measures while they are pending, instead of passing judgment upon them in a lump after they have been adopted or rejected at Washington, some one body of the three must be selected to receive the impact of popular force; and it would naturally be the one which most often returns to the people to give an account of itself, and to solicit the suffrages of the community—to wit, the House of

Representatives. And to enable the impact to reach the executive as well as the legislature—as frequently and as powerfully—a responsible Cabinet, having seats in the House, initiating the principal measures of legislation, answering publicly for all executive acts, and standing or falling, according to their ability to get their measures and policy approved by the House, would seem to be well adapted to that end.

These are the principal but not the only advantages of the proposed change. Another may be mentioned before passing to the consideration of objections. Since all legislation relates to one or other of the executive departments, imposing duties or restrictions upon them, it would be manifestly advantageous to have the benefit of their experience, and to hear what they have to say, not through incomplete and tedious statements in writing, or private conferences in committee-rooms, but through the medium of free public debate. Not long since the House of Representatives passed a bill transferring the entire administration of Indian affairs from the Interior Department to that of War, without consulting the Secretary of either!

Turning to the other side, we remark, first, that Responsible, or Parliamentary, or Cabinet Government is the product of that natural evolution by which monarchical, or personal government, turns itself into free government. Wherever it exists there has been a force from behind pushing it on. It is a growth, and not a device. It was never invented by anybody; and, probably, the world's verdict upon it *a priori* would have been that it would not work at all. Nevertheless it is over-running Europe irresistibly. Its highest development is found in England; but it exists with scarcely less vigour in the Low Countries, Italy, and Scandinavia. Its various shadings are found everywhere, from Gibraltar to Constantinople. Wherever we hear of a ministerial crisis, we hear the tocsin of Responsible Government. We never hear it in Russia, Prussia, Switzerland, or the United States, because those countries are governed upon different principles. The Republic of France is aiming at ministerial responsibility with an elective president of limited tenure, and bids fair to achieve that novelty. M. Waddington gave offence to his party some months ago by saying that a parliamentary republic was a great experiment. The remark was both true and timely. The friends of freedom throughout the world ardently wish success and permanence to the latest born of republics; but in its attempted blending of English and American forms it is a new thing under the sun, and has not yet passed beyond the region of experiment. In the dominion of Canada parliamentary government exists under a written constitution, and with the smallest thread of connection with the Crown. If this connection were

severed entirely, there is no reason to suppose that Canada would need to establish a dynasty, or do anything different from what she does now. In America, there being no monarchy, no hereditary governing power, whose hands must be tied, there is no force from behind pushing toward parliamentary forms of administration. The movement is wholly in the domain of theory. It appeals to the reason, not to the necessities, of men; and it may fairly be urged as an objection against such doctoring, that the country does not particularly feel the need of medical treatment.

Again, in America the greatest possible extension has been given to the democratic principle. The suffrage has been granted to all adult males, including, for instance, a vast body of blacks who were only recently toiling under the lash of slavery, and who will continue to toil under the lash of ignorance till they sink into their graves, and their children succeed to a brighter inheritance. The suffrage is granted every day to a still more mischievous class from the Old World, who have brought the doctrines of Lassalle and Karl Marx into an atmosphere where they cannot be so summarily dealt with as at home. As the population of cities increases, a pernicious sort of demagogism gains ground. The idea that the majority have a right to govern tends to expand into the idea that what the majority want to do is *ipso facto* right. The dangers arising from this condition are, I think, considerably overstated in Macaulay's letter to the Editor of the Works of Jefferson, and also in a recent widely read article in the *Atlantic Monthly Magazine*. But it is a serious question, and entirely apposite to this discussion, whether, under such conditions, it is wise to throw away any of those checks and balances which now and then disable the majority, prevent them from carrying hasty decisions into effect, and compel them to reconsider their purposes and the grounds thereof. For, the introduction of Responsible Government, in its entirety, would put more power into the hands of the majority than they now have, and a good deal more. It would make the House of Representatives as irresistible as the House of Commons. In all civilised countries and governments there is a ceaseless struggle going on between the forces of what is, which may be called conservative forces, and those of what ought to be, which may be called progressive, and those of what ought not to be, which may be either revolutionary or reactionary. To the first of these political elements in the United States have been given the executive veto, which may be overcome if the majority in Congress is sufficiently great, and the Senate's veto, which may be overcome in time, if the majority is sufficiently persistent. To the second and third has been given every other weapon in the arsenal of politics. It is necessary for the advocates of the change we are considering to show that it would be conducive to

the public weal to deprive the minority of the safeguards and barriers mentioned above ; for the nearer we come to the realisation of Responsible Government, the more completely do we put in the hands of the majority the means of executing their decrees without hindrance or delay.

A third and weighty objection is found in the practical or mechanical difficulty of engrafting this system upon one so totally different, as that which the Constitution of the United States provides. In the first place, the President is, now-a-days, always elected by a party. The two elections of Washington, and the second election of Monroe, are the only exceptions to this rule found in our history. The party which elects the President expects, and will always insist, that the Cabinet shall be composed of its own members, representing and enforcing its policy regardless of the political complexion of Congress. At the present time we have a Republican President with a Democratic Congress. In the latter part of Pierce's administration there was a Democratic President and Senate with a Republican or Opposition House. The indispensable condition of parliamentary government is that the Cabinet shall be agreeable to the majority of the legislature ; and there is no way to bring about this condition of things in America. This difficulty does not exist in the French Republic, the President being elected by the legislature—elected for a fixed period indeed, but having the grace to resign when he finds himself absolutely unable to yield his convictions to those of the Chamber. Such a government must exist very much upon good understanding. President MacMahon gave it a heavy wrench, and might have wrecked it entirely if he had had the purpose in his heart to do so. An amendment of the Constitution of the United States to bring about this *sine qua non* of parliamentary government is not to be looked for. The nearest possible approach to it at present would be a change of practice, whereby the President should keep himself, or be kept, always in harmony with the majority of his own party in Congress ; and it remains to be proved that even this would be salutary upon the largest view.

In a word, the Constitution of the United States is made up of checks and balances. Harmony of the different branches of government was not contemplated by its framers. It does not presume upon good understanding. While providing that the majority shall prevail in the long run, it provides also for the freest play of passions and interests within defined limits. It is based upon the philosophy of Hobbes and the religion of Calvin. It assumes that the natural state of mankind is a state of war, and that the carnal mind is at enmity with God. It takes into consideration, also, a vast diversity of interests growing out of an extended territory and widely separated population. It has to deal with the fact that nearly everybody

is a statesman and a political economist, or capable of becoming such at the shortest notice. There is no country where so little respect is paid to acquirements, preparation, training, in the arts of legislation and government. Lawyers are generally preferred for such offices, it is true; but this is not because they are learned in the law, but because their vocation has given them readiness of speech. Moreover, the doctrine of rotation in office is too widely prevalent, and it not unfrequently happens that an excellent Senator or Representative is turned out merely because he has held office for the customary period, and another elected because he has never held office at all. The claims of locality are so highly regarded, that not a single instance can be found of a Representative elected by any other district than that of his domicile; and there is a tacit agreement among politicians to divide all the offices, including the Cabinet, as nearly as possible among geographical divisions. If Mr. Sherman and Mr. Schurz, for instance—the ablest members of Mr. Hayes's administration—happened both to reside in the same State, it would be practically impossible for both to be Cabinet officers at the same time, although the President might legally choose his entire Cabinet from one State or one town. The claims of fitness for public employment are thus subordinated to a variety of other considerations, from which it must not be inferred that Congressmen are generally of an inferior grade of intellectual endowment; but only that they might be of a higher range and type if the rules and practice of the constituencies were different.

The Constitution takes this heterogeneous governing force, and authorises it to do its best or its worst. It undertakes to minimise the evils which the rule of the majority can bring forth, while still maintaining the rule of the majority. This it accomplishes by a written instrument and an irremovable court of last resort. The late Mr. Mill, in his speculations on Theism, imagined, among other possibilities, that the Deity might not have been able to create a world without sin in it, on account of the obduracy of the material in his hands. Considering all the toughness of material that the Constitution of the United States has to deal with, and its success in dealing with it thus far, it is, perhaps, the part of wisdom for us to let well enough alone.

HORACE WHITE.

ANTONIO SCIALOJA.

HISTORY, especially the history of revolutionary eras, has a tendency to incarnate itself, if I may use the phrase, in certain personalities; and the world is apt to forget that it takes many men to make a history, and that those who have done great things could not have done them by themselves unless they had had great men behind them. No doubt the judgment of mankind is right in the main in its selection of the individualities whom it associates with certain epochs. Napoleon could not have created the Empire without his marshals, but without Napoleon there would have been no marshals in existence. Still, the achievements of those who have played the second parts in the drama of history are too apt to be overlooked; and it is well-given time to recall the truth, that there were great men not only before, but alongside of, Agamemnon. To no period of history does the above reflection apply more forcibly than to that of the era during which Italy achieved her independence. Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, Garibaldi, Mazzini—these are the men who, in praise or dispraise, have left their names engraved upon the annals which record the regeneration of Italy. Yet, every one acquainted with the story of how Italy was made, knows that the work could never have been achieved but for the life-labour of a host of patriots, each one of whom contributed his share to the stately fabric, and might, but for his fame being overshadowed, have been counted among its architects. In this category of Italian patriots who just failed to achieve greatness, Antonio Scialoja occupies a prominent place. The record of his life, which has just been published at Rome, forms no unimportant page in the history of his country; and from this memoir by S. de Cesare, an old friend and devoted admirer, I wish to give some brief record of a life not only noteworthy in itself, but eminently illustrative of the school of patriots to whom Italy owes unity and freedom.

Sixty-two years ago, Antonio Scialoja was born in the little village of San Giovanni a Teduccio, in the province of Naples. By birth, parentage, and breeding, he was a Neapolitan of the Neapolitans. His family, which was originally of Spanish extraction, had been settled in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and had taken up their abode in Procida—the loveliest, perhaps, of the lovely group of islands which hem in the Bay of Naples from the open sea. The Scialojas belonged to the *Mezzo Ceto*, or professional class, and had furnished more than one member who had been reckoned among the notabilities of their place and day. They were people of fair means,

and the child Antonio received a classical education. If the stories of his childhood are correct, he furnishes a fresh illustration of the falsity of the adage, that precocity in early life is inconsistent with eminence in later years. At the age of twelve young Scialoja had completed the study of the classics; by fourteen he had mastered philosophy and the exact sciences; and by fifteen he had devoted himself to the study of natural and social law. Probably, as in the case of John Stuart Mill, to whom Scialoja bore a sort of resemblance, the friends of his adult manhood were prone to overestimate the range of his juvenile acquirements. Still, after making all allowances for friendly exaggeration, it is obvious that at a very early age Scialoja gave proof of very remarkable attainments. Metaphysics or abstract sciences of any kind were not to his taste, as, indeed, they are not to that of his countrymen in general, and long before he had attained manhood he had devoted himself to the study of political economy and law. At the age of twenty-two he published a treatise on the Principles of Social Economy, which attracted very general attention, not only in Italy but abroad. The work was translated into French, and its author was forthwith recognised by all the leading economists of the day as an authority in the science to whose pursuit they were devoted. The reputation won by the young Neapolitan abroad enhanced his fame at home. His eminence was felt to be a credit to the nation; and even the court of Ferdinand II., absolutist as it was, saw no particular danger in scientific speculations on the laws which regulate prices and values, and were not unwilling to recognise the services that Scialoja had rendered to the cause of political economy.

In 1845 Scialoja married the daughter of a French merchant resident in Naples, a lady of great beauty and merit, to whom he was tenderly attached. Fortune seemed to smile upon him. While still almost a youth he had acquired an European reputation; a man of simple tastes, he had no desire for wealth; passionately devoted to his studies, all he required was a competence sufficient to place him above daily care, and that competence the Government of his own country was ready to procure for him. The one sacrifice required to secure him the comfort, honour, and independence so dear to all men, was a willingness to abstain from active participation in schemes for the regeneration of Italy; but this sacrifice he was not prepared to make. Secret conspiracies and the whole machinery of the Mazzinian propaganda were repugnant to Scialoja's clear and calm intellect. No man ever had less personal sympathy with socialist ideas or cosmopolitan revolutions. Personal freedom and national independence were the things he valued above all others, and to secure these boons to his country was the one paramount ambition of his life.

In 1846 Charles Albert was beginning to discard the absolutist doctrines, in accordance with which he had ruled during the earlier years of his reign, and was gaining ground as the champion of constitutional government in Italy. Freedom of speech and writing was conceded to the Piedmontese, and among other reforms a chair of political economy was established at the University of Turin. The professorship was offered to Scialoja, as the most eminent of Italian economists. The offer was accepted, to the vexation of the educated Neapolitans, who disliked the idea of Scialoja's reputation being appropriated by a rival state. This feeling was so general, that the Minister of Foreign Affairs spoke to the King about the expediency of making some arrangement by which the services of so eminent a Neapolitan might be retained by his own country. "Don't trouble yourself," was his Majesty's characteristic reply; "one scribbler the less is all the better for you and all of us."

At Turin Scialoja speedily became intimate with Alfieri d'Azeglio, Cavour, Gioberti, Rattazzi, Poerio, and all the group of Piedmontese and Italian patriots who had associated themselves with the constitutional movement. At this time he leant strongly to the belief that the standard of national independence would first be raised in the kingdom of the two Sicilies. According to a phrase he was fond of using, "It is from the south that the dawn will come." The liberalism of Pius IX., then in the zenith of his short-lived glory, as the champion of Italy, had aroused intense excitement in the Neapolitan provinces. At last, early in the January of 1848; an insurrection broke out in Sicily, and speedily spread to the mainland. Ferdinand II. reverted to his usual tactics, and forthwith proclaimed a constitution. It seems strange to us now that the Italian Liberals should have believed in the sincerity of a Bourbon's promise. But in those stormy times of 1848, when every day brought tidings of governments overthrown by revolutionary risings, the triumph of the popular cause seemed well-nigh assured. Scialoja and his friends believed that the King must perforce remain loyal to his word, and acted accordingly. The proclamation of the constitution was followed by an era of wild license at Naples. It seemed as if anarchy must ensue, unless the constitutionalists came to the aid of the King; and finally, contrary to the advice of his friends at Turin, Scialoja threw up his professorship to undertake the post of Minister of Commerce at Naples. The Ministry, whose Premier was S. Troya, based its policy upon the necessity of the Neapolitan Government joining that of Piedmont in the war with Austria, which had then just begun. King Bomba at that time professed the utmost enthusiasm for the national cause. The Neapolitan army was sent to Lombardy, and the fleet was dispatched to Venice. But still there was no formal declaration of hostilities. The King, on

one plea or the other, refused to commit himself to an open rupture with Austria; and the Ministry, notwithstanding the urgent representations of Scialoja, agreed to acquiesce in the mere dispatch of troops to the seat of war, without any definite alliance with Sardinia. While the King was secretly hostile to his Ministers, they were exposed to the open animosity of the democratic party, who objected to the proposed establishment of an Upper Chamber, and to all measures which seemed to favour a monarchical, as opposed to a republican government. In the chamber of deputies the radicals were masters of the situation, and the Ministry were discredited by the violence with which they were denounced by the popular party, as being guilty of undue compliance with the wishes of the King.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary tempest had spent its force, and all over Europe the old dynasties were beginning to recover their supremacy. The advance of the Sardinian army was checked by Radetzky's strategy, and the fortunes of war turned against Charles Albert, and after a street fight, in which the royal troops got the upper hand, the Troya Ministry was replaced by one composed of the King's personal adherents. The Chambers were dissolved, and the Neapolitan regiments were recalled from the scene of war. Still, no direct step was taken towards the overthrow of the constitution, till after the fortunes of the national cause had, as it was thought, made final shipwreck on the field of Novara. The Liberals injured their prospects, bad as they were, by their own violence and intemperance. The mob of Naples raised the cry of "Down with the Parliament!" and it was obvious that the end was at hand. Scialoja received private information that the late Ministers were to be placed upon their trial for high treason, and was implored to fly while there was yet time. He refused, however, saying, "It is our duty to resist the scoundrels who are oppressing our unhappy country, and to resist them openly, come what may." The end came shortly. On the 26th of September, 1849, Scialoja was arrested and thrown into prison, together with eight of his colleagues. The charge of which they stood accused was that of having conspired to subvert the established Government by attempting to persuade the King to modify the form of the oath of allegiance. For over three years Scialoja remained in prison. Sentence was not passed upon him till the 8th of February, 1852, when he was acquitted of any active share in the alleged conspiracy, but was declared guilty of having been cognisant of the conspiracy and not betrayed the secret. For this offence he was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment. In all likelihood this sentence would have been carried out, if the French political economists, and especially M. Michel Chevalier, had not interested themselves actively in their behalf. At their instance the

Emperor Napoleon made strong representations to the court of Naples, and in deference to these remonstrances, coming from such a quarter, the penalty of imprisonment was commuted for one of perpetual exile.

Broken in health, impaired in fortunes, disheartened by the ingratitude of the people he had tried to serve, even more than by the treachery of the monarch who had called him to his support in the hour of need, Scialoja returned to Turin. But his sufferings and his deceptions had only increased the ardour of his zeal for the cause of Italy. His experience at Naples had convinced him of two things, first, that no reliance could be placed upon the reigning dynasty of the two Sicilies; secondly, that the emancipation of his country must come from without. Upon these promises he now based the conclusion that the one hope for Italian liberty and independence lay in the attempt making by Sardinia to constitute herself the champion of the national cause. By 1852 Count Cavour had become the recognised leader of the constitutional movement in the Sardinian States, and Scialoja forthwith attached himself to the fortunes of the great minister. He became a writer in the *Risorgimento*, and was employed by the Count in drawing up various reports and compilations. At this period the object towards which all Cavour's efforts were directed was to prove by the example of Piedmont that an Italian State could enjoy free institutions and yet be orderly—a source of safety, not of peril, to the interests of Europe. It was in these days, the darkest of the fortunes of the Sardinian State, that Cavour said to a foreign diplomatist, who asked him how the country fared, "We exist, and every week's existence is a gain." In the annals of Italian independence I know of nothing more memorable than the mode in which the constitutional liberties of Piedmont were preserved, strengthened, and developed by Cavour in the decade between 1849 and 1859. That Italy must be made independent by Piedmont remaining free, was the fundamental idea of Cavour's policy; and to him is justly due the credit of the conception. But this idea could never have been carried into execution if a large body of men of eminence, probity, and talent had not associated themselves with Cavour, and had not been prepared to subordinate all personal considerations to the promotion of that common end. Of this body Scialoja was not the least distinguished. At this period of his life he was in sore personal straits; he had to provide not only for his own needs in exile, and for his wife and child, but for his aged parents, whose means had been reduced by the vicissitudes of the revolution. With his high financial and legal ability he might easily have obtained lucrative professional occupation. But he preferred to live barely on a paltry pittance as a writer of ill-paid articles, and as one of the legal advisers of the Survey Depart-

ment, if by so doing he might still labour for the cause of Italy. To this object he sacrificed not only comfort and opulence, but the ambition of his life. He was now five-and-thirty, and to the fame that he had won ten years before in his own special department as a man of science, he had added little or nothing. Nobody knew better than he did that science is a jealous mistress, who must be wooed alone, and that if he hoped ever to fulfil the promise of his youth, and to secure a name among the magnates of political economy, he must devote himself to study. But to him, as to the whole class of Italian men of letters and men of science of that day, Italy was dearer than literature or learning. So the philosopher remained a politician, and the world lost what his country gained.

From 1852 to 1858 Scialoja resided at Turin, labouring at work which, except in so far as it tended to advance the interests of Italian unity, was not of a kind to leave any mark behind it. He wrote treatises on the law of Riverine islands, on Tontines, on freedom of trade in cereals, on tribunals of commerce, on the hundred and one reforms carried out by the restless energy of the great Minister whom he served so loyally. The successful issue of the intervention of Sardinia in the Crimean campaign had strengthened the hands of Cavour, and had enabled him to follow Scialoja's advice and to render Piedmont the mouthpiece of Italy before Europe. In 1857 Scialoja published an analysis of the respective budgets of Sardinia and the Two Sicilies, which was in fact a damning exposure of the Neapolitan system of administration, and which, based as it was on hard facts and dry figures, produced more effect almost than any amount of querulous declaration about the wrongs of Italy. It is thus that his biographer sums up his labours during this period.

"Scialoja had now become the leader of the Liberal party in Southern Italy, and was in all respects worthy of the leadership. No one in these years worked harder than he did for the Italian cause, to whose service he consecrated all the force of his talents, his energies, his studies, his fame itself. He wrote constantly to his political friends in Naples, to sustain in their hearts the hope of an impending deliverance, and to keep them acquainted with the most important aspects of foreign politics. It was Scialoja who, by the agency of Sir James Hudson, depicted to Earl Russell the policy which it was most honourable for England to pursue with reference to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Italian cause. It was Scialoja who produced a marked change in British public opinion by the publication of a pamphlet which attracted much notice at the time, bearing the title of *A Letter from an Italian to an Englishman on British Policy with regard to Italy in general and Naples in particular*. It was Scialoja who through S. Panizzi presented to the British Government a memorandum drawn up by him in the name of the Neapolitan Liberals. It was Scialoja who during the war with Austria wrote a host of articles in Parisian journals, explaining the extraordinary inaction of the Neapolitan provinces who remained tranquil, while the fate of the Peninsula was being decided by the Lombardo-Venetian campaign. It was Scialoja who wrote numberless letters to his distinguished literary acquaintances in Germany and Belgium, to urge them to expound the cause of Italy. It was Scialoja who

day by day reminded his friends in France who were adherents of the Empire, not to forget Naples. Prodigious indeed was the activity he displayed."

Ferdinand II. died at Naples on the day following the Franco-Italian victory at Montebello. At this time Count Cavour was placed in a position of great difficulty by the hostile action of the British Government, who were persuaded, with or without reason, that the real object of Napoleon III. was to place Prince Murat on the throne of Naples, and used their influence with the French Emperor to oppose the prosecution of the war. Under these circumstances Cavour resolved to propose to the young King Francis II. an offensive and defensive alliance with Piedmont, by which the kingdom of the Two Sicilies would have been guaranteed its independence in return for its assistance in the war with Austria. Such a project was fatal to the hopes of Scialoja and his comrades, who already looked forward confidently to the incorporation of their native land in an united Italy. Before the offer was made, the Minister consulted Scialoja and Poerio on the matter, and explained to them the grounds of his policy. Their answer, quoted by De Cesare, shows the kind of stuff of which these men were made.

"We ourselves," they replied, "have no confidence in the Bourbon dynasty, not because it has persecuted us and so many other Liberals with injustice, but because we believe it to be incapable of a single generous aspiration for the great Italian fatherland. But if the high political considerations expressed by you commend themselves to the approval of the Emperor Napoleon III. and of the King Victor Emmanuel, and are accepted by you as advantageous to the independence and liberty of Italy, we, with resigned minds, will sacrifice our own opinions, our own sorrows, our own sufferings of the past ten years, to the patriotic idea which directs your mind, and to our anxious desire to see Italy liberated from foreign rule."

The offer was made, but happily for the national cause it was rejected by Francis II. Throughout the war Scialoja kept urging his friends in Naples to make a popular rising or demonstration of some kind, so as to show in his own words that "Naples was part of Italy." But his appeals were in vain. The energy of the Neapolitan liberals had been crushed by long years of oppression. The Swiss and Bavarian regiments were powerful enough to crush any native rising; and the initiative had to come from without. It is worth, however, noting that the subsequent success of the Garibaldian invasion of the Two Sicilies was foreseen by those who understood the real position of affairs. Months before Garibaldi had landed at Messina, a friend of Scialoja's wrote to him from Naples, assuring him that any idea of a popular insurrection was out of the question, but adding these prophetic words: "Still I am certain that wherever a single battalion of regular troops, or even of volunteers, succeeds in showing itself on our frontiers, or in any

remote part of the kingdom, the population of our provinces will rise like one man."

When Francis II. was driven in despair to restore the constitution, it was thought expedient to grant an amnesty and recall the political exiles. Scialoja, however, did not return to his native land till after the King had fled to Gaeta, and Garibaldi had entered Naples in triumph. The first act of the Dictator was to appoint a provisional government in which Scialoja occupied the post of Minister of Finance. The policy of the new Ministry was avowedly to prepare the way for the annexation of the Two Sicilies to the kingdom of Italy, a policy to which Garibaldi himself was prepared to adhere. Mazzini, however, arrived at Naples soon after the downfall of the Monarchy. He, and still more his adherents, had great personal influence with Garibaldi. They raised the cry that it was the duty of the victorious volunteers to march directly upon Rome, and Cavour was prepared to sacrifice the independence of Italy to his aristocratic proclivities. Garibaldi, who has always seemed to me a curious compound of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, uniting, as I think, in his own person, the magnanimity and extravagance of the one with the shrewd common sense and quaint simplicity of the other, gave in for the time to the Bertani clique, and got rid of the Ministers who had come to him under the auspices of Piedmont. An era of misrule set in, which might have ended surely in a disaster fatal to the military as well as the political prospects of Italy, if Victor Emmanuel had not entered the Neapolitan States at the head of his army, and virtually taken the control of affairs out of the hands of Garibaldi and his followers. Farini was appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; and Scialoja resumed his former office. He forthwith set to work with his accustomed energy to reform the administration, to suppress abuses, and to restore order out of chaos. In so doing he gave offence of necessity to any number of vested interests. The Garibaldian party, who resented, not altogether without reason, the mode in which the ex-Dictator had been thrust on one side, raised a cry against Farini and his colleagues that they wished to Piedmontise Naples. Finally, the Ministry found their position untenable, and resigned their offices.

It was my fortune to reside at Naples during the whole of the Garibaldian dictatorship, and during the period which ensued upon the annexation of the Sicilian Provinces to the kingdom of Italy. My observation there led me to the conclusion which, I suspect, is shared by the author whose memoir forms the base of this article, that the revolution which Garibaldi brought about by his invasion of the Two Sicilies was premature. The subject is far too wide a one to enter on here. Nor am I prepared to say that things could have well been otherwise than they were. All revolutions are, at the

best, a choice of evils, and no doubt Italy gained much by the rapid exclusion from her soil of any dynasty except that of Savoy. Still it was a calamity for Italy, that the Neapolitan revolution was brought about in such a fashion, and at such a time, as to necessitate the absolute and immediate incorporation of the southern provinces with the northern. It is difficult to conceive a population less fitted for popular self-government and parliamentary institutions than that of the Two Sicilies. In civilisation, culture, respect for law and order, they were two centuries behind Piedmont, Lombardy, and Tuscany, and even the Emilia. Indeed, next to the experiment of giving the suffrage to the negroes in the Southern States, I know of no political essay so bold as that undertaken by the Italian Government when on the eve of the annexation they gave full political power to the Neapolitans. In both cases the experiment proved of doubtful success, and I attribute the major portion of the difficulties with which Italy had to struggle since the acquisition of her independence, to the fact that her Parliament is elected to a very large extent by constituencies ignorant of the very first rudiments of political education. One of the most serious, and not the least disastrous, of the results which accrued from the sudden bestowal of political power on a people quite unfit for its possession, lay in the fact that the Neapolitans of the Scialoja class, who by talent, education, knowledge were best fitted to rule, found no favour with their own countrymen, no place in their own country.

Be this as it may, Scialoja soon found himself back at Turin. With the death of Cavour the group of patriots who had followed him as their chief, were left as sheep without a shepherd. Indeed, to some extent, the very pre-eminence of Cavour weighed down his successors. To use a phrase common at the time in Italy, politicians of Scialoja's stamp were "only Alexander's generals." In other words, they lacked the confidence which might have been bestowed on men of far less ability, who were credited with the initiative of their own policy, and were not open to the charge of being the mere exponents of bygone traditions. If Cavour had lived, it is probable that even his credit would have suffered from the impossibility of dealing with a well-nigh insuperable problem. Between 1860 and 1866 Italy was overburdened by the re-approach of the war left unfinished at Villafranca. The occupation of Rome was a question which constantly threatened to bring about a rupture with France; and the resolution of the "party of action," trading under the name of Garibaldi, to force matters to a crisis, rendered it difficult for the Government of Florence to pursue any settled policy. At the moment when Italy had to incur the enormous outlay required for the consolidation of her new provinces, she was weighed down by the necessity of keeping up a colossal standing army, and

making military preparations for the impending war. The finances of the State became fearfully involved, and national bankruptcy seemed imminent. The Ministry of Finance became in consequence the most important, as well as the most thankless, post in the kingdom. At the close of 1865 General La Marmora, who had been intrusted by the King with the duty of forming a ministry in view of the impending war, forthwith selected Scialoja for the post, saying at the time, "There is only one man who has at once capacity for the position, and who will not refuse to accept any responsibility, however great, for the good of the country. That man is Antonio Scialoja; I know him well." The expectation was not deceived. With his eyes open, and with a full consciousness of the necessary consequences of the policy he would have to adopt, Scialoja accepted the office, and provided Italy with the funds necessary to carry on the war without any repudiation of her liabilities, by establishing the forced paper currency. The measure was opposed to all the principles of political economy, and its author adopted it with the most undisguised reluctance. But then, as always, the importance of freeing Italy from foreign rule seemed to him to outweigh all other considerations. If Italy could only be made free by expelling the Austrians from Venice, then the funds required for this purpose must be obtained at any price and any sacrifice. At a later period, when defending his action before a commercial congress at Florence, Scialoja used these words:—

"Though my life has been full of many and painful vicissitudes, though I have lingered for two months under a charge which, if proved, would have sent me to the gallows, I can say confidently that no single hour of my existence has been so painful as that in which, after having drawn up the decree establishing a forced currency, I had to submit it to the signature of the King, and to give it legal vitality by counter-signing it myself."

The remedy served its purpose, and its evil effects remained long after the object was accomplished. The annexation of Venice left behind it a legacy of financial embarrassments, for which Scialoja as the author of the forced currency was held responsible by popular opinion. The Rattazzi party took advantage of the distressed condition of Italy to attack Ricasoli and his colleagues. Scialoja was especially singled out for attack, and in 1867 he tendered his resignation on account of a difference of opinion with some of his fellow-ministers as to the sale of the Church lands. He was strongly opposed, I may mention here, to all State interference in ecclesiastical matters. Cavour's motto of *Chiesa libera in stato libero* was the one rule he recognised, and he was a steadfast opponent of all that class of legislation of which the Falk laws and the Ferry bill are examples.

The attacks to which he was subjected by political animosity gave

great pain to Scialoja. His bodily health began to give way, and the fact that all his services and all his labours had ended in his being-held up to obloquy by the people for whom he had sacrificed so much, told upon his mental energy. In 1872 he once more became a minister, holding the department of Public Instruction in the short-lived Lanza cabinet. When Minghetti succeeded Lanza as Premier, Scialoja remained in office, and devoted himself to the endeavour to make primary education compulsory in Italy. The proposal, however, met with great opposition in the Chamber, when first introduced, though it was adopted at a later period, and on his bill being thrown out, Scialoja gave in his resignation, and never afterwards took any active part in Italian parliamentary life. His biographer quotes a touching letter, sent to Scialoja at this time by his old friend Mancini, in which the writer attempts to console him for his political discomfiture by impressing upon him the importance of employing his enforced leisure to produce some scientific work worthy of his great promise. Nobody knew so well as Scialoja what he might have done. But it was now too late.

In the summer of 1875 his health became so impaired that he was recommended to pass the winter in a warmer climate than that of Italy, and he made up his mind to go to Egypt. It was just at this time that Europe was startled by the purchase of the Suez Canal shares by Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry. On the Continent this purchase was regarded as the first step towards the annexation of Egypt by England, and public feeling in Italy demanded some action or other on the part of the Government. It was very hard to say exactly what Italy either could do, or ought to do, in order to assert her influence in Egypt; and in default of anything else Minghetti and his colleagues seem to have hit on the device of entrusting Scialoja with some sort of semi-official mission. The Khedive, who had become uneasy at the dimensions Mr. Cave's mission seemed likely to assume, had also sounded the Government of Rome as to whether they would send out a financier of eminence to assist him in arranging his affairs. Scialoja was selected as the person best qualified for the post, and on being requested to accept the position in order to promote the interests of Italy, agreed, during his sojourn in Cairo, to assist the Khedive with his advice and leisure. The great Italian economist made the experience which came to all the European advisers, whatever their nationality, who undertook to assist Ismail Pasha with their counsels. Nothing could exceed the courtesy with which he was received on his arrival in Cairo. His suggestions were listened to with the utmost deference. He was implored to accept the post of President of the Supreme Council of the Treasury, in order to reorganize the whole financial system of Egypt according to his own ideas, and he accepted the offer at

the personal request of the Italian Government. But when the time came to reduce theory to practice, difficulties arose; the Khedive grew cold, the Italian Ministry had other matters to think of, and Scialoja, finding himself alone, unsupported, and powerless, gave up an office he could not fill with advantage to others or dignity to himself.

He had refused to take any salary for the Presidency of the Egyptian Treasury. He had resigned his post in the Italian Cour des Comptes; and he left Egypt in the spring of 1877 somewhat stronger in his physical health, but worn out by an anxious, ungrateful, and uncongenial enterprise, which, however creditable to himself, had still ended in failure. He took up his abode in Procida, where his earliest years had been spent, and where his family still lived. His strength soon began to fail once more. At the request of the Government he came to Rome for a few days to deliver a course of lectures to the Professors of the Technical Institute, saying that he could not refuse when he was told that by accepting "he would render a service to science and to the country." After this last visit to the capital—the attainment of which by Italy had been the object of his life's ambition—he returned home to die in the island home which he loved so well. After three months of protracted suffering, Scialoja's life ended on the 13th of October, 1877. His name was well-nigh the sole legacy he left his children. In the cause of Italy he had spent and been spent, and died poorer than he was born.

That this should be so is no small testimony to Scialoja's integrity. He had occupied many positions in which money might have been made easily if without any actual breach of confidence he had made the public interest subservient to his own. It is only fair to say that in this respect Scialoja was not singular among the public men of his country. Whatever may be the other defects of the Italian politicians of the day, they have been free from the charge of making official life the stepping-stone to fortune. Nor, high-minded as Scialoja was, had he any monopoly of patriotism. If Italy is now free and independent it is because she commanded the largest service of a generation who counted all other things of no account as compared with freedom and independence. Of this generation Scialoja may fairly be taken as a type—a very high and, perhaps, unequalled type, but still a type, not an exception.

EDWARD DICEY.

NATIONAL EDUCATION AND THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD.

ALTHOUGH the country has other things to think of just now, more pressing and more immediately attractive to politicians than the progress of Elementary Education, yet it is worth while to take note of what is doing in this department, in order that when the time for action comes we may have some definite idea of what it is that we propose to do. The Elementary Education Act of 1870, with all its faults, has worked a great revolution; and if the Education Department had been continuously administered with a single eye to education, it would have done much more. In two respects an immense change has been worked in the state of English education. The amount of school accommodation has been more than doubled since 1870. In 1870 there was accommodation for 1,878,586 children in public elementary schools. In 1878 there was accommodation for 3,942,339, being an increase of 2,063,753 places. Of this number of places 890,164 are provided in Board schools, some of which, however, merely represent transferred voluntary schools. However, in spite of this transference, and consequent diminution by so much of the voluntary school provision, there has been an increase of 1,173,589 places in voluntary schools.

Of this large increase more than 216,000 school places were created in what has been called the year of grace, during which voluntary effort was invited to step in, and, by supplying any deficiency in accommodation, to ward off the necessity for the formation of a School Board; of the remaining 957,000 school places, many are in new buildings provided entirely by voluntary effort. It is satisfactory to see so great a desire to provide school accommodation voluntarily; it would be still more satisfactory if we had not reason to fear that much of this activity springs from two motives which have no connection with educational zeal—the one a fear of still greater expense, which some have been led to apprehend from the introduction of a School Board; the other either sectarian or political jealousy, which has induced persons to make efforts in order to keep the control of education in the hands of a particular sect, or free from popular interference. Still, after these two motives have been allowed their full weight, we cannot doubt that a large part of this school provision represents a great desire on the part of many to promote the cause of public education. Another con-

siderable portion of this new school provision is accounted for by schools previously uninspected coming under inspection. Not only has the school accommodation largely increased, but the number on the roll has increased from 1,693,059 to 3,495,892; the average attendance has also increased from 1,152,389 to 2,405,197. The number of certificated teachers has increased from 12,467 to 27,324; of assistant teachers from 1,261 to 7,178; of pupil teachers from 14,304 to 34,399. Thus—

The School Accommodation has increased by	109·5	per cent.
The Number on the Roll	106	“
The Average Attendance	108·5	“
Certificated Teachers	111	“
Assistant Teachers	569	“
Pupil Teachers	240	“

The population has increased since 1870 from 22,090,163 to 24,854,327, or 12 per cent.

These figures are on the whole satisfactory; they show that there has been not merely a large increase of school accommodation provided, but that in addition many schools previously not inspected, and probably in most cases inefficient, have put themselves under Government inspection, and thus largely increased the securities for good management. We find, too, that the average attendance as well as the accommodation has more than doubled. In 1870 the average attendance was 61·4 of the accommodation, in 1878 it was 60·7 per cent. As to regularity of attendance, in 1870 it was 68 per cent. of the number on the register, in 1878 it was 68·8 per cent. This, considering that a large number of the new children brought into school by compulsion are of the most neglected classes and of parents indifferent to education, must be deemed on the whole a satisfactory result. No doubt as time goes on, and as compulsory attendance becomes a more general rule, the percentage of attendance will improve still more. The increase in the staff of teachers in proportion to the number of children taught is another satisfactory feature in the Education Reports as compared with each other, though it is not so satisfactory to see that the largest increase is in pupil teachers, and that throughout England we are making no material advance towards a system where children will no longer be taught by boys and girls.

But if we turn from the past, and instead of contrasting what we are now doing with what we were doing ten years ago, we contrast what we are now doing with what we ought to be doing, instead of feeling satisfaction we shall feel that we are very far behind a satisfactory state of things. It is well that we should pause for a moment on the complacent contrast with the past in order that we may be encouraged, for certainly no one would have believed nine

years ago, during the discussion of Mr. Forster's Bill, that in eight years the efficient school accommodation and the number of children in school would be more than doubled; and be it remembered that in the matter of providing school accommodation School Boards were able to do very little till 1873, and their activity is mainly a matter of the last four or five years.

But let us now turn from what has been done to what remains to be done. On page xiv. of the Government Report is a table showing the number of children from five to thirteen of the elementary school class in 1871. The total is 3,835,372. To these must be added at least half a million for the infants between three and five who may be expected to attend school, and 140,000, being 4 per cent. of the whole number on the roll, over thirteen years of age, the proportion which it has been found stays on at school. Another 12 per cent. should be added for the increase of population since the census. And making these allowances, we find that there are close upon five millions of children for whom school accommodation is needed. If the schools were all available and were well arranged and suitable, perhaps four million of school places would be enough, and it would appear at first sight as if the 3,600,000 school places fairly met the deficiency, especially bearing in mind the number of empty places in the schools. But for many reasons the school accommodation nominally set down is not as a rule available for the full number. In many cases, especially in rural districts, the schools are larger than the school population requires, especially measured as the schools are for the most part on the inadequate basis of eight feet to a child. Again, there are schools unsuitable to the children, either from the high fee or from the tone of the instruction imparted, especially in the case of Roman Catholic and ultra-high Church schools; and many schools from faulty construction will not accommodate anything like the number of children with which they are credited.

Thus there is no doubt that we are still a long way from having built schools enough for our school population; and if we had an Education Department which thought a little more of education and a little less of the interests of denominational schools, we should have a rigorous overhauling of many schools now on the Government list as effective, but which ought to be struck off on account of the badness of the premises or the inadequacy of their instruction, and which would never be tolerated if they were in the occupation of a School Board. But far worse than our shortcomings in the provision of schools is our failure in getting the children to school. Of the five millions of children who should be on the roll of schools, only 3,154,973 were on the roll last year. Now no matter what

excuses may be made for irregular attendance, at any rate the names of the children should appear on the school registers, and even after allowing a liberal deduction for children under thirteen whose poverty makes it necessary they should be at work, we cannot doubt that the present number of children on the roll is fully a million short of those who should be on the roll. This deficiency is most lamentable; indeed, it is nothing short of a scandal that we should have, what is the case in London, boys over thirteen presenting themselves at a night school unable to read, and having apparently for the last six years eluded the vigilance of the School Board visitors. No doubt there has been a great increase in the numbers on the roll, but when we think what remains to be done, we can count the work of the last seven years as but little.

We come next to the question of regular attendance. Here, on the whole, considering how novel a thing compulsory attendance is for most people, and how large a number of hitherto recalcitrant parents have had pressure put upon them, I do not consider that the work has been badly done. We must in the long run look far more to the intelligent sympathy of the parent, than to the coercive force of bye-laws for securing regular attendance. But I believe that when once there are enough schools of the right kind, easily accessible to the children, regular attendance will be secured far more easily and to a far greater extent than at present. In the future, and in no distant future, the work of securing regular attendance will be the work of the school teacher, not of the magistrate. Already most striking instances could be quoted where on account of the energy and efficiency of the teacher there is the most extraordinary contrast in the regularity of attendance between different departments of the same school, and where a very high percentage of attendance is secured in some of the lowest neighbourhoods of London. In Mr. Stewart's report upon Greenwich, one-sided and inaccurate as it is, there is one remark (page 548, Report of 1878) which I believe to be thoroughly true. "Children's ignorance is commonly said to be due to the irregular way in which they come to school, but the explanation is worth very little unless it is clear that schools are worth going to. Children are after all good judges of the value of the schools they attend; they know very well what lessons are interesting, and what teachers look after them as they ought to do. They are quite capable of feeling an affectionate respect for those who do their duty, and the attendance at a school is often a very fair test of its character. In well-managed schools I have never heard much said about bad attendance, and where the loudest complaints have been laid against children, I have been inclined to take part with them."

No doubt the power of summoning in the background is effective and needful against a certain class of parents, but I hope and believe that the power will year by year recede more into the background, as a truly national system of education, efficient and popular, takes root in the country. For the present we have to use it more frequently, but it should not be our chief dependence. In London already the average attendance in the Board schools has reached 80 per cent. of the roll. In a few years we may hope to see it well above 90 per cent. for the boys, and not less than 85 per cent. for the girls and infants. These averages are being already approached in some schools, including some in poor neighbourhoods. Thus the boys' school in the Coal-yard, Drury Lane, had by the last half-yearly report an average attendance of 91 per cent. of the number on the register. In Hughes Fields, Greenwich, the average attendance of the boys was 85·5 per cent. In Scrutton Street, Bethnal Green, the boys' average was 86 per cent., the girls' 82·4. At South Lambeth Road it was—boys 88·1 per cent., girls 86·4, infants 91·4. Other schools might be quoted with as good attendance, and what these schools are doing we have a right to expect from all schools in a few years.

But when we have got enough schools, when we have got the children to them, and when we have kept them in them, there remains the great question, Are we teaching them efficiently? And in answer to this question we must admit that if you take the country through we are not teaching efficiently. We are, I believe, doing a great deal, but we are not doing half enough.

As to intellectual teaching, we are still busy overtaking the neglect of the past. The London Board schools are full of children in the first and second standards, often big boys and girls who are below the first standard. The Church of England schools, where they are well conducted, have the advantage that, having been earlier established and having in many cases raised their fees, they get picked children of more respectable parents, and therefore have more children in the higher standards; but with them financial considerations come in and keep down the level of proficiency very low. The Board schools in London aim at giving a good education as soon as the children can be prepared for it. Their aim is to take up specific subjects, but in many cases they cannot attempt any such thing on account of the whole school being below the elements when they are admitted. Five years hence the London School Board ought to be able to produce very different results, but at present its work is mainly rudimentary and preparatory.

Still a beginning is being made, as will be seen by the following five school reports just received in one batch (August 30):—

BOYS' DEPARTMENTS.

	Average Attendance.	Grant per Head on Average Attendance.	Passes in Specific Subjects.	Fee.
		s. d.		d.
Finsbury, Blundell Street	264	21 0	158	2
Greenwich, Blackheath Road	231	21 1½	147	3
„ Clifton Road	340	20 9½	190	2
Marylebone, Medburn Street	267	20 10½	157	6
Southwark, Monnow Road	403	21 8½	300	4 (2d. per second child)
	<hr/> 1,505		<hr/> 952	

GIRLS' DEPARTMENTS.

		s. d.		d.
Blundell Street	253	16 10½	57	2
Blackheath Road	226	20 0	109	3
Clifton Road	316	18 10½	99	2
Medburn Street	263	19 10½	143	6
Monnow Road	363	20 3½	196	4 (2d. per second child)
	<hr/> 1,421		<hr/> 604	

The papers in specific subjects were distributed as follows :—

	Boys.	Girls.		Boys.	Girls.
Literature	335	212	French	72	43
Physical Geography	305	—	Botany	73	—
Domestic Economy	—	343	Mechanics	11	—
Animal Physiology	143	6	Mathematics	13	—

It may be noticed that, except in the case of the Blundell Street Girls' Schools, the girls' departments, though not quite equal to the boys', are yet highly satisfactory. Still, these results show what may be done and should be done generally in schools after they have been in regular working order for five or six years.

But taking England through, the inspectors agree in this, that the standard of instruction is as a rule wretchedly low. Even the sixth standard, with proficiency in a couple of specific subjects, is no extravagant amount of knowledge for a boy or girl of thirteen to possess on leaving school. But how very few of our scholars leave with this amount of proficiency. Most of them, I fear, at present leave school with at best the amount of knowledge represented by the third standard, and this a few years of service or of rough work obliterate from their memory. Probably the moral discipline of school is more satisfactory and more lasting. Children who have learnt tidiness, punctuality, order, truthfulness, leave school civilised to an extent to which those who knew London children well eight or ten years ago testify most strongly, and no doubt the same has been the case in the other populous parts of England. For the humanizing effect of schools in the last few years we must be very thankful, and trust that fuller instruction will follow in the near

future. But we can have no good instruction unless we are prepared to provide liberally for teachers. If instruction is to be thorough, money must be spent in well-equipped, well-lighted schools, with proper subdivision of rooms for the various classes; and an adequate staff of teachers must be put in and adequately paid. The London School Board has done this, and especially lately has determined to build its schools so that, as far as possible, each class shall have a room to itself. The salaries, too, which it pays to its teachers are very liberal. A head master of a large Board school in the east of London probably receives more than the clergyman of the neighbouring district church, certainly more than most of the Dissenting ministers. The assistants are as well paid as curates, and they are free from the calls which diminish so much the incomes of the clergy. There is no reason to doubt that such salaries as the London School Board is paying are fully adequate to command the pick of elementary school teachers, and will compare favourably with those in any other country. The allowance of staff, too, is sufficient in large schools where proper grading can be secured to enable each class to have one teacher who can be teaching the whole class the whole time, and does not have to go backwards and forwards to two or three classes. But in small voluntary schools the cost of maintaining a school in thorough efficiency is growing a serious burden, where there is not a strong body of subscribers prepared to make good the deficiency, and we must either be prepared to connive at inferior teaching, or we must be prepared to spend far more than we have hitherto done on education.

The same is true throughout England. If we are to have good teachers we must pay enough to compete with commercial employment in the matter of salary. Even if we could get men at starvation wages, we must consider that our teachers must be able to live tidily and decently if they are to be respected by the parents of the children. Unless an educated man can make a fair living from teaching, educated men will either keep out of the profession, or only use it as a provisional means of subsistence till they can escape to some other employment.

But even if we pay fairly we must have proper means of training if we are to secure good teachers, and the present system of training colleges is most unsatisfactory in this respect. In the first place, the training colleges are, as a rule, denominational and in private management. Although more than two-thirds of their annual cost is defrayed by the nation, and less than a seventh is subscribed, yet the management is entirely in private hands. The colleges are not bound to admit students according to their proficiency at the Government scholarship examination for entrance into them. They are allowed to add a private theological examina-

tion of their own, and to reject students who fail in this. There is no conscience clause to enable a student to be trained without submitting himself to the religious instruction, and in some of the colleges a pledge is exacted from the student that on leaving college he will, if required, give a preference to schools of the denomination of the training college. In their administration and domestic discipline they are autocratic, and there have been cases of the exercise of arbitrary power for which there was no remedy. These colleges were part of the denominational system which stood in the way of national education down to 1870, and which still hampers its free development. Their monopoly is quite inconsistent with the Act of 1870, and the unmixed sectarianism of most of them is quite unworthy of being subsidized with about £106,000 a year of public money. School Boards have already accommodation for 900,000 children, and have nearly a fourth of all the children in average attendance. In a few years the proportion in Board schools will be still greater. In these schools it is very properly illegal to give denominational instruction, and yet the pupil teachers from these schools are shut out from nearly all the training colleges maintained at the public expense, unless they will submit to and pass an examination, it may be in the prayer-book and catechism, it may be in Wesleyan formularies and treatises, and afterwards, during two years, conform to denominational teaching and religious worship. Surely it is time that sweeping reforms were introduced into the management of training colleges, which have hitherto been entirely neglected in the discussion of the Education question. Moreover, the supply of colleges is entirely inadequate to the number of applicants for admission, and to the demand for trained teachers. In 1878, 1,046 males passed the Government examination for entrance into college, and only 693 were admitted; 1,906 females passed the examination, and only 866 of them were admitted. The proportion of unsuccessful applicants was very much the same the year before.

The training colleges are supposed to be the stronghold of the denominational system. The supporters of that system congratulate themselves that even if the growth of School Boards supersedes them in the elementary school, yet they will be able, through the training of the colleges, to secure a bias in the minds of the teachers. The denominational party, which at the present moment is very strongly represented at the Education Department, is most sensitive to any movement which may modify the present system. They are unfriendly to the foundation of colleges of an undenominational character, and where the students may be day scholars; and in order to conceal the necessity for a fuller supply of teachers, the Education Department keeps flooding the profession with inferior teachers, to

whom certificates are awarded on extremely easy terms ; and there is a paragraph which recurs in substance from year to year in the Reports of the Department which suggests that the present colleges are sufficient to supply the waste in the body of teachers, which is calculated at only 6 per cent. per annum, too low even now, and certainly far too low if certificated teachers are to be substituted to any extent for pupil teachers. In Scotland the Education Department threatens even to reduce the number of scholars in the training colleges, and a correspondence on this subject will be found in this year's Scotch Education Blue Book. Besides the objections to training colleges on the score of their denominationalism and irresponsible management, an even greater objection applies at present on the score of their inadequate appliances and inferior efficiency. They are suffering, with many of the voluntary schools, from want of funds, and are not, therefore, able fully to teach the students committed to them.

Some years ago the small salaries which the colleges were able to offer to their lecturers secured comparatively good teachers, but now the higher salaries paid generally make it difficult for the colleges to keep experienced teachers, or to have enough of them. Mr. Sharpe reports (p. 617, Report, 1878) :—

“ I recognise fully the difficulty that the salary fund of the various colleges is exhausted in paying existing salaries, and that this fund, as it stands at present, cannot be distributed over a larger number of lecturers. But I think that this salary fund would not require large addition if superintendence of private study, and of class work, and revision of examination papers were in great measure intrusted to a small additional staff of younger lecturers specially retained for a year or two at the conclusion of their training. These young men would probably be satisfied with a lower rate of remuneration if allowed to retain a certain portion of their leisure for private study.”

And just before Mr. Sharpe reports :—

“ Each officer is not unfrequently obliged to spend twenty hours per week in actual lectures, even in large colleges, where the increase in the number of lecturers does not keep pace with the increase in the number of classes.”

The training-college system needs a thorough overhauling. When our school system was one mainly of small village schools taught by a head teacher and one or two pupil teachers who had been scholars at the school, the training college represented a great educational advance, and no doubt it still does a good work for the same class of pupil teacher. But the School Board system, with its large town schools, demands a far more advanced and unsectarian training for its teachers. We have a right to claim an unsectarian training, since, from our national universities at the one end to our national elementary school-board system at the other, the unsectarian prin-

ciple has been recognised, and in School Boards actually enforced by law.

We want, in addition, that the culture of our training colleges shall be wider, and that there shall be more consideration for refinement in the education of students than there has hitherto been. In too many training colleges the mode of life, the manner of serving the meals, and the general style of living is coarse. Now at present our pupil teachers come often from homes where there is not much cultivation. Too often the literary conversation and the elevating influences to which they are subject have been mainly in the schools. So certain a test of refinement as the tone of the voice, if applied to teachers, too often shows that they have not acquired that higher cultivation which is so much wanted to humanize the rough children committed to their charge. But a more refined tone in the college implies more expense, and the poverty of existing colleges stands in the way. Again, in many of the colleges the teachers do not treat the students with the courtesy that grown-up young men and women should receive. We should endeavour to make our elementary teachers feel that they belong to an elevated order, working in the same cause as those who have charge of the intermediate and higher education. We want to get rid of the old tone of superiority of the clerical manager towards his schoolmaster, who was probably his clerk. We want the idea to grow that schoolmasters and mistresses are, or should be, gentlemen and ladies. It is much to be wished that our old universities could open their doors somewhat to elementary teachers. At present unattached students at Oxford can live and study there for £50 a year. The State pays £100 for a student who completes two years at a training college; why should it not pay for a two-years' residence at Oxford? In that case the university might organize a course by which elementary schoolmasters might graduate there, and so come in contact with a wider range of social influences than he now does at the training college, and the university might appoint special teachers who should give instruction in the branches which are more specially needed for the training of schoolmasters? There has been already founded a chair of Pædagogy at the University of Edinburgh. The commissions which are now reforming Oxford and Cambridge might with advantage apply some of the wealth which is calling for redistribution to the work of elevating the education of the teachers of the great mass of the people. We know that in Scotland the universities and elementary teachers have not been severed as they are with us; but at the present day, when our universities are extending their influence and daily becoming more national, this is a matter which should not be overlooked.

Some will say that the training college teaches how to teach, and that the practising school is an effective adjunct which would not exist in a university. But, in the first place, we greatly exaggerate the value of the practising school for students who have already been trained in a large efficient Board school. The amount of practice students get is not large; indeed, many good masters tell us that their pupil teachers come back from college distinctly inferior in power of teaching and class management to what they were as fifth-year pupil teachers. But if our students went to the university they would have long vacations, in which they might take temporary situations in schools, and so both earn some money and keep up their habit of teaching. Besides, it would not be impossible to find practising schools in the university towns. No doubt the pupil teacher system does much to familiarise our teachers early with the routine of school management—the marking of registers, the management of classes, the understanding the ways of children; and if the pupil-teacher system were treated as what it should be, an apprenticeship, and not a means of doing without adult teaching, if the age of the commencement of apprenticeship and the initial attainments were materially raised, we might find much that is valuable in it. At present, for the sake of cheapness, English schools are made to depend for their teaching power on what ought to be merely an incidental assistance and a nursery for future teachers.

At present it is admitted that the candidates for admission to college, nearly all of whom are pupil teachers, are very crude and ignorant. Mr. Sharp, in his report on the training colleges in the Blue Book of 1877, says (page 680), speaking of the geometrical proficiency of the candidates for admission—young people aged eighteen:—

“There is a general agreement of all who revised these papers as to the almost entire absence of any intelligent knowledge of the subject. The sum of their remarks is the ordinary bookwork carefully prepared, but in many cases evidently committed to memory only . . . Only one-half could read out a correct definition; nearly all were quite unable to cope with any question which involved any novelty of statement or required any combination of previous knowledge.”

A similar incapacity was shown in the algebra papers. As to arithmetic, we are told (p. 682) that “questions involving thought were generally avoided.” In geography we find the same complaint (p. 683); what could be learnt mechanically was well done, but there proficiency ceased.

The same is reported in history (p. 684); in grammar there is hardly any knowledge of language. Mr. Sharp sums up (p. 685),

after remarking on the good work done by the training colleges in educating these candidates—

“ But I propose especially to consider the unsatisfactory supply of candidates for admission, and since 90 per cent. are of one class, viz. pupil teachers, the causes of this backwardness can be more readily ascertained.

“ I will first state briefly, as a summary of the foregoing remarks, what the young man of eighteen years of age, after an apprenticeship of five years, can do. The average candidate can work the ordinary rules of arithmetic, but not problems involving rules; he can write out a proposition of Euclid by memory, but cannot apply it intelligently; he knows just enough algebra to be confused; he can parse an English sentence fairly, and has a very fair knowledge of the bare facts of geography and history; he has a slight smattering of a French or Latin vocabulary; he knows the ordinary forms of school-keeping.”

Mr. Sharp goes on with many valuable remarks which we have not space to quote; but the upshot is a serious indictment against the calibre of our schoolmasters and the training of our pupil teachers. But if the Education Department lend themselves to the cry of cheapness in elementary schools instead of efficiency, how can we expect things to improve? How can we have efficiency if so large a part of the instruction of children, as at present, be entrusted to these wretched pupil teachers, who have not yet properly begun to learn. Something has been done by raising the age of apprenticeship from thirteen to fourteen; but the introduction of stipendiary monitors, two of whom are to count for a pupil teacher, undoes most of the good which the raising of the age of pupil teachers might have effected; not but what fourteen is far too young, and we must hope that in a few years the minimum age of apprenticeship will be put up to fifteen.

The answer to all these pleas for reform is the exigencies of rural schools; and, granting their difficulties, surely the Department might give facilities for better teaching and training in the town schools. So far from this, the Department has refused to relax the code so as to allow the London School Board to train its pupil teachers systematically in centres. I may mention that in Holland, the only other country where pupil teachers exist, the system of centre teaching for them has been organized even in the rural districts; and the pupil teachers come once or twice a week to a central village from a radius of as much as two “uren gang” (about five miles), to be instructed in classes by the most intelligent of the schoolmasters. The pupil teacher system in Holland is, however, in spite of all palliatives, doomed; and no one has a good word to say for it except on the score of cheapness. By the new Dutch education law, pupil teachers are not counted on the school staff, which must be composed of an adequate number of adults. There will, therefore, be no

economy henceforward in employing pupil teachers, and they will disappear. England will have the solitary distinction of setting those to teach who have scarcely begun to learn.

The Education Department is too old-fashioned, and its main advisers are the senior inspectors, mostly clergymen, whom we have inherited from the days of the supremacy of the National Society, when we used to hear of such expressions as the concordat between the Church and the State on the subject of education. Many of these clergymen, whose life has been mainly spent in inspecting village schools, are quite frightened and bewildered when they come to London, and are called upon to inspect schools of 1,200, 1,600, even 2,000 children, with possibly as many as 1,200 in one great department taught by twenty certificated teachers. They cannot get out of their heads the old type of school—a great room with three rows of long benches and desks, where half the school are writing, while the other half is a Babel of three or four classes out on the floor, reading simultaneously or having a geography lesson, the master going to and fro, and three or four pupil teachers and as many monitors working under his eye. When these inspectors come in contact with a large Board school, divided up into four or five separate rooms at least, with a number of responsible certificated teachers, and the head master more in the position of the head master of a grammar school, they feel an instinctive repugnance to a state of things so contrary to their lifelong experience.

The consequence is that often they carp, disparage, and interfere; and we may notice among them a growing tendency to go beyond their province, which is that of inspection, and to dictate on matters of method and organization, which are not for them, but for the responsible managers of the school. So much of the grant depends upon the idiosyncrasy of the inspector, and so much of the reputation, not to say income, of the teacher depends on his report, that it is very difficult where an inspector encroaches to put him back in his proper place. Inspectors naturally in the country find themselves called upon for advice and assistance, and their advice and assistance are often valuable. The clergyman who manages one village school naturally asks for advice, and nearly always will profit by it. But the head masters of large town schools are very different from the village dominies of whom we have been speaking. Selected on account of their known and proved merit, as testified by years of good reports, and under the vigilant inspection of a Board which, in the case of London, has 200,000 children under its instruction, and of special skilled inspectors employed to see after the various branches of instruction, it is not to be supposed that they will readily admit the same right of the inspector to come between them and their

duty, and dictate to them beyond the limits of the code what they shall do and what leave undone. "Inspectors should remember that, while friendly advice is welcome, and while due weight will be given to their experience, yet that the law has not given them the right to command; and when they have relations with a large body presumably as competent and as willing to promote education as themselves, they should lay aside some of that Olympian authority which might have been accepted in the simple solitude of the country.

It is especially desirable that the old-fashioned clerical inspectors, who may be suspected of a bias to the Church of England system, should not be sent to inspect towns where the Board system is predominant. There is too much evidence in the reports of some inspectors of their party feeling and animus, and but for limit of space instances might be given. It will be enough to indicate Mr. Stewart's report. Any one who takes the trouble to read it, and work out the figures which he gives of results in Board and voluntary schools, will find the refutation of his charges in the report itself. But the inspectors as a whole are wiser than the Department; their daily work must educate them, and they must as a body desire the advancement of education. The Department is under the influence of notions often quite alien from education, and sometimes opposed to it. Of all the Boards in England, the London School Board has had the largest field and the greatest amount of work to do. It has also been in many respects one of the most conservative. On the question of religious instruction, it took a line which has largely determined the action of Boards throughout the country. It has in its correspondence with the Department endeavoured to conciliate, and has constantly given way rather than pertinaciously press its views. If any Board was entitled to the support of the Education Department, and to be credited with a certain amount of sense and competence to direct its affairs, the London School Board is such a one, and up to about a year ago, with the exception of some obstructiveness at Whitehall in the matter of school provision, things had worked tolerably smoothly. There are official statements by the Department entirely inconsistent with its recent attitude. Thus, on the 17th June last year, the Education Department wrote as follows to the vestry of St. George's, Hanover Square:—

"In conclusion, I am to state that, looking to the heavy deficiency in the school accommodation which had to be supplied by the action of the School Board for London, and bearing in mind that salaries and wages are necessarily higher in London than in the country, my lords are of opinion that the sum per pound of the rateable value paid by the ratepayers towards the expenses of the Board compares not unfavourably with the sum paid by the ratepayers in the country."

Since that paragraph was written, party exigencies have been

modifying very considerably the tone of the Department. Lord Sandon knew something of the work of education—his service on the London School Board had educated him. But when Lord George Hamilton was shuffled into his new place, when the political cards were dealt afresh, a change came over the disposition of the Privy Council. Probably a statesman who had not shrunk from dealing with all the intricacies of Indian administration thought there was nothing for him to learn before he gave effect to his own very confident intuitions in the matter of English education; and now that the triennial election is approaching of the London School Board, and that the usual attacks are being made of over-educating, extravagance, and unfair competition with voluntary schools, we find that we have to cope not merely with the clergy and the vestries, and the worse side of Toryism, but that these banded foes have the sympathy and to some extent the support of the Education Department.

Perhaps in a few years Conservatives will be thoroughly reconciled to the extension of popular education, and we shall be able, regardless of party, to work together in that cause. But till they are satisfied that the struggle is hopeless we must be prepared to meet the most unfriendly criticism of mistakes and shortcomings, mingled too often with misrepresentation. The debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Yorke's motion, while entirely uninformative from an educational point of view, taught us a good deal of the spirit in which the opponents of national education are now working. Three years ago the battle of the elections was fought mainly on sectarian grounds. The High Church party especially, led by such men as Canon Gregory, threw itself vehemently into the struggle, and experienced a complete and overwhelming defeat. So large a majority was returned of members pledged to carry out the act heartily, and promote the work of education in London, that the opposition was at once made aware of its impotence, and the result has been a fairly harmonious Board from which party spirit and factious opposition have been almost entirely absent, and members generally have worked well together with a view not to obstruct, but to co-operate. It is a remarkable thing that such clergymen as were elected three years ago on the Conservative side were to a very marked extent members of the Low Church party. We may fairly expect that this year the sectarian hostility to the Board, which still lurks in the minds of many, will not find open expression, but will rather use the cry of extravagance, and put forward those whose first object is retrenchment with a view to hamper the action of the Board.

In the present depressed state of trade, no doubt, all burdens are

felt very heavily, and the present Government seems to think it desirable to make its first effort at retrenchment in the department of education. We have had two proposals put forth; one in the speech of Lord George Hamilton at the close of the debate on Mr. Yorke's motion, to deduct from the Government grant the amount by which the yearly cost of any school should exceed £2 2s. a head on the average attendance. That project may have died by this time, but it is just as well shortly to criticise its bearing lest it should be revived, and any short-sighted people be inclined to support it in the interests of economy.

The first schools which this scheme would injure would be the best voluntary schools. The code recognises as an elementary school any school in which the average fee does not exceed 9d. A school where a fee of 9d. is collected has an income of about 33s. a scholar from fees. Such a school will at present probably earn quite 18s. a head on the average attendance from the Government grant. The whole of this income must be spent on the school by the rules of the Department; thus the school, apart from any voluntary contributions, must cost £2 11s. a head. If Lord George Hamilton's proposal were to take effect, 9s. of the grant would be withheld. In such a case, obviously, the managers of the school would, on such a deduction being threatened, reduce their expenditure, or try to reduce it, and they would lower the fee while reducing the cost. This reduction of cost could only be effected by diminishing the quality and quantity of the staff, and thus reducing the efficiency of the school. The school might, even thus cut down, earn the 18s. a head we have assumed it was earning before, but it would only do so by a mere slavish adherence to the code. Any subject which was not paid for would be struck out of the curriculum, and cram would be substituted for intelligent teaching. Children who were capable of being put through two standards in the year would be kept back to increase the chances of their earning grants, and in every way the teaching would be injured.

Some of the best voluntary schools would suffer exceptionally, because we often find, especially in the case of British schools, that there is only a boys' department, separate from any girls' or infants' department. Where there is a large girls' or infants' department, the comparative cheapness of female teaching pulls down the average cost of a whole school; but where a boys' school stands alone, it is very likely to exceed the proposed limit of £2 2s. a head.

Again, when occasionally there is need of exceptional repairs to the building, or where some structural improvement is effected, the yearly cost is raised, and in such a year, when, if ever, a large grant is desired to help to meet the special charge, the new proposal would

cut down the grant. In such a case as this there would be a strong temptation to voluntary schools to falsify their accounts, and keep out from the yearly balance-sheet the special item of repairs or alterations; and no doubt in many other matters, such as fuel, the managers would so arrange their accounts as to treat the fuel as a free gift, as no doubt in many country schools it is. Still, in stating the cost of a school, such items should be entered at their money value among the subscriptions. This matter would press with special injustice on School Boards, which of course have to enter every item of expenditure in their accounts, and the suggested rule if enacted would operate as a discriminating tax against Board schools.

In comparing the cost of Board schools with that of voluntary schools it must be borne in mind that, as a rule, the Church of England schools furnish their head teachers with a house and coal, whereas the Board schools as a rule do not, and therefore have to pay a higher salary; but in the accounts of a voluntary school the yearly value of the house is not entered in the balance-sheet as a disbursement, as it should be to make the comparison fair.

Again, Boards are often obliged to hire buildings and open schools temporarily there, till they can provide suitable premises. This rent appears in the accounts and helps in the case of such schools to swell the cost.

Again, the Board schools are all new, and every year new Board schools are being opened, so that a very large proportion are, and for some years will be, new schools. Now new schools notoriously are more expensive to conduct than long-established schools. The staff has to be provided in anticipation of the influx of the scholars, and there is always specially hard work in reducing to order a new school. This is pre-eminently the case in the low parts of large towns, where School Boards have been called upon to educate the refuse of society, who are at present neglected by nearly all the churches except the Roman Catholic. In London it is notorious that the Church schools have taken advantage of the School Board in very many cases to raise their fees, and to turn out those unsatisfactory children who give trouble to the teacher, and by their failure at the examination bring discredit on the school. The British and Wesleyan schools have for years aimed at high fees, and at filling their benches with children at the upper end of the elementary school class. Thus the most expensive work, that of grappling with the ignorance and barbarism of the neglected and wild children of the streets, falls especially upon School Boards, who cannot pick and choose their scholars, but, on the contrary, are pre-eminently bound to bring this class in to school.

Another very deserving class of school which would be seriously

injured by a limit such as that proposed by Lord George Hamilton is the very small rural school. We certainly should not discourage school managers, whether they be Board or voluntary managers, from doing their best in these cases, and yet the limit of £2 2s. would probably be fatal to efficiency. Suppose a village school with a sparse population, and an average attendance of some 45 or 50 scholars, of whom a dozen are infants. Such a school may well have 80 or 90 on the books, and occasionally the whole number present. For the school to be efficient, the infants, who in fine weather may often amount to 25, should be taught in a separate room, and the elder children will require a master and an assistant mistress. Is it to be supposed that such a school can be worked satisfactorily as a rule at as low a cost as £105 a year, especially where there is no house supplied to the teacher? The existence of the £2 2s. limit would force the managers to all sorts of shifts for keeping items out of the balance-sheet so as to keep down the apparent totals, and practices would be resorted to which in themselves are bad, in order to improve the appearance of the accounts. Thus, instead of the school books and copy books being bought wholesale by the school, the children might be required to purchase them individually at the retail price. Voluntary schools might evade the difficulty by combining the post of church organist with that of schoolmaster, and giving him a large salary as organist and a small one as schoolmaster. In short, there is no end to the tricks that would be played, and the one body that would be hit would be the School Board, because it is the only one that is subject to a real audit, and is forced to pass all its expenditure through its books. Even supposing that the suggestion were practicable, it is an entire departure from the province of the Education Department. The financial control of School Boards rests with the Local Government Board, not with the Privy Council; and hitherto the latter has by its reports urged and encouraged managers of schools to spend freely. Thus every year there has been a table of salaries of teachers, and a complacent paragraph pointing out that they were gradually rising. Now suddenly the Education Department faces round and complains that the work is being too well done; it no longer spurs the sluggard to further educational effort, but seeks to put the drag on those who wish to press forward. And all this is entirely beyond its province. The law has entrusted to School Boards locally elected the duty and the right of establishing and maintaining efficient schools. If the electors who find the money are dissatisfied with the expenditure, they have the power of changing their representatives. But the Department which ought to promote education will strangely misunderstand its duty if it tries to interfere with the expenditure which

is voluntarily incurred at no cost to the Treasury. The fact is that the secret motive for this zeal for economy is, that in the development of education, which accompanies the work of so many educational bodies throughout the country, the pace is too great for the old voluntary system to live. The half-starved, half-efficient Church school, if, indeed, it be half-efficient, must go to the wall or improve itself greatly, and be prepared to spend much more money than it has done hitherto. And the present Government is solicitous, not for the pockets of the public, of whose money they are now spending £10,000,000 a year more than their predecessors, but for the ecclesiastical system, one of whose outworks and defences is this sectarian system of education which is in danger, and to the defence of which the Education Department is hastening. We cannot be surprised that such should be the course of action of the Government, when we consider the choice they make of ministers to preside over national education. The Duke of Richmond is certainly more congenially employed when he is limiting the importation of foreign cattle than when he is lost in the mazes of a new code, and it is doubtful whether he could enumerate the class subjects and the specific subjects paid for by the code which he administers. Lord George Hamilton, whose zeal for education was formed at Harrow and developed in the army, signalised his first appearance as Vice-President of the Council by a speech to a deputation, in which he expressed his joy that the voluntary system held its own and was resisting the inroads of School Boards; and his later utterances show no sign that his mind has ever outgrown that first conception of his duty to support the voluntary system and stem the advance of School Board education.

If the crude suggestion that we have been criticising should be abandoned, there is no doubt that the Education Department is seriously alarmed at what it seems to consider a Frankenstein—the huge and unmanageable monster of popular education; and a paragraph on page viii. of the Report for this year threatens a reduction of the grant, and hints that that reduction will take place in the amount paid for average attendance. Probably this suggestion also will be abandoned when the time for action comes, for nothing could be more disastrous to the voluntary schools, which this Government is specially anxious to befriend. It should not be forgotten that it was this Government which increased the grant four years ago for the purpose of keeping voluntary schools alive. They then abolished the maximum of 15s. a head, and relaxed the stipulation in favour of a proportional amount to be raised by local subscription. The lavish aid bestowed through the annual grant has enabled many schools where the fees are high to subsist without any subscribers at all. The consequence has been to cause many managers to raise

their fees, and to cause a great diminution, in some cases an entire cessation, of subscriptions. But all know that subscribers are more easily lost than regained, and many of these schools, which now just live, with no margin, upon the fees and the grant, will fall like autumn leaves before a reduction of the grant, even if it be only a reduction of 2s. a head.

Cases come before the London School Board of applications for transfer, where a very moderate subscription list in proportion to the whole expenditure of the school would have kept the school alive as a voluntary institution. Such a case was that of St. Paul's School, Deptford, with upwards of 600 children in average attendance, where the general fee was sixpence. There have been cases of a transfer when the school was actually self-supporting, and the only burden was the necessity for the clergyman to advance the salaries to the teachers monthly, and to be out of pocket till the grant came in. There have been other cases of transfer where rather apprehension for the future than present necessity has prompted the proposal, and where the clergyman, foreseeing the sad decline of a prosperous school, as want of funds gradually led to diminished efficiency, preferred to transfer the school at once before the downward career should set in. There are many signs which show that in London, and probably in many other towns, the continued existence of voluntary schools is most precarious, and such a diminution of income as would be represented by a loss of 2s. a head on three or four hundred children would most likely put an end to them at once. People are more familiar with School Boards now than they were at first. Parents are getting to value them; they feel that the Board schools are the schools of the people, the property of the ratepayers themselves; and there is little doubt that in London, at any rate, they are more popular than the generality of Church schools, and the most sensible of the clergy have got over their suspicion of them. Those who came on the Board as opponents are now grateful for the good work which is being done; they see that it is necessary to spend more money than they can afford to raise in order to secure efficient education, and they have confidence in the good tone and efficient teaching which are imparted in Board schools. It is mainly the politicians and the ultra-ecclesiastical partisans who are now the opponents of the Board, and consequently; so far from lamenting, many of the working clergy rejoice when a weak Church school is transferred to the Board. Therefore I doubt not that the threatened reduction of grant will work in a very different way from that which those who preside at the Council office have anticipated.

I may say candidly that I believe the greatest opposition to multiplied transfers of schools will come from the School Boards themselves; at any rate this is so in London. A transferred school

is almost always a nuisance. They are generally ill planned and ill built, and require a great deal of money to be laid out upon them before they can be made really suitable. The history of a transfer is rather like the history of a marriage. First of all comes the clerical manager of the school, like a hot and passionate suitor. "Accept my transfer at once; I have no money to pay the teachers. The school must be closed unless you take it over. There must be no delay." The School Board gives a modified assent; but as the young lady refers the suitor to her parents, so with the Board. The next stage is the cold-blooded intervention of the solicitor and of the architect. Presently comes the report. The buildings are out of repair, the offices are unsuitable and insufficient, the rooms are dark. In short, a considerable outlay is needed to make the building tolerable, and much more to make it really convenient. Now commences the period of haggling over the marriage settlements—I mean over the conditions of transfer. The Board stipulating for a conveyance of the fee in order that they may lay out money in permanent structural improvements, the clergyman desiring a hand-to-mouth transfer with any number of reservations. When these matters have been more or less amicably adjusted, occasionally not without a breaking off of the engagement once or twice, the final application comes. "We have a debt to the treasurer of £300, can you not pay it?" An emphatic declaration of inability and a reference to the Education Department on this point, where the applicant is sceptical, leads to the concluding transaction—Will you buy our furniture? Instructions are given for a liberal valuation, and the School Board becomes the owner of some broken old desks and a few defaced blackboards and torn maps, for which a considerable sum is paid, which goes towards indemnifying the unhappy treasurer for the shortcomings of the late subscribers. And when all is done the School Board finds itself with an unsatisfactory school, which was built more with a view to parochial than educational purposes, often too small for efficient organization, and, being small, more expensive to work than a larger school, its tenure hampered with restrictions, and in many cases with a prohibition to put in suitable school furniture as inconsistent with Sunday school use.

However much people may talk of the School Board being intended only to supplement, and not to supersede, the voluntary system, it will be found that in the long run the two cannot exist side by side. In rural districts the voluntary system will, as a rule, probably hold its own and keep out the Board for the present. Local self-government and administrative independence are fast being lost in our rural parishes, and it will take something more than one Act of Parliament to revive them. But in the large towns, where Board schools

already exist in considerable numbers, we may feel pretty sure that the transference of most of the Church schools is merely a question of time. A large number of British schools have been already transferred. The Wesleyans may probably cling to the denominational system rather longer, especially as, owing to their high fees, they make their schools almost entirely self-supporting. The return of this year gives the income from subscriptions of the Wesleyan schools at £18,553, or less than 3s. 2d. a head; whereas in Church of England schools the voluntary subscriptions amount to 8s. 8d., in Roman Catholic schools to 8s. 7d., and in British schools to 7s. 3d. a head. But time is telling on the Wesleyans, and their exclusiveness is being gradually broken down. We may venture to predict that they too will throw in their lot with the Board system, especially in those towns where higher Board schools are established at a higher fee. The Roman Catholics undoubtedly will hold to their schools, but otherwise all the other sectarian schools will tend in towns to be swallowed up by School Boards. And there are two opposite motives alike at work to lead to this absorption: the idle and indifferent clergyman, who cares little for education, will be glad to be rid of the trouble and cost of the school, especially when any special expense for repairs is coming on; and the clergyman who is very zealous for education will also probably feel that he can do better by transferring his school, and seeking election on the School Board, than by depending on the precarious aid of subscriptions. And in the large towns friends of education are fast learning that there are greater guarantees for efficiency in School Board than in voluntary management. Undoubtedly the best voluntary school, under the management of one who cares for and understands education, and where there is no lack of funds, will be at least as good, probably better, than the average run of Board schools. But if we compare the average school of either type the Board school is far superior on this point. We may refer to the remarks of Mr. Alderson, the Government inspector for Marylebone, in the Blue Book of 1878, page 401.

“The Board school has an advantage in being entirely detached from the machinery of the parish; it can be conducted with a more single eye to learning. In voluntary schools it not unfrequently happens that an incompetent or superannuated teacher is sustained in office because he has been or is so useful in the parish, and so much respected there. Thus a sort of ‘vested interest’ grows up in the post of teacher, which is often a hindrance to progress. Then the management of the Board school is more uniformly careful and vigilant than that of the voluntary school. The management of voluntary schools of the best class is equally good, probably superior; but in many of the less efficient ones signs of apathy and indifference on the part of the managers may be discerned. I am far from claiming for inspectors an unerring judgment, but it is impossible not to notice as an almost new experience how sensitively the Board school vibrates, so to say, to the touch of official criticism. The Govern-

ment report undergoes a rigorous scrutiny. The figure of the teachers' salaries depends, too exclusively I think, on the percentage of passes; each entry upon a certificate is scanned and weighed, and may seriously affect the prospects of the holder. In the best voluntary schools the same alertness is visible, but not in all. The report is sometimes regarded as a mere formality for announcing the amount of the grant—no action is taken upon it when adverse, the incapable teacher remains, and the record of his incapacity fills a corner of the school portfolio. Another advantage in the Board school is the higher standard of school accommodation which it has introduced. One illustration of this will suffice. I was not myself aware, or rather I did not realise how defective the *lighting* of many voluntary schools was, until I came to compare them with the airy, brightly-lit chambers of the Board school. This has led to the improvement of the light in several voluntary schools. Of the school work in Board schools a marked feature, due of course to their superior teaching power, is superior *nicety*. A first standard prepared by a certificated teacher is very different from a first standard prepared by a raw monitor; but then an equally marked feature in Board school instruction in its present stage is its limited range. It will be a surprise to many who have credited the London School Board with an over-ambitious programme to learn that *elementary school work nicely executed* is at present the characteristic 'note' of their operations in Marylebone. I am speaking of the Board schools as a whole, for it happens that in one instance—the Medburn Street Board School—the instruction is more advanced than in any other school of the district."

I have quoted at somewhat unusual length, because this paragraph seems, subject to one or two criticisms of detail which it is not worth while to make, to be a valuable evidence both as to the kind of work School Boards have been doing, and the way in which it has been done in the larger towns.

No doubt there might be more advanced education, and if there were more schools at high fees the education would be more advanced; not that I accept for a moment the suggestion of Mr. Forster, that in the schools for the poorest the education should be reduced to a minimum, but because at present the higher fee secures the attendance of a class which as a whole sets more store by education. But let me here utter one word of warning to the champions of the voluntary system. We hear a good deal said about underselling the voluntary schools, and complaints are made of the opening of Board schools at low fees near voluntary schools with higher fees. Now, if the London School Board were to raise the fees in many of its schools, the effect would be to empty the better voluntary schools and pull them down. At present the voluntary schools are maintained by their high fees, which give them to some extent the pick of the children. But there is only a certain proportion of children whose parents can afford the high fees, and if they could find Board schools from which by a high fee the very poor were excluded, a serious competition would then be set up for the most desirable class of scholars. Mr. Yorke in his speech in the House of Commons, on June 10th, spoke of a school in Limehouse to which some of the scholars came by train. No doubt the school

he referred to was one in Thomas Street, Limehouse, where the fee is sixpence a week, and which is so crammed that it has had to be enlarged. It is highly improbable that more than a very few scholars should come by train to this school. But if they did, there is nothing shocking in the fact except that there should be such a dearth of advanced elementary schools that the pupils, instead of finding them near their homes, should be put to the expense of going by train to them. The imputation, however, that the poor are shut out in this neighbourhood is quite unfounded, and the whole of Mr. Yorke's remarks in reference to this part of London show that the next time he goes on an educational voyage of discovery to the east of London, he had better choose some other guide than Mr. Pell, who is probably more fitted by sympathy and study to investigate protection in America than school work in East London. Mr. Yorke could hardly expect that the children who used to go to the ragged school would pay the sixpenny fee. He must have supposed that that school would draw children from a rather richer stratum of society. But had he really studied the educational provision for that part of London, he would have found in the neighbourhood Ben Jonson Board School, only enlarged the other day, at a twopenny fee, with upwards of 2,000 children in average attendance, whose appearance would probably satisfy Mr. Yorke of their poverty. He would have found Cayley Street School at a penny fee with more than 1,000 children, and Northey Street School at a penny fee with 1,000 children on the roll, both filled from the very poorest. And he would have found the transferred school of St. John's, Halley Street, with a higher fee of fourpence, the girls' department of which is admitted by the inspector to be the best school in his district; and the eminent success of which, good as it was before, is greatly due to its transfer, which neither the former nor the present vicar has ever regretted. There are several other Board schools in the neighbourhood full of poor children, but we have already, perhaps, rather exceeded the proper amount of detail in a general article. But really, when statements are made in Parliament which a very moderate amount of acquaintance with the facts and a still smaller share of understanding would have prevented, one is forced to enter a protest against what, in the language of the Prime Minister, one can only characterize as the "idle chatter of irresponsible frivolity."

Mr. Yorke regrets that he saw fifty children round a barrel-organ in the immediate neighbourhood of these large schools in Limehouse. We can heartily agree with him in his regret, but he seems to assume that these fifty children, who of course ought to be in school, were kept out of school by the presence of the rich railway travellers whom he has before mentioned. He has not reflected that on an average throughout London only

80 per cent. of the children on the school registers are present. That means that one day with another there are either at home or in the streets 94,000 children whose names are on the roll of various schools, in addition to the other children who are not on the roll of any school. Unfortunately there are few parts of London inhabited by the poor where a barrel-organ or a Punch-and-Judy show would not collect in school-time a crowd of those children who should be in school but are not. Of course in those parts of London where there is a deficiency of accommodation, there are in addition to the truants from school the children for whom the Board is building, and in this very district of which Mr. Yorke speaks, the Board is building a school in Dalglish Street, and is in negotiation with the Department to build another school somewhat farther to the north. But even when there are schools enough, it will be some time before attendance will be so regular as to prevent the spectacle of a crowd of children round an organ, which is too familiar to those engaged in school work.

It may be said that this is a plea in answer to one charge which amounts to a plea of guilty to another charge, namely that of not rigorously enforcing the bye-laws. The London School Board has certainly not enforced the bye-laws with the same rigour as some other towns. Thus it appears from the Government Report of 1879, p. xxxvi., that in the eighteen towns of England with a population over 100,000, the prosecutions for not sending children to school were as follows:—

	Population.	Prosecutions.	Prosecutions to Population.
Liverpool	530,000	5,864	1 to 90
Birmingham . . .	343,787	2,556	1 „ 134
Hull	146,000	837	1 „ 171
Bristol	210,000	875	1 „ 240
Manchester	351,361	1,405	1 „ 250
Sunderland	112,459	431	1 „ 261
Bolton	106,500	396	1 „ 269
Portsmouth	113,695	404	1 „ 281
Leicester	122,000	431	1 „ 283
Oldham	105,000	341	1 „ 308
Bradford	188,000	606	1 „ 361
Sheffield	295,000	837	1 „ 352
London	3,577,306	10,111	1 „ 356
Nottingham	165,000	398	1 „ 414
Newcastle	145,000	341	1 „ 425
Brighton	104,000	210	1 „ 495
Salford	186,000	245	1 „ 760
Leeds	311,860	276	1 „ 1130

It is a question not very easy to answer, and it would require much special knowledge of the circumstances of the various towns, whether the stricter or more lenient enforcement of compulsion be better. In London there are three reasons, apart from general

policy, why there have been few summonses in proportion to the population. First, the magistrates will only allow a limited number of School Board summonses each week, and thus, no matter how bad the attendance, the School Board is unable to summon more than a certain number.

Secondly. In several police-court districts the magistrates have so construed the later School Board Acts as very much to limit the power of summoning under the bye-laws, and have forced the Board to proceed under sections xi. and xii. of the Act of 1876. This necessitates two applications in each case—first for an attendance order, and secondly in case of non-compliance with the order, for a summons.

Thirdly. In many parts of London there is such a deficiency of school provision that it is impossible to summon parents for not sending their children to school, since there are no school places able to receive them.

Had the opponents of the London School Board attacked it in Parliament for remissness in supplying the school provision needed, instead of blaming it for over-zeal and ambition in pushing education, it would have been more difficult to make a complete answer. Perhaps it is not necessary to meet this charge against the London School Board of over-building; it will be enough, on this point, to quote the testimony of no friendly witness, the present Education Department, speaking through Lord George Hamilton. He said, in the debate on Mr. Yorke's motion, "Now the supply of schools [in London] he could assure the hon. member for Gloucester, so far from being excessive, was deficient." Lord G. Hamilton went on to give some figures, but he has been so obviously misreported that it is better not to quote them. But the fact that the London School Board is now pledged to build many thousand more school places, with the consent of the Department, is a proof that it has not hitherto over-built, even if it could be shown that in one or two instances a school has been injudiciously placed, or that owing to change in the number or circumstances of the population it has not filled. The blame for the existing deficiency must be divided between the School Board and the Department.

In the first instance the School Board was timid, and set out with the purpose of only providing 100,000 school places, whereas the figures then before them showed that there was need for many more. But 100,000 seemed such a large number, that they may be excused as beginners for not having made their original plans on a larger scale. The effect, however, has been greatly to increase the cost at which the work has been done. Schools have had to be enlarged and the old buildings pulled about. More land has had to be bought, in many instances after it had been built upon, whereas, had it been

bought at first, it might have been acquired much cheaper. There have been some countervailing advantages. The Board has been gradually learning. Its schools are better built and better arranged now than they were at first; had they all been built at once they would, as a whole, have been less well contrived. The work of school management also, by its gradual expansion, has probably been better done than if the Board had begun at once with twice as many schools. But since the School Board has more truly appreciated its duty in the matter of school provision, it has encountered many obstacles from the Department, which has constantly haggled over a much-needed enlargement, and sometimes obstinately refused its consent; and yet the London School Board has never acted on the rule of the Department in calculating the accommodation required in proportion to the population, namely one-sixth, but has always taken off a more liberal discount in estimating the number of school places required for a given number of children. In earlier days the Education Department was more anxious for school provision; less apprehensive of any possible damage which might accrue to a voluntary school. They then laid it down in their report to Parliament that the school provision should be largely in excess of the yearly average attendance. Undoubtedly a school cannot properly hold an average attendance throughout the year equal to its accommodation, especially if that accommodation be reckoned at eight feet per child.

Had the London School Board built in accordance with the general rule of the Department, there should now be in London school-places for 600,000 children. The whole of the accommodation existing and projected, Board and voluntary, is 550,398, or 50,000 short of the general requirement of the Education Department. But from this total must be deducted many places which for various reasons are unavailable. Thus, in certain large sub-divisions of London where the Board has made no new provision, there is a local excess of nearly 10,000 school-places not available for children living in other parts of London. Again, there are more than 10,000 unused places, that is places in excess of the children on the roll, of Roman Catholic, Jewish, and foreign schools. There are besides 10,000 unused places in schools with so high a fee as to be only suitable to a limited portion of the population. Again, of the new schools projected by the Board, 6,600 school-places are at present held in abeyance. When it is remembered that from the moment of applying to the Department for authority to build a school till the date of opening it, from two to three years must elapse as a rule, and that the yearly increasing population of London demands an additional school provision of from 8,000 to 10,000 school-places, even apart from the shifting of the population, which leaves certain schools, especially in the centre, high and dry and not available, it will be seen that even

now the London School Board is far from having, even in projected school-accommodation, overtaken the needs of the metropolis.

When we consider the awful educational destitution of London ten years ago, when we see how much remains to be done, we can have little patience with those who take up an obstructive or critical attitude. Still less can we tolerate the hypocrisy of those who roll their eyes over the School Board rate of $5\frac{1}{4}\%$ in the pound, while they vote away with a light heart £6,000,000 to be able, as Sir Stafford Northcote put it, to make a good show in the councils of Europe.

The greatest blunder the School Board has committed has been in the equipment of the *Shaftesbury*. Possibly, at a high estimate, £10,000 or £12,000 might have been saved if proper care had been exercised from the beginning; more likely £5,000 or £6,000. The Board, while respecting the zeal of its committee, did not shrink from passing a measured censure on them for their want of care. But how venial was this error compared with the wanton extravagance that spent more than £20,000 in the equipment of a royal yacht for the honeymoon expedition of the Duke of Connaught. Yet beyond a short question and an indifferent official answer, what breath of criticism ever passed in the House of Commons over that wanton waste. The City of London has felt a thrill of horror over what it considers School Board extravagance, and they resent that they should have to contribute £70,000 a year to the education of London. Their own accounts show that they spent more than £25,000 on one entertainment to the Prince of Wales on his return from India. The report lately published by the London School Board shows that the City parochial charities alone, to say nothing of the trust funds of the various companies and of the corporation, amount to £105,000 a year, which may be said to be so misapplied as to do hardly any good at all in comparison with all that might be done with revenues so large.

Undoubtedly there is room for economy and for retrenchment in the expenditure of the London School Board. It would be strange if, in so rapid a development of their work, they had not done some things hastily and unadvisedly. It is to be desired that economists should be elected on the Board. But there is a true and there is a false economy, and wise men will not readily trust those who while they plead for economy, show by their public action that they are wasteful of the national income, and who betray by their carping at over-education that what they dislike is the education and not the money spent upon it.

I have no fear of the work of the Board being injured by any man, however economical, who in seeking election is prepared to work hard and give a large measure of his time to the details of the work.

It is in examining detail that useful retrenchment may be practised. There is no doubt we should be the better for several clear-headed business men, be they Conservative or Liberal. But any attempt to injure the education of the schools should be resisted to the utmost. The cry of Liberals should be, Keep your schools as good as they are, and make them much better, and then practise all the economy you can consistently with that aim. If the expense be heavy, and it undoubtedly is, we must rather look to sources from which help may be sought to increase our income, than to the degradation of our schools. The charities and endowments of London should help to make the school system thoroughly good and less burdensome to the people. The Government themselves have shown us, in the application of the Irish Church surplus to pensions for elementary teachers, one source where modern public needs may find help. Certainly, if the recent admissions in the newspapers be true as to the emptiness and neglected state of the churches of the East-end, the same cannot be said of the Board schools of the East-end. We cannot, perhaps, hope that the next House of Commons will apply a disused City church to the endowment of elementary education, but opinion grows fast nowadays, and the Irish example may yet cross the Channel, and a Tory precedent of 1879 be quoted for the application of the funds of another and a wealthier establishment.

E. LYULPH STANLEY.

THE HISTORICAL SIDE OF THE CONFLICT OF LAWS.

THERE is a department of Law, the first principles of which have been furiously disputed by lawyers ; the canons of which are hesitating and contradictory ; the sources of which are themselves a matter of argument ; having an authority which is most differently interpreted by doctors and by judges ; and a sphere which is understood in various ways :—and yet this branch of Law is attaining in our day continual development and fresh importance from a variety of causes, and in a manner often unobserved.

It is far from settled whether it properly falls within the province of public international law, of general jurisprudence, or of forensic practice ; it has been treated alternately from each point of view by publicists, jurists, and practitioners ; at one time it is regarded as a part of the common law of each nation, at another time it is treated as common to the whole civilised world ; there is little agreement whether its older forms have any value for us now, whether its future form can be at all determined by deduction. In any case, its true place in the field of law has an equal interest for the historian of institutions and for the scientific lawyer.

The very name of this branch of Law is far from being determined. Its relation to the rest of Law is even more unsettled. Its official name is Private International Law ; but it is often spoken of as the Conflict of Laws, or the collision of laws. The old French lawyers spoke of these discussions as Mixed Questions ; and the great German lawyer Von Savigny calls them limitations upon law arising from place. Other names have been given to this branch of Law :—the personality and reality of statutes, the diversity of laws, the contrariety of laws, and many similar terms have been used. So great a variety of names shows the uncertainty of the field which this branch of Law is supposed to cover. I venture to think (and it is a common opinion) that no one of these names is at all satisfactory, and before concluding I shall try to determine the most accurate term to describe it.

This Conflict of Laws, or Private International Law, arises in this way. In modern civilised communities, the rules of law, or statutes sanctioned by each sovereign power, extend *primâ facie* to all those within each sovereign's jurisdiction, and are to be enforced in all its tribunals—but no further. To give the laws of one sovereign any validity outside the territorial limits of his sovereignty, or to seek to have them enforced by tribunals that do not derive their authority from him, is *pro tanto* to encroach on the sovereignty of the neighbour.

But in the complex relations of modern societies, transactions are continually being brought for decision before all courts of justice, which in whole or in part depend for their legal quality on the laws of a state different from that which has to try them. A. B. makes a claim to succeed to an inheritance in England. His parents are alleged to have been married in France. It would be idle to test this alleged marriage by the laws of England; because they have no authority in France, where the alleged marriage took place; nor would it be possible to observe them in France, even if their authority there were assumed or pretended. On the other hand, it would be monstrous injustice to deny that the parents of A. B. had ever been lawfully married, because they had not been married according to the Marriage Acts of England. But this is to say, that English tribunals are often called upon to try incidental questions in causes before them by the rules of a foreign law. Englishmen are constantly settling in foreign countries; they make contracts, assignments, or wills abroad, sometimes whilst settled, sometimes as simple travellers. An English firm frequently engages with a French or German firm to execute some work jointly in Russia, or Turkey, Greece, or Japan. A dispute arises: what law is the court to apply to the contract? Or, in order that no dispute may arise, by what law is the contract to be drawn?

It is obvious that, in the multiplicity of our modern complex society, not a day can pass without questions coming before some court for decision, wherein some element or other has its legal origin in a system of law foreign to that of the tribunal trying the case. Two or more systems of law are thus brought face to face, either, as some think, by way of conflict, or collision, or competition; or as others think, by way of intermingling, interchange, or courtesy. Which of many codes, or schemes of law, is to prevail: which is to give way? What elements in the case are to be referred to foreign law, and to which foreign law, and under what conditions? And on what general principle is the code of one nation to be treated as valid by the tribunals of another nation; and for what purposes, how far, and under what limitations?

Obviously, we have here a fruitful field for some of the most intricate problems in law, and some especially which throw us back upon general jurisprudence. And it is plain, that owing to the vast extension of our international intercourse, and to the cosmopolitan character of modern commerce and even of modern life, the occasion for this interchange of laws is perpetually increasing. The Conflict of Laws of course grows, and will grow, with the growth of international relations, which are far in advance of the uniformity in laws. Whilst the codes remain divergent, the Conflict of Laws must become greater. But this Conflict of Laws has itself become a branch

of science, and has been called Private International Law, because it rests upon the doctrine of the equal sovereignty of friendly nations, and the desire of civilised states to treat their neighbours, civilly as well as politically, with equal justice.

The definition and limits of this branch of law, and the authorities on which it is based, rest, I have said, on very different theories. It is called usually Private International Law, and in the most approved and systematic treatises on International Law it forms a substantive part. In the works upon International Law of Wheaton and of Halleck it occupies an important section. It occupies the fourth volume of Sir R. Phillimore's *Commentaries on International Law*. In the *Revue de Droit International*, the organ of the principal modern international jurists, it is mixed up with Public International Law, as it is in the reports of the Annual Congress of International Jurists. On the other hand it forms the eighth volume of Savigny's great work on the general principles of jurisprudence. And yet, it is plainly, for Englishmen at least, a substantive part of our ordinary Municipal Law. Its rules are not left to the elastic sanction of public opinion or armed interference; they are determined in the ordinary sittings of courts of justice, whose judgments in this matter are enforced by the usual process.

It will be observed also that it forms in no sense a separate branch of decisions. There are no special courts of Private International Law, as there are for matrimonial cases, or admiralty cases. It starts up unexpectedly in any court, and in the midst of any process. It may be sprung like a mine in a plain common law action, in an administrative proceeding in equity, in a divorce case, or a bankruptcy case, in a shipping case, or a matter of criminal procedure. It makes itself heard in every existing court of justice, whether superior or inferior, civil or criminal, and it may intrude, quite unlooked for, into the midst of any part of its jurisdiction, whether substantive, or simple procedure. The most trivial action of debt, the most complex case of equitable claims, may be suddenly interrupted by the appearance of a knot to be untied only by Private International Law.

And yet when this class of question arises, it is seldom decided offhand with reference merely to English decisions. Books are cited as authorities which are usually foreign; the decisions of foreign tribunals have frequently to be reviewed. An author such as Huber, a Dutch professor of the seventeenth century, is constantly quoted. American decisions, the codes of foreign countries, public treaties, old civilians, old and modern treatises on International Law, are continually appealed to. Story, Fœlix, and Boullenois are in constant requisition, and the court will seriously attend to dicta of foreign lawyers writing under systems widely different from our own and

from each other, and whose notions of jurisprudence rest upon theories entirely contrary to our own. When the student or the practitioner consults for the first time, or for some immediate practical object, such a collection of judgments and opinions as are thrown together in Story's *Conflict of Laws* or such a scientific theorist as Savigny, his first impression will too often be that every possible view has been taken, and may be taken again, on every conceivable branch of the subject; that every dictum is presently contradicted by another dictum; that each country seems to follow its own view, and often does not follow out any view with consistency; that Private International Law, looked at from the International point of view, is not so much a branch of law, common to civilised tribunals, as a chance medley of contradictory propositions.

The confusion is not indeed anything like so great as it appears at first sight. The amount of agreement, when properly qualified and understood, is far larger than would appear without explanation. But there are difficulties and uncertainties, it must be admitted, even as to the first principles of this branch of legal questions, and as to the methods which are appropriate to solve them. "*Anceps, difficilis, et late diffusa est disputatio*," says one old jurist—Hertius—of the Conflict of Law—"it is a perplexed, difficult, and widely ranging branch of jurisprudence; so that I doubt if any single lawyer has dealt with it in the whole of its extent." "In their definitions of its terms, it is marvellous," says he, "how the doctors labour"—"*mirum est quam sudant Doctores*." "The opinions of writers, as well as the judgments of tribunals, have hitherto been wildly confused and conflicting," says the great jurist Savigny.

Viewed as a collection of purely English decisions, the judgments of our own courts *per se*, in cases of Private International Law, are in a very considerable degree consistent, positive, and plain. But when we go into these decisions for the purpose of extracting their governing principles, and to apply them, as general rules, to new cases, we find that we cannot understand them, or even get at the *ratio decidendi*, without a good deal of study of jurisprudence wholly outside English reports, and without some knowledge of the great doctrines of foreign jurists. And we shall find also that Private International Law, treated as a body of English decisions, cannot be advanced, or even practically administered, without constant reference to this mass of learning which lies outside strict English case-law.

Looked at from the point of view of any particular system, Private International Law is that part of the Municipal Law of each civilised community which is determined by its relation to systems or rules of law other than its own. It will hardly avail to say, that these extraneous rules are *borrowed* from other systems of law; much less that other systems of law or foreign rules *overcome* the domestic in

the conflict of laws. For it is plain that the whole Private International Law of any municipal system is really a substantive part of that system, and is in no way foreign law or doctrine of general jurisprudence. No part of Private International Law has any binding force on an English tribunal, except so far as it is incorporated in English decisions. So far it is strict *law* in Austin's sense of that term. In spite of its name, in spite of the fact that the two systems are mixed up in so many text-books, Private International Law is here a totally different thing from International Law. It is imposed or adopted by the sovereign national authority; it is enforced by the same process as the rest of the Municipal Law; and its authoritative *sources* are English decisions. Moreover International Law is, broadly speaking, one body of rules for the whole civilised world. Now each Municipal Law has its own Private International Law, sometimes differing in striking features, and often embodied in its code and statutes.

Yet withal, as a fact, there is very great convergence and unity about these different versions of Private International Law. There are undoubted general principles recognised in all. The convergence grows constantly greater, and the rules of each system cannot be intelligently applied, and even cannot be intelligibly followed without a clear grasp of these general principles. Thus Private International Law is truly a part of each municipal system of law; but a part which in great measure is identical in all municipal systems; a part which rests on principles more or less accepted by all systems, and which is constantly growing more consciously in harmony with these principles.

Lastly, this is a branch of law which has gained immensely in importance of recent years. A hundred years ago, the very rudiments of these questions were in England of *first impression*, cases new and unconsidered. The vast increase of communication and of locomotion which characterize this and the preceding generation—say roughly since the Peace of 1815—has given an enormous extension to these matters. The peculiarities of English law, its special methods of procedure, and of its *sources* of law, and the entire neglect till recently of the civil law by English judges and writers, have created unusual difficulties in the way of assimilating this portion of the legal work of the civilised world. But the last fifty years, even the last twenty years, have done a great deal to bring England into the family of nations on this point, and have shown English judges and English lawyers as labouring hard to naturalise amongst us the only principles on which this branch of law can ever obtain a rational foundation.

The extremely divergent principles on which this branch of law has been based can only be cleared up by tracing historically its order of growth.

It was very early noticed that in Roman law strictly there was no such thing as Private International Law. Huber says, the reason is that the Roman law was extended over so large a portion of the habitable world that conflicts of law could hardly occur. There were, however, under Roman law both local customs and Municipal Laws, and also the practice of recognising the law properly belonging to *aliens*. And yet there was no true Private International Law in the classical civil law. The real reason of this perhaps is that the Roman tribunals never realised the conception of distinct but co-ordinate legal systems applying to different races and groups of citizens side by side, each entitled to equal authority, and each lending itself to the other. Private International Law implies a group of states each having legislating powers, with a very similar level of civilisation, but having equal and independent sovereignty. This is obviously an idea long subsequent to Roman law.

The old prætorian law did, in its origin, furnish some analogies to Private International Law, at least in the mode in which it was popularly thought to have arisen. It was said that the Prætor, finding the Roman law fail to apply to certain classes of persons and certain legal cases, chose out of the various laws of all nations the rules appropriate to the occasion. This was so far Private International Law that a Roman tribunal administered what were loosely said to be the rules of systems other than its own, and these rules became incorporated as part of the Roman municipal system. It was indeed a little like Private International Law as conceived by Savigny, as a symmetrical body of rules flowing from fixed principles of general jurisprudence, and something like that which is dreamt of by the modern foreign jurists who think Private International Law stands on principles antecedent to tribunals and even national convenience, and may be cast into a uniform code for all modern states. On the other hand, the *Jus Gentium* was totally distinct from Private International Law, inasmuch as it did not profess to give strict application to other municipal rules; it did not apply these rules to particular features in each case; nor did it rest on the assumption of a number of equal and co-existing sets of municipal rules. Such rules as the *Lex loci rei sitæ*, or *Lex loci contractus*, or the rules of *Domicile*, the *Lex fori*, the validity of a will according to the forms of the place of its making—in fact all the characteristic rules of Private International Law—had no place at all in the law administered by the Prætor. If the Prætor gave effect to a will made without *mancipation*, he did so as part of the Roman system of equity applicable to Roman citizens, just as he had begun by doing the same thing for foreigners residing in Rome who could not use Roman forms. But by Private International Law a modern judge gives effect to a will, not on the ground that it ought to be valid in spite of defect of form, but on

the ground that it was made in the form required by the *lex loci* of the testator's domicile, whether citizen or foreigner. And the modern judge recognises twenty different forms, if properly proved to him, and applicable to the case, however special to any peculiar place or system, and however alien to his own ideas of law and equity. Nothing of this kind was ever found in the Prætorian law, or the *Jus Gentium*, the very essence of which was (1) uniformity of law, and (2) philosophical ideas of justice underlying, or over-riding, the technical rules of positive Municipal Law. Our Private International Law consists of maxims to determine when, and under what conditions, the technical rules of one system of positive Municipal Law will be used to supplement, or correct, the technical rules of some other system of positive Municipal Law. In a word, the Roman law has nothing really analogous to this, because the Romans never accepted the modern notion of civilised nations forming a friendly society of equal independent sovereignties. Private International Law is essentially a product of our modern sense of the brotherhood of nations, a peaceful and mutually dependent *family* of peoples.

As such we shall see that it only began to show some traces of existence in the maturity of the Feudal and Catholic organization of Europe into separate states; and its first appearance as a system follows close on the rise of the doctrine of the balance of Power after the period of the Thirty Years' War, and close upon the great European treaties and settlements which succeed the Peace of Westphalia.

There can be no doubt that the first trace of a distinct conception of the rules we now call Private International Law is to be found in the famous chapter of Bartolus, a great Italian civilian of the middle of the fourteenth century. This Bartolo was a famous lawyer born at Sasso Ferrato, in the territory of Ancona, in 1313, and he died in 1358, in his forty-sixth year. In this short life he succeeded in producing ten vast folio volumes on the Civil Law and allied topics. In the first title of the first book of the code, on the Supreme Trinity and the Catholic faith, Bartolus found the words *cunctos populos*. His commentary and explanation of this phrase forms the chapter which is the origin of our Private International Law. It struck the keen eye of this "lamp of law," "this master of truth," as he was called, that *cunctos populos* meant something very different to his contemporaries and to Justinian: seeing that, in his own day, Europe was made up of many sovereign states, having local laws originating in Feudalism, to which they clung tenaciously, and so small and so much intermingled, that men were perpetually passing from one to the other.

In fact, modern Europe being based on the settlement of a crowd of conquering races—Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards,

on the old Roman Empire—each of these retained in a measure their national law; and thence arose, according to strict feudal principles, the notion of personal law or personal statutes, in opposition to the *territorial* law. The general territorial law remained the more or less modified civil law. The personal law was that which applied to the various mingled races amongst the subjects of each particular sovereign.

Now in this short chapter of Bartolus we have a sketch of the true questions of Private International Law, treated according to our modern canons. Thus, the first section distinguishes the formalities of a contract from its substantial effect, and places the former, as we do, under the law of the place where it is made. This is one of the great canons grounding all modern rules on the subject. The next section lays down another of our great canons—that the *lex fori* determines the course of *procedure* in every trial. Next he treats of the rule of the *lex loci rei sitæ*; then he treats of the law as to personal status, and therein of the general principle of *domicile*. Then comes the rule that in Private International Law, as distinguished from the Roman law, a testator may die partly testate, partly intestate. He then treats of laws extending personal capacity as having effect outside the territory, whilst those which limit personal capacity are confined to the territory where they are in force; next, the case whether the English rule of inheritance by primogeniture would be extended to real estate situate out of England. He next treats of the extra-territorial effect of penal statutes. Now here we have, though meagrely enough, a real attempt to grapple with these questions in a scientific spirit. Bartolus seems to have been the first who hit on the true method of approaching them by analysing every complex case into its component parts. He did not say crudely, “This case must be governed by this law, and this by the other;” but he accurately traced up the generating fact of the legal relations in its varying course, and placed each branch of the relation under its proper rule. Thus he was led to the foundation of all Private International Law when he said, “In a case of complicated legal relations, the *procedure* to be followed in every court is that of the court which is trying it; then, in a case of contract we must distinguish the formalities on which it professes to be based, the place where the contract is to be executed, *lex loci solutionis*, the effects which may follow from it, matters which arise elsewhere subsequent to the contract, and the personal status of each contracting party. To each of these elements in the transaction its own appropriate local law must be applied.” Undoubtedly we have here the germs of our existing Private International Law.

Bartolus invented or systematised the famous grouping of laws into *laws personal* and *laws real*, by which it was attempted to classify

laws that affected status and laws that affected things or immovables. Too much has been made by those who apparently have never read him, of the famous verbal test of Bartolus to distinguish these laws. "*Bona veniunt in primogenitum*," he said, was a real statute; "*primogenitus succedat*" was a personal statute. Thus, it was said, "the law will depend on the princes' ideas of grammar." This was no doubt ridiculous enough. But notwithstanding this quibble (so entirely in the spirit of the Mediaeval Logic), Bartolus' great distinction of Real and Personal Statutes remained the basis of the whole jurisprudence on this subject for three or four centuries. It appears from this sketch of the meagre but distinct work of Bartolus, that what is so loosely called Private International Law is a great deal older than Public International Law, of which it is sometimes taken to be a branch. There was nothing that could be called International Law as a substantive scheme of rules until the consolidation of the European State-system in the sixteenth or even seventeenth century. But as early as the fourteenth century, the conflict or intermingling of separate municipal laws had already been arranged as a definite body of precise, and even technical, rules familiar to the tribunals of Europe.

No step of any importance was taken down to the time of D'Argentré, a French judge of Brittany, who flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century, and whose works were published in 1608. Argentreus (or D'Argentré) wrote in Latin. He did not treat Private International Law systematically, but, as he wrote on the local law of the duchy of Bretagne, he was incidentally led to consider the problem arising when the local customs of Brittany and the common law of France pointed to a different solution of the same case. The way in which he is brought to these questions was as follows. The custom of Bretagne requires that no one should leave away by testament more than one-third of his immovables. Ought immovables situated out of Bretagne to be included in this third? And if so, on what principle? This opens the entire question of Private International Law. The great contribution of D'Argentré to the terminology of the science was his adding to the *personal* and *real* statutes the class of *mixed*. These are statutes which concern at once persons and property. For a century and a half at least from the publication of D'Argentré's work the threefold division, not the twofold division, was adopted.

We may pause here to consider this famous tripartite division of statutes. *Statutes* were originally any rule of law, arising from custom, legislation, royal ordinance, or judicial decision, but not being a rule of the old Roman law or common law of Europe. Thence the term statute became applied to the whole municipal law of each state. Personal statutes, to take the definition of Merlin, were

"those which have principally for their object the person, and treat only of property incidentally, such as those which regard birth, legitimacy, freedom, the right of instituting suits, majority as to age, incapacity to contract, to make a will, to plead in proper person, &c. Real statutes are those which have principally for their object property, and which do not speak of persons, except in relation to property; such are those which concern the disposition that one may make of his property, either while he is living or by testament. Mixed statutes are those which concern at once persons and property." But he adds, "In this sense almost all statutes are mixed, there being scarcely any law relative to persons which does not at the same time relate to things."

This classification held its ground down to the end of the last century, and perhaps cannot yet be spoken of as perfectly exploded. But it is obvious to us, at least, who have been trained in the school of Bentham and Austin, that it meant nothing.

All laws, according to the analytical jurists, are commands addressed to persons to do or to abstain from doing certain things; and the notion that some classes of laws affect persons and other classes affect things is entirely unscientific. Take such a simple question as this—the age at which a person shall be treated as competent to make a valid disposition of his or her estate, according as the property is movable or immovable. Is this a law relating to persons or relating to things? It is obvious that subtlety is wasted in endeavouring to solve so idle a question. There is, moreover, another difficulty. How define what are personal statutes, that do relate to persons, and what are real, and relate to things? This difficulty has led to endless refinements and distinctions, one writer differing from his predecessor and laying down new tests of the distinction. As Savigny explains, the distinction of real, personal, and mixed statutes contains some rough approximation to truth, and has an element of reality in it. For instance, the age at which a man or woman can contract a valid marriage may be fairly called a *personal* law, the mode in which land can be validly conveyed may be called a *real* law. There is in extreme cases this residuum of truth about the distinction. But for a general theory it is too vague and uncertain to be relied on, and the consequence is, that the different ways in which a succession of writers have explained the distinction, have destroyed any utility in the theory.

The total want of scientific basis in the distinction itself, the idle and cumbrous subtleties to which it gave rise, and the impossibility of applying the distinction exactly to a variety of systems of law, seem to leave no alternative but that of finally discarding all remnants of the division of personal and real laws. It would be better to treat the terms solely as matter of history. It is a signal instance of

the value of the English analysis of law, matured by Austin, that it at once clears up the inveterate confusion which for centuries embarrassed the most famous civilians. When we analyse a law into the command of a sovereign addressed to a person, commanding him to do, or to forbear from, some thing, we learn to treat *status*, acts, and things as elements which we can in the abstract detach from the complex parts of every concrete law, and so view them as separable elements of it for logical purposes. And thus we cease to refer one legal doctrine to status and another to things. A very simple rule of law, contained in one line—viz. that the contract of an infant is binding if ratified on his majority—mixes up matters of status, acts, and things in a way that can be analytically considered apart, but so that the rule of law in the concrete cannot be classified under one element more than another. The attempt to refer all laws or rules of law absolutely to any one of these elements belongs to the very infancy of jurisprudence.

It follows from this that an immense portion of the literature on the Conflict of Laws has been based on a thoroughly unscientific theory; indeed, upon a theory which was a simple confusion of thought. The labyrinth of distinctions into which their notion of personal and real statutes involved them, seem to have led the older writers on the Conflict of Laws to distrust the very basis of their work, and to be perpetually seeking a new foundation. The civilians of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were constantly exercised to discover some new reading of the old division. Hence, from the point of view of scientific theory, their labours are almost valueless to us. At the same time, their native acuteness and their practical sense enable them to lay down most useful dicta in a mass of special cases. It is well, however, to remember that from the point of view of rational theory, their method was utterly vicious and idle. Private International Law requires cases to be broken up and analysed; and every attempt to group rules of law under one or two great classes was utterly useless for the purpose of this analysis. When we see the older writers, down to the beginning of this century, solemnly cited as authorities in such books as Story's, we must steadily bear in mind that, with all their good sense and practical judgment, they none of them had a really scientific conception of the subject.

The earliest attempts to found a theory of Private International Law had been made in Italy in the fourteenth century. The next great epoch was in Holland and Northern France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Dutch civilians, who held fast, on the one hand, to the old theory that *personal* statutes everywhere followed the person whom they affected, on the other hand were confronted with the fact that Dutch independence required the most

rigorous assertion of the principle that the Sovereign is supreme within his own territory, and also with the fact that they found themselves surrounded with a mass of small communities having different local laws, and closely united in commercial intercourse. The Dutch jurists set themselves valiantly to adapt the problem of a supreme territorial law to the personal capacities and liabilities of a very migratory people. It was, in truth, a dilemma which far exceeded their utmost ingenuity.

Rodenburg, judge of the Court of Utrecht, was the earliest of these, who wrote, in 1653, *De Statutorum diversitate*. Paul Voet, also a Professor of Utrecht, wrote, in 1663, *De Statutis et eorum concursu*. John Voet, his son, in 1698 wrote *De Statutis*. Ulrich Huber wrote, in 1686, a short treatise, *De Conflictu Legum*; and Hertius, or Hert, a judge and professor at Gicssen, wrote a short treatise in 1688, *De Collisione Legum*. We thus get a body of writers in Holland and North Germany during the second half of the seventeenth century, the age of Louis XIV., all treating of the classification of laws under the titles of *diversity*, or *conflict*, or *concursum*, or *collision* of law. The term *comity* (which occurs in the form *comiter* in the Digest) seems to have been first introduced by Paul Voet in 1663. The term in familiar use in modern law—*conflict of law*—seems to have been introduced (it certainly was popularised) by Huber, and dates from 1686.

But there is another ground on which Ulrich Huber stands out apart from all the other civilians. All of these writers, full as they are of good sense, learning, and practical acumen, were entirely occupied with the old problem how to distinguish *personal* from *real statutes*; how to find tests for such statutes as had validity outside the territory, and for those whose force was limited to it. This, as I have already argued, is a perfectly futile and unreal inquiry; but in Ulrich Huber, if he uses this basis, we have something more. The treatise of Huber, *De Conflictu Legum*, is simply a small essay in his Introduction to the Civil Law. It is all printed in five quarto pages. In the whole history of law there are probably no five pages which have been so often quoted, and possibly so much read. They are distinguished by clearness, practical judgment, and a total absence of pedantry. So far as they go, the maxims of these five pages are satisfactory and accurate. It is true they go a very little way, and are exceedingly general. But, at the same time, they cover the ground of Private International Law, and treat it according to our modern ideas.

During the seventeenth century Private International Law was in the hands of the Dutch; during the eighteenth it was in the hands of the French. But the latter added nothing to the general principles of the science. It is needless to do more than note the works

of D'Aguessseau, Bouhier, Froland, and Boullenois, all of whom flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century, the great pre-Revolution era in France. They are all full of acute remarks on special cases, but they none of them succeeded in adding many scientific rules to the three famous canons of Huber, and they adhered to the old hopeless plan of trying to classify statutes, instead of analysing legal relations. By far the most important of all these was Boullenois. He translated and amplified the old treatise of Rodenburg, the earliest of the Dutch school, who wrote in 1653. Boullenois adhered closely to the strictest scheme of classifying statutes as real and personal, rejecting with Rodenburg the distinction of D'Argentré into the third kind, or *mixed*. He lays down forty-nine maxims of practical value, but without any scientific character; and he tries to build up minute subdistinctions of laws as *laws personal and universal*; *laws personal and particular*; and *laws personal and particular purely*, and *laws personal and real*. All this is obviously useless pedantry. But, at the same time, Boullenois is still much cited. His vast learning, his careful style and profound patience, make his decisions in all concrete cases interesting and valuable. He is the Eldon of Private International Law. He died in 1762.

From this date to the close of the century—indeed, we may say down to the first quarter of the actual century—we find hardly any writing at all on this subject. And this may serve to show us how intimately it was connected with political and social conditions. The latter half of the eighteenth century was occupied with the shock of the great French Revolution, and the military and political consequences of it; whilst the early years of the present century were engrossed in the great wars and the vast social and political changes which followed them. War had broken down the peaceful interchange of municipal laws—*inter arma silent leges*. The whole system of law in Prussia, in France, and in so many states of Europe, was transformed, and the new Codes, based on the Civil Code of France, made a new departure for the municipal law of Europe. Many of the old sources of Private International Law, arising from local law, were swept away; many of its knotty points were solved by legislation or by treaty. And thus for the time it ceased to furnish the civilians of Europe with interesting problems.

¶ What during all this time had been the position of England with regard to this science? It had been absolutely null. So far as I know, there does not exist, in the whole range of the English law library, a single treatise, not an essay or a commentary, on this branch of law earlier than the present century. The Dutch civilians were scarcely known at all; the French were occasionally cited. Down to the middle of the eighteenth century in England I

cannot find a single opinion or decision which seemed to show the consciousness on the part of English lawyers that there was any branch of law such as that we are now considering. In 1752, in *Scrimshire and Scrimshire*, a very simple case of foreign marriage was treated as a case of *first impression*, not previously considered or decided. Our insular position, our complete detachment from the civil law, and our complete indifference to any systematic treatment of legal theory apart from cases of practice, explain the fact that down to the beginning of this century Private International Law was absolutely unknown in this country.

From the close of the last century, and in the early part of this century, a series of new causes began to operate. The great school of philosophical jurists which culminated in Savigny transformed the field of Jurisprudence. After the appearance of his *System of Modern Roman Law* the whole scheme of legal ideas received a new foundation. But before this other causes had been at work. The new codes and systems of law in Europe began to be compared with each other. New relations of intercourse between states were multiplied. And a far more fertile source of growth was at work. The States of America had each their own system of law, and they threw up a mass of problems, turning on the interchange of Municipal Law, precisely similar to those which the local law of the small communities of Holland and the provinces of old France had furnished to the Dutch and the French civilians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Each State in America had its law of marriage and divorce, its bankruptcy law, its system of land law and security law. The Southern States had the civil law of France for their common law, and the Code of Napoleon for the type of their codes. The Northern States had the English common law and English decisions. Here was an unlimited source for problems in the Conflict of Laws. To solve these problems, the great American lawyers and judges were thrown back upon the old Dutch and French civilians. The American decisions and dicta of the civilians were all collected rather than arranged in that vast and trackless wilderness, that encyclopædia of learning, known to us as Story's *Conflict of Laws*.

This famous work was first published in 1834 (it has now reached the seventh edition); and from the date of its appearance hardly a single case on this subject in America or in England, and perhaps few on the Continent, have ever been decided without some reference to this learned book. A new era in the history of Private International Law may be traced from it. It was an immense storehouse of legal decisions on every topic. For the first time, the English and American judgments were placed side by side with extracts from the whole range of the civilians, from some fifty of whom the

author gives us copious selections. It was at once manifest that this class of question could not be decided by exclusive reference to our own particular municipal system.

Story's *Conflict of Laws*, though in many ways the most important and possibly the most comprehensive work that exists on this department of law, is in other respects one of the least scientific, and one of the least conclusive books in the entire library of the jurist. It is a vast repertory of opinions on every known topic from every accessible writer; and these heterogeneous opinions, based on a multitude of conflicting theories, drawn from writers extending over a period of five centuries, and of value utterly different, are tossed together almost like the words in a dictionary, without any attempt to draw a conclusion from the balance of authority. To Story it seems sufficient that a jurist has made a remark; and whether the remark was made under the Feudal system of Europe in the fourteenth century, or by an American judge trained in the Anglo-American common law, it makes no difference. "*Ita scriptum est*," says Story, and he declines to make any attempt to weigh these various dicta. "My object," says he, "has not been to engage in any critical examination of the comparative merits or mistakes of the different commentators, but rather to gather from each what seemed most entitled to respect and confidence." And undoubtedly he has succeeded in this rather uncritical object.

From the sketch of the various theories given above, it is clear that the vast learning and ingenuity of these civilians have been expended on purposes which were really quite valueless, in order to answer such idle questions as the *reality* and *personality* of statutes and the like, and to explain the reason why the laws of one country should have validity in another. At any rate, the older jurists have to be read with the utmost caution, and weighed in the most critical balance, unless they are to mislead the modern lawyer. And the critical balance is what Story deliberately disclaims any right to apply.

At the same time, his great practical good sense, his vast experience as a judge, his industry and indefatigable patience, make his great work a really indispensable text-book. It is a kind of dictionary of all opinions and all topics, and there are few writers in any language or age to whom the student will not find ample reference, and from whom he will not find extracts and opinions. I do not wish to disparage on the whole a very useful and standard work of reference. But a word of caution is needed that this famous work on the *Conflict of Laws* is indeed a conflict of opinions; it is, as it professes to be, a book of reference, and not a critical work of judgment and authority.

But whilst the States of America had been furnishing to Story and

his fellow-countrymen a vast assemblage of difficulties to solve in the Conflict of Municipal Laws, an analogous movement had been at work in England from the beginning of the present century. The international relations of England with other states were enormously expanded by the entanglement of wars, alliances, conquests, re-settlements, and colonisation, that marked the earlier years of the nineteenth century. The maritime law took new and great proportions, and it threw up in Lord Stowell one of the most impressive judges that has ever co-operated in the development of English law. His stately and graceful judgments make Robinson's and Haggard's Reports almost a section out of English literature; and as he presided in the courts that dealt with maritime questions generally, and also with questions of marriage, divorce, legitimacy, and testamentary capacity (courts which alone of all the English tribunals based their decisions avowedly on the civil and canon law), an immense impulse was given to the study of these knots of international or intermunicipal jurisprudence, and the authority of the civilians who had treated them began to be habitually cited by one of our foremost judges, perhaps the one most generally known and read by the public.

What was done by Story in America had been in some measure previously done for England by Lord Stowell. That distinguished and accomplished lawyer was followed by a succession of eminent civilians, such as the late Dr. Lushington, Sir C. Cresswell, not to mention the great living judges who have occupied his bench. The judgments of these learned men nearly coincided with a remarkable series of decisions by the House of Lords on the conflicts that arose between Scotch and English law, chiefly on the subject of Marriage, Divorce, Legitimacy, and Succession.

Since the beginning of this century another influence has increased the importance of this subject. The immense colonial empire which had been acquired or consolidated during the long wars at the close of the eighteenth and the opening of the nineteenth centuries, threw upon our tribunals the ultimate decision of a vast body of cases arising under multifarious systems of law. English judges were called on to determine cases under French law, Dutch law, Danish law, Spanish law, and all kinds of modifications of the civil law, in accordance with local practice or special legislation. Along with these cases came those under the Indian law, partly Hindoo, partly Mahommedan, partly of British enactment. And cases under any of the local systems, or under any colonial code, were correlated with, or conflicted with, English law. The migratory and adventurous habits of Englishmen and English traders, and the enormous development of British commerce and British settlements within the present century, opened an almost inexhaustible field for these

questions of intermixed jurisdiction. English tribunals, and especially the Privy Council, the ultimate tribunal of appeal for the whole colonial empire, have consequently had cast upon them a task such as perhaps never fell to the lot of any tribunal in ancient or modern times. It was nothing less than that of trying cases complicated by the rules of almost every system of law that obtains in any part of the habitable globe.

The result of this has been the formation of a vast body of jurisprudence, hardly any portion of which existed in the days of Lord Eldon. Forty years ago there was not a single English work on this great department of law. We have now an entire literature on the subject in the works of Burge, Westlake, Guthrie, Phillimore, Foote, and Dicey, not to speak of the remarkable series of judgments in the Privy Council, in the Court of Appeal, and in the Court of Probate and Divorce. A number of political causes—her vast commerce, her heterogeneous empire, and her subdivision, even at home, into three kingdoms, each with a separate jurisdiction—have placed this country in the front rank of those which are concerned in these problems of the Conflict of Laws. The work has been done essentially in the English fashion, that is, by judges determining practical cases, not by jurists propounding doctrines. The English theoretical lawyers have been late in entering on the field already occupied abroad by some of the most illustrious names in the literature of law. But they are now filling up the void; and in this branch of learning at least our countrymen need feel no shame when they speak with their neighbours at the gate.

Our English conception of law, indeed, preserves us from the fantastic sophism which is current in parts of the Continent, that Private International Law can be created into a uniform system by the meditations of jurists, and imposed by virtue of its logical consistency on the various tribunals of Europe. Some of the more recent publicists of Germany and Switzerland, and even the great name of Savigny, have been invoked in support of this singular Utopia. At the annual congresses of International Law we hear much to the same effect. Indeed, there seems to be growing up a continental school (led chiefly by Italians) who dream of a universal Code of Private International Law; who would appear to look on these rules as having a claim antecedent to, and higher than, any municipal or national law whatever, and who think that they can be placed on the same basis as International Law, as a kind of universal common law of the civilised world.

Englishmen, whose ideas of law are based on the theory of sovereignty which we derive from Hobbes, Bentham, and Austin, whose notions of jurisprudence are drawn from practical decisions, not from dogmatic theories, are not likely to be very sanguine about

the prospects of a jurisprudence that professes to be independent of all positive legislation, paramount to the decisions of all tribunals, indifferent to local practice and habit, and almost superior to public convenience.

The English habit of extracting a general rule from a comparison of decided cases, and the enormous variety of the English relations with foreign codes, are no doubt influencing the foreign lawyers by leading them to extract rules of mutual convenience *à posteriori* from an examination of actual decisions, rather than to frame general dogmas *à priori* from logical deductions. Another important element in the future is the growing practice of international arrangement, by which some of the most knotty problems are being directly solved by public treaty between sovereign states. Everything points to this process as the most reasonable, as well as the most practicable, method by which the inevitable Conflict of Laws between civilised and equal communities may be brought within manageable shape. Nations, which are every year settling some case of international administration by official or diplomatic conferences, must ultimately learn to settle the more troublesome problems arising out of the diversity of their laws by the same process. But, in order that we may bear our part in this most desirable end, we need the formation of a school of lawyers specially conversant with this subject. Nor can it be any longer remarked by American and continental lawyers that England is the one country without such a school.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

(To be continued.)

A WORD WITH SOME CRITICS.

THE world always laughs, and is usually right in laughing, at quarrels between authors and critics. There is nothing more ridiculous than the literary vanity which drives a writer to join hot battle with every reviewer who does not happen to like his books. There is nothing more wearisome than his insistence in pushing his issues into the remote regions of rejoinder and surrebutter and sur-rejoinder, and vexing gods and columns with importunate trivialities. The public in these unedifying cases mostly acts, metaphorically speaking, like the hero of an excellent novel of our day. After impatiently watching a goat fiercely buck and leap at an honest wether until he had thrust the wether over the edge of a steep rock, the spectator could not restrain himself from seizing the victor by the right hind-leg, and hurling him head foremost after the sheep, to learn how he liked his own compulsion. This is the too common end of battles of books, and the end is no unwholesome one. It is a good rule, therefore, for a man of letters to set himself, that he will treat his work as seriously as possible while he is about it, and as little seriously as possible after it is finished and launched. When it is done, he should reflect that it is only one book in a million which is of any real concern for good or evil, for wise instruction or true amusement, to the world; on the other hand, while he is still busy on his book, he will take as much trouble as if that were to be the singular and immortal exception. By cultivating this double mood of care and carelessness, a man perhaps does the best that he can both for the honesty of his work, whatever it may be, and for his own mental comfort and self-possession.

Non, si quid turbida Roma
Flebet, accedas examenque improbum in illa
Castiges trutina, nec te quiesiveris extra.

There is one kind of criticism, however, to which the writer of a book is impelled to seek to reply, not by mere pugnacious infirmity of the flesh, but simply because he takes his vocation seriously, and cannot placidly acquiesce in finding himself planted on a moral level with the producers of another kind who overload calicoes with china clay, or fill up a wall with rubble instead of solid brick. There are not many writers in a hundred years so important and weighty as to make us feel that Pliny was right in putting *scribere legenda* in the same rank among the occupations of a life with *facere scribenda*. But even humbler persons can hardly be charged with excess of sensitiveness, if they wince on being told to their faces that they have been heedless and negligent, that they have taken no pains to be right in plain matters of fact, and that they have offered the

public a spurious and deceptive commodity. In what humiliation for instance ought a man to hide himself who, after having undertaken to tell the story of so great a personage as Burke, should so fail in duty to his audience, and in right estimation of his subject, to say nothing of respect for himself, that the first reviewer round the corner should be able instantly to convict him of a whole century of blunders, and to tax him with having given himself no trouble even in the rudimentary particulars of his work.

Some weeks ago the present writer published in a series known as *English Men of Letters*, a short book upon Edmund Burke, in which he had done his best not only to give a general account of Burke's life and career, but to enter with some particularity into one or two episodes in it which had not hitherto been very carefully dealt with. There are two critical journals which profess to inform the public of the contents and value of new books; and of the spirit and skill with which this information is given, I at least have hitherto had little reason to complain, though my books concerned men and ideas against which there had hitherto been in our country an invincible repugnance. In the case of Burke, however, these journals agree that I have been careless, inaccurate, loose, and have "taken no pains at all proportioned to the importance of the subject." I propose to take a page or two to show that it is not I, but they, who have been careless, and to prove to anybody who chances to be interested in Burke, that it is they, and not I, who have endeavoured to pass off worthless rubble for solid brick.

I. In the *Academy*, whose conductors rightly pride themselves on seeking critics of special competence, the reviewer of my book is Mr. Payne, known as the editor of three volumes of Burke's works in the Clarendon Press Series. His estimate of the relative value of Burke's monumental pieces does not always command my assent; he inclines to think the *Regicide Peace*, for instance, its author's masterpiece, while to me the *Regicide Peace* is deplorable. This is ground on which men may fairly differ, and if Mr. Payne had only found fault with my opinion and judgment, I should have had nothing to say. He begins, indeed, like an ancient priest—to borrow an old illustration of Burke's own—by crowning me with garlands and fillets and bedewing me with odours, but he speedily proceeds to knock me on the head with his polcaxe. After giving as friendly an approval as the occasion required to two-thirds of the book, he falls upon the ninth chapter as quite unworthy of the rest, as careless from beginning to end, and as demonstrating that I have for this period taken no pains to do justice to my subject. A charge of this sort may well be as serious to a man of letters as the charge of cowardice to a man of battle. The following short answer to the various counts by which the charge is supported will perhaps appear to be a sufficiently decisive dispatch of my too hardy critic.

(1.) The critic quotes my statement that the *Thoughts on Scarcity* was written immediately before sitting down to write the flaming *Letters on a Regicide Peace*. "As a matter of fact," he proceeds, "it was written immediately after them, and while the writer was contemplating a third which he never finished and never published." This is a tolerably direct traverse, and its firmness of assurance might tempt one for a moment to misdoubt one's own knowledge. Yet the critic's matter of fact is not fact at all. The *Thoughts on Scarcity* was presented to Mr. Pitt in November, 1795. The earliest of the *Letters on a Regicide Peace* in time of composition was that which is known as the Fourth, and this was written in December 1795, and January 1796. The First and Second *Letters on a Regicide Peace* were written in 1796; and the third was the work of the last months of Burke's life, that is to say it was written in the first half of 1797. The *Thoughts on Scarcity*, as I have said, were laid before Pitt in November, 1795; so that the author's statement was perfectly accurate, and the critic's peremptory correction is a mistake.

(2.) "Mr. Morley's carelessness," says the critic in his courteous way, "sticks by him even to the end. The style by which it was proposed to make Burke a peer was not Lord Beaconsfield, but Lord Burke." But was this so? Prior in his biography mentions both titles as having been proposed (ii. 281). Lord Stanhope, however, is a better authority than Prior. Lord Stanhope's account of the arrangements relating to the provision for Burke is the fullest, the latest, and the most authentic that we have; and besides the correspondence between Burke and Pitt which he actually had in his hands, Lord Stanhope possessed a singularly large fund of those traditions about political personages of his own and the previous generation, which circulate unwritten in a certain world, which are called gossip while the persons concerned are still alive, but which in many cases are at least as accurate and authentic material for posterity as the most formal documents.¹ Now Lord Stanhope was a careful writer, and know what he was talking about, and what Lord Stanhope says is this:—

*
"It was now desired—I cannot say with truth to honour Mr. Burke, but rather to honour the poerage, by his accession to its ranks. There was also, as I have heard, the design, as in other cases of rare merit, to annex by an Act of Parliament a yearly income to the title during two or three lives. Already was the title chosen as *Lord Beaconsfield*. Already was the patent preparing." (*Life of Pitt*, Ch. xviii. vol. ii. p. 244.)

(1) Lord Lansdowne's words, for example, about Burke, quoted by me (at p. 141) as used to an eminent man of our own time, from whom I had them, are of as real value in the way of testimony to Burke's character and reputation, as any written matter that is left upon the subject.

My critic can produce no better authority against this, and I must be excused if, in spite of his abrupt contradiction, I continue to cherish the belief that the title which now adorns the illustrious author of *Vivian Grey*, was once designed for the author of *American Conciliation* and the *Reflections on the French Revolution*.

(3.) The critic speaks of it as a fact that "Mrs. Burke's executors drew her pension of £2,500 a year regularly a quarter of a century after her death. This is not consistent with Mr. Morley's statement that her pension was £1,200 a year for life." Of Mrs. Burke's executors I know nothing. My assertion concerns the amount and duration of the pension. What I found in the list of pensions, laid before Parliament in 1797, was this:—

"Sept. 20, 1794. Rt. hon. Edmund Burke, during the joint lives of himself and his wife Jane Burke, and the survivor of them £1,200."

A similar list was published in 1801, and in it the same entry occurs under the heading of pensions by sign manual. But there is more evidence than this. Pitt told Burke, when offering the grant from the civil list, that £1,200 a year was "the largest sum that His Majesty was able to fix." And in a final letter Pitt says he had directed the pension to be made out for the life of Burke and that of his wife. If my critic thought fit to fasten the heaviest charge that can be brought against a biographer, on the strength of suspected error in such details as this, he ought at least to have made sure that he was right in his suspicions, and to have taken a little trouble to test them.

(4.) The critic attacks the statement that Windham approved of the Fourth (published) *Letter on a Regicide Peace*, on the ground that Windham died in 1810, and the Fourth Letter was not published until 1812, and therefore that Windham could never have seen it. The inference is not at all certain. The Fourth published Letter, as we know, was written first. It was probably in type in the spring of 1796, for Burke in March 26, 1796, describes himself as having "written and even printed a considerable part of a series of letters," referring to the proposals for a Regicide peace. Now during the spring of 1796 there was a steady transmission of Burke's proof-sheets between the author, Dr. Laurence, and Windham; and Windham's criticisms were submitted to Burke, and discussed by him. Though some of these criticisms concern the *Letter to a Noble Lord*, Windham was also consulted about the other pieces of that date, and Laurence writes to Burke (March 26, 1796) that Windham urges speedy publication of the *Regicide Peace*. There is therefore no such impossibility as Mr. Payne assumes in the assertion that Windham

had seen the Fourth published Letter, either in proof or in manuscript. It should be added that after his great master's death, Windham was in constant communication with Laurence on the subject of Burke's papers, and had some of them in his hands.

The critic thinks that perhaps by the Fourth Letter the author intended not the fourth published, but the fourth written. But then, he says, "in this, though there is a sparing infusion of exceedingly bitter irony, there is no holy rage," such as I had imputed to the letter of which Windham approved. The difference between exceedingly bitter irony and holy rage is perhaps rather fine. It would need a nicer instrument of rhetoric than plain men possess, to decide that there is bitter irony, but no holy rage, in talk about "the mountebanks of Paris," "the assassins of Paris," "regicide pettifoggers," "a set of abandoned wretches squandering in insolent riot the spoils of their bleeding country," and the similar amenities of the Third Letter. .

(6.) There is one other alleged blunder to which it is necessary to devote a word or two. It turns upon matters which cannot be settled so summarily as the critic's other charges, but here as certainly as in the previous items Mr. Payne has used words without weighing them. After the summer of 1791, I have said, Burke was launched upon the full tide of his violent policy at home and abroad. The critic denies this with his usual peremptoriness, and quotes as authority, forsooth, Burke's own words at the end of the *Thoughts on French Affairs* (Dec., 1791) that he had "now done with this subject for ever." Burke may have thought for a single moment of despondency at the rejection of his desperate counsels, that he had done with it, but there was not a day after 1791 when the Revolution did not move before his mind, and it never moved before his mind without exciting and maddening him. Mr. Payne wonders how I can make such a statement as this, when I admit that the calm and solid reasoning of the Letter to Langrishe belongs to this period, and he boldly infers from this that I have been guilty of a blunder and a thoughtless accusation in describing Burke's state of mind as I have done. Yet the time when Burke was writing the Letter to Langrishe was also the very time when Frances Burney says that it was fatal to mention French politics in his presence, even though you were on his own side; and that if there was a whisper of French politics his irritability was so terrible that his face instantly took the expression of a man who is going to defend himself from murderers. The same year was the date of the Dagger Scene, when he screamed to the House of Commons to keep French principles from our heads and French daggers from our hearts. Yet we are told that to accuse him of minatory exhortations at this time is a thoughtless blunder.

"You must remember," he wrote to Laurence (Feb. 26, 1796), "from the moment the true genius of the French Revolution began to dawn upon my mind, I comprehended what it would be in its meridian; and that I have often said that I should not be surprised at seeing a French army convoyed by a British navy to an attack upon this kingdom." What I contend is that the moment at which what Burke calls the true genius of the Revolution broke upon his mind, was the moment when he perceived that it was of similar significance to the Reformation; that it introduced other interests into all countries than those which arose from their locality and natural circumstances; that parties among the inhabitants of different countries would now be combined in a single connection; that the new species of faction had broken the locality of public affections. This doctrine, I go on to say, launched Burke on the full tide of his policy.¹ And it was so. At the close of 1791 Burke was as eager for the interference of the European powers against France as the emigrants themselves, and Richard Burke on his return from Coblenz was bitterly disappointed to find that the English ministers could not be moved from their policy of strict neutrality. Burke's letters at this time are simply full of eager projects for the restoration of the absolute monarch by the armed assistance of Europe; and what against all this is the testimony of one idle sentence, that he had made up his mind to have done with the subject for ever, written at a time when we know him to have been passionately absorbed in the subject beyond all power of control?

"To say that Burke *ever* called for arbitrary tyranny at home is pure calumny," says Mr. Payne, and he "defies me to adduce a single passage in support of it." This kind of excitement is surely superfluous. There are more passages than one, which mean nothing short of arbitrary tyranny, and Mr. Payne evidently knows where they are, but then he says that they were published nearly five years later. Five years later than what? I am describing the general policy to which Burke was committed by his conception of the Revolution, and in this policy arbitrary and tyrannical measures of repression at home were a conspicuous element. The Treason Bill, for example, was called by Burke a wholesome measure of internal vigour, while Fox and Sheridan denounced it as so arbitrary and tyrannical, that the question of resisting such a law by force became no longer one of duty or moral obligation, but simply one of prudence. If the author happens to agree with Fox in his description of the Treason Bill and the Seditious Assembly Bill, and if Burke urged and

(1) Mr. Payne writes as if I professed to find all the developments of Burke's policy actually in the tract in which its fundamental doctrine was first exposed, "incredible as it may seem." What seems incredible usually is incredible, and if he refers to *this* passage again (p. 187), he will see that *thus* is not equivalent to *in this place*.

supported them, where is the pure calumny?¹ Mr. Payne should have explained that when he speaks of a blunder, that is only his way of describing a difference of opinion on a policy on which equally competent men have differed ever since it was a policy.

(7.) There are two articles of the critic's impeachment to which the author is obliged to confess that he has no answer. In the enumeration of his proofs that his author has been careless and has taken no pains to do justice to Burke, the critic gravely says: "The school for emigrant children was not at Beaconsfield [as I have put it], but at Tyler's Green in the parish of Penn." Tyler's Green, according to Mr. Payne's own authority (*Introd. to Reg. Peace*, p. xxvi.), is "only a mile or two from Burke's own door." Instead therefore of "at Beaconsfield," it should have stood "close to Beaconsfield." In one of his notes to the *Regicide Peace* (p. 354) Mr. Payne quotes a famous line as "*Mersus profundo pulchrior evenit.*" What would he think of a reviewer who should beg him to do all his editorial work over again, simply because, instead of *merces*, he had chosen the bad and condemned reading, *mersus*?

In another place it appears that I have written *stork* where I ought to have written *fund*. Is it possible that the critic really thinks that two inadvertencies of such kind and degree as these justify him in bringing sweeping charges of carelessness, thoughtlessness, and injustice? If he does think so, then I cannot help it if my memory recalls those rash scholars a hundred and eighty years ago who supposed that they were demonstrating the genuineness of Phalaris's Letters and Æsop's Fables, when they convicted Bentley of having written *Buda* where he ought to have written *Belgrade*.

II. Let these things, then, have been said concerning Mr. Payne. A very few lines will suffice for the writer in the *Athenæum*. He says that many inaccuracies might be noted, but he contents himself with two. I ventured to write to the editor of the *Athenæum*, humbly praying for what lawyers call further and better particulars. The editor courteously informed me that he would apply for them. Many days have gone by, and my anxiety is still unsatisfied. I am beginning to think that the critic made a random and unscrupulous charge which he cannot prove, and for which he never

(1) Burke, by the way, went beyond mere tyranny. The following is from a letter of Lady Elliot to her husband (April 14, 1794): "Burke has filled many people with horror by what he said in the House three nights ago. On Sheridan saying that embodying the emigrants was an act of cruelty, as, if they were taken prisoners, they would meet with no mercy, and desiring to know if this was the case and they were all butchered, whether we were to retaliate and give no quarter to any prisoners we took, Burke exclaimed, 'Certainly we should revenge ourselves on those in our hands.'" — *Life of Gilbert Elliot*, ii. 288.

expected to be called to account. The only evidence of inaccuracy, meanwhile, which the critic has produced is the following :—

(1.) "It is said that the first Lord Holland hold the balances of the Pay Office 'from 1765, when he retired, until 1778, when they were audited.' Lord Holland died in 1774. The passage reads as if Mr. Morley intended to convey that he lived till 1778, the year that his executors obtained a discharge from the Audit Office."

It will be observed that the quotation from me contains two propositions; that Lord Holland retired in 1765, and that his accounts were audited in 1778. Each of these propositions is strictly true, yet the author is accused of the inaccuracy of some false third proposition, with which he has nothing at all to do, but which a stupid reader might possibly take it into his head to import!

(2.) "Jefferson, Franklin, and Henry are said to have drawn from the Parisian freethinkers, whom Burko detested, 'those theories of human society which were so soon to find life in American independence.' It is true that Jefferson gained his most Utopian ideas from a French source, but Franklin was not indebted to any French writer for his opinions, while it is questionable whether Patrick Henry ever read a line of any translation from the French. Being ignorant of the French tongue he could not learn anything from a Frenchman at first hand."

It is indeed a disputable question how much the ideas of the colonial leaders were affected by the democratic theories of Puritanism and the Old Testament, and how much by the theories of the French philosophers. To the present writer it formerly seemed that the Bible had more to do with the sentiment that led to the rising of the colonies, than Rousseau and the *Social Contract*. Nobody, however, who has examined so much as the mere surface of the question, would now dream of denying that the French theories of society played an important part in the preparation of American independence. This is no occasion for a discussion of the matter. But every educated man has at least read Sir Henry Maine's *Ancient Law*, and remembers the striking page where he describes how the doctrine of equality, preached by the French literary men, passed over to America; how the American lawyers of the time, and particularly those of Virginia, possessed a stock of knowledge which could only have been derived from continental Europe; and how it was sympathy with the ideas of the French that led Jefferson and the other colonial lawyers, who guided the course of events in America, to place the specially French assumption that "all men are born equal" in the very opening of the Declaration of Independence.

But I am treating my critic too seriously. The whole matter ends in two minute corrigenda. On p. 200, l. 1, for "stock" read "fund;" and on p. 205, l. 25, for "at" read "close to."

EDITOR.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM LIBRARY.

THE visitors from the country or abroad who are admitted to the door of the British Museum Library, jaded almost to despair, as they must too often be, with the task of admiring the sights of London, cannot but express a feeling of delight, not unalloyed perchance with envy, at the glimpse of the blessings bestowed on the students of literature. Around the lower shelves of the reading-room are arranged 20,000 volumes of the best books of reference on every branch of knowledge, to which the reader may unmolested help himself without restriction. The books contained on the upper shelves of the reading-room, and on the miles of cases in the interior of the library, can be consulted as long and as often as the reader wishes, on his entering the particulars of the volumes which he desires on the tickets freely furnished to him for that purpose. The sight of these priceless volumes, all maintained at the nation's expense for the gratification of the student, must affect the visitor with feelings not unlike those which stirred the heart of Thackeray. When he remembered the "dome which held Macaulay's brain," and the stores of learning which were housed under it, the thought of the library of the British Museum, and the still more wonderful treasures preserved under the dome of its reading-room, rose to his recollection. "I have seen," said Thackeray, "all sorts of domes, of Peters and Pauls, Sophia, Pantheon, and have been struck by none of them so much as by that catholic dome in Bloomsbury under which our million volumes are housed. What peace, what love, what truth, what beauty, what happiness for all, what generous kindness for you and me, are here spread out! It seems to me one cannot sit down in that place without a heart full of grateful reverence. I own to have said my grace at the table, and to have thanked heaven for this my English birthright, freely to partake of those bountiful books, and to speak the truth I find there." This should not be regarded as the unmeaning rhapsody of the novelist; the same feelings of thankfulness for the blessings they inherit have stirred the hearts of most of the readers at the British Museum.

The life of the British Museum is at least a century and a half less than that of its great rival at Oxford. We need not be surprised, therefore, if the student of Elizabethan literature or Puritan theology must supplement the deficiencies of the former collection by frequent visits to the Bodleian, or to the almost unknown collection of books bequeathed by the liberality of Dr. Williams to his dissenting brethren. During the present century the topographical

and poetical departments of the Bodleian have been augmented by the gifts of the volumes amassed by the industry of Douce and Malone. Douce's library was withheld from the British Museum through fear that it might not be preserved intact in some portion of that building. The resolution of Mr. Grenville to give his library to the Museum was only formed on his receiving from Sir A. Panizzi an informal intimation that his volumes should not be scattered through its numerous rooms. The superiority of the Bodleian over the British Museum in the possession of our early national literature would have been undoubted, but for the lack of forethought shown by Sir Thomas Bodley in stipulating that his library should not acquire "such books as almanacks, plays, and an infinite number, that are daily printed, of very unworthy matters and handling." By the unwisdom of the founder of the Bodleian Library the plays of the Elizabethan dramatists, which might have been purchased in his day for a few shillings, have now to be secured for his collection at the expenditure of scores, if not hundreds, of pounds. The library of the British Museum originated in the 50,000 volumes which had been acquired by Sir Hans Sloane. His collection of books, manuscripts, and scientific curiosities passed to the public under the provisions of his will for £20,000, a sum estimated by him at one-third of their actual cost. During the six years spent by the Government in obtaining by means of a lottery the money necessary for securing these collections, and for purchasing Montague House, the books of Sir Hans Sloane were augmented by the King's gift of the old Royal Library; and in the very year (1759) of the opening of the Museum to the public, a Jewish gentleman, one Solomon da Costa, sent to the trustees a curious collection of Hebrew books, many of choice editions, and all bound with the cipher of Charles II. on the covers, which the Jewish community had proposed to present to that monarch in acknowledgment of his protection of their race.

The most valuable additions to the library since 1759 have been the Royal Library of George III., and the equally famous library of Mr. Thomas Grenville. The former collection, consisting of about 84,000 volumes, was acquired by George III. at infinite pains, and at an expenditure largely in excess of £100,000. It was purchased in 1823 from his successor on the throne by the ministry of Lord Liverpool, to prevent its passing into the hands of the Emperor of Russia, although George IV. had the effrontery, in writing to the Prime Minister after the completion of the transaction, to boast that he had resolved "to present the collection to the British nation."¹ The King's books are described in a printed

(1) The inscription over the door of the room containing the King's library still records that it "was given to the British nation by his Most Gracious Majesty George IV." These words should be erased; they cannot fail to recall Pope's bitter

catalogue of five volumes, the first published in 1820, the last in 1829; while the "King's pamphlets," which became the property of the nation at the same time, are entered in nine manuscript volumes. All these works are distinguished in the general catalogue of the library by the affix of a crown. The volumes of Mr. Grenville, 20,000 in number, costing their original purchaser more than £54,000, have also a separate catalogue, but are not included in the general catalogue. These books were purchased by their owner chiefly through the emoluments of a sinecure post which he enjoyed for many years; this circumstance influenced him in bequeathing his library to the nation. In 1799 the trustees of the Museum received the early editions of the classics and the rare prints which the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode spent forty years of his life in collecting at the shops of Elmsley and Payne. His collection contained only 4,500 volumes, but their value exceeded in proportion any of the other additions to the Museum. For more than forty years Sir Joseph Banks had been connected as President of the Royal Society with the management of the British Museum, and to it he made in 1820 a contingent bequest of his wonderful collection of voyages and travels and scientific books and journals. There have also been given to the Museum the books of Dr. Birch and Sir William Musgrave (collections especially rich in the subject of biography), Sir John Hawkins, Mr. Tyrwhitt, and Sir R. C. Hoare. The trustees have purchased the Garrick collection of old plays (familiar to thousands of readers from the extracts printed by Charles Lamb in the *Table Book* of William Hone), Hargrave's law books, the classical library of Charles Burney, Baron Moll's books on natural history and medicine, and a collection of Italian and French literature formed by Ginguené.

If the reader adds to this long list the marvellous series of civil war tracts rescued from a speedy death by the vigilance of Thomason, and preserved by his care through the vicissitudes of that troubled period, he will be acquainted with the principal sources from which the national library has been formed. The thousands of books marked on the last leaf with the date of acquisition stamped in red ink, will, however, teach the reader initiated into the mysteries of the Museum that its officers have during the last thirty years been actively employed in remedying, by purchases in the open market, the defects which they inherited through the carelessness of their predecessors. It is by this means that the British Museum Library has been placed in a high, if not perfect, state of efficiency. Its guardians may safely boast that "early editions of the Bible, early service-

lines on the inscription which once disgraced the Monument. The sentences of Mr. Spencer Walpole (*History of England from 1815*, vol. i. pp. 92, 93) on George IV.'s conduct are well worthy of perusal.

books, early editions of Shakespere's plays, everything that is rare and curious has been secured whenever an opportunity occurred ; " they may, without chance of contradiction, claim that success has attended their attempt "to bring under one roof all the current literature of the world that had any intrinsic value, regardless of the language in which it might be couched."

When the Museum Library was opened in 1759, the love of reading was confined to a select few. Gray has handed down to us an amusing account of the reading-room and its visitors in the first year of its history. Writing to Mason on the 23rd of July, 1759, from his London lodgings, he describes with caustic criticism the defects of the first readers in the old library. "The Museum will be my chief amusement. I this day passed through the jaws of a great leviathan that lay in my way into the belly of Dr. Templeman, superintendent of the reading-room, who congratulated himself on the sight of so much good company. We were—a man that writes for Lord Royston ; a man that writes for Dr. Burton of York ; a third that writes for the Emperor of Germany, or Dr. Pocock, for he speaks the worst English I ever heard ; Dr. Stukeley, who writes for himself, the very worst person he could write for ; and I, who only read to know if there were anything worth writing, and that not without some difficulty." (*Correspondence of Gray and Mason* (1853), pp. 183-4). If we allow that a great increase has taken place since that date in the number of readers in the Museum, we must add that the money which has been spent by the nation in enriching the treasures of the national library will only yield a fair return when that number is multiplied tenfold.

From a paper issued this spring it appears that in the year 1878 only 114,516 persons were admitted to the reading-room out of the four millions of people resident in London. The insufficiency of this total will be best shown by comparison with the number of readers in the libraries of other cities. Manchester has a population of less than 380,000 souls, but according to the interesting return on the Free Libraries Acts which was distributed in 1877, over 177,000 readers entered in the year 1875 (?) its noble reference library and branch reading-rooms. The statistics of the readers at the Museum are equally painful when compared with American libraries. In 1877 the whole number of volumes returned to the library of the Museum, after use in the reading-room, amounted to the comparatively insignificant total of 650,219 ; the figures are only swelled to 1,439,963 by adding the estimated number of volumes returned by the readers themselves to the shelves of the reading-room. In the Boston public library, with the population of that city less than a tenth part of that of London, 1,140,572 volumes were issued to the visitors in the year 1876-77. It is an easy matter to point out the reason for the small amount of patronage

shown by the reading public of London to the great central store-house of literature in Bloomsbury. The Boston public library is thrown open with success to readers more than fourteen years old from nine in the morning till nine at night all the year round; the Museum is only open on the average of the year to five in the evening, and its doors are always closed to persons under the age of twenty-one. By the closing of the Museum at these early hours many of the ablest antiquaries in London are debarred from availing themselves of its privileges save for a few minutes eagerly snatched in the early morning or the afternoon. Let the inquirer enter the reading-room at half-past nine in the morning, or later in the day at half-past four, and ask an attendant for the private history of the readers most eagerly engaged in study at those hours. He will perhaps learn that one studious gentleman is a busy London solicitor ardently engaged in lifting the veil of secrecy which envelops the anonymous and pseudonymous writers of past ages; another will be pointed out as the most accurate reproducer of the pre-restoration literature; and a third will be mentioned as a well-known barrister whose delight it is to pore into the theological controversies which have often threatened to rend asunder the English Church. Southey once accounted for the publication of his numerous works by the remark that he knew how to make the best use of the intervals of ten minutes that occurred to every man. It is by means of these spare half-hours, and by the aid of the Saturday half-holiday, that much of the most honest literary work in London is composed; and the trustees of the Museum should occupy themselves with the consideration in what way it is possible to improve the few opportunities for research at present enjoyed by the literary men of this class.

We have just seen that the number of books kept in the inner portion of the Museum which were consulted in 1877 amounted to only 650,000, and that the large number of 790,000 was estimated by the Museum officials to have been perused from the volumes kept on the shelves in the reading-room itself. If this supposition be true (and though we are unable to test, we have no reason for doubting its accuracy), the opening of half-a-dozen reference libraries in various parts of London would seem to be highly desirable. A large number of the readers now occupying the desks in the reading-room would probably then be drawn off to free libraries situate in their own neighbourhood, thus obviating the necessity, which else must soon arise, for increasing the accommodation for the public at the Museum itself. A few students of acknowledged reputation and respectability might also be allowed, on giving a day's notice of their wishes, to obtain the use for a night or two nights, at these branch libraries, of some of the rarer volumes which would ordinarily

be kept at Bloomsbury. I am told that this plan has been adopted with success at Oxford. The books at the Bodleian which are wanted by students whose time during the day is preoccupied, are taken to the Radcliffe library for use there during the evening. The proposals for increasing the utility of the Museum which I am about to examine, would require an outlay of a large sum of money without the possibility of any return for the expenditure. If the Government should at any time determine to spend any money for the improvement of libraries in London, it may well consider whether it would not be most profitably expended in aiding the establishment of a few branch reference libraries in the most populous parts of London. It seems hopeless to expect from the ratepayers of London the establishment of those free libraries which are now to be found in the chief towns of England.

Even, however, if some such plan for increasing the scanty opportunities of reading at present enjoyed by residents in London should be adopted by the Government, the collections in the British Museum would still be of little benefit to the rest of the nation. The volumes in its library have been collected and are maintained out of the taxes of the whole country, but at present they can be consulted by only one-tenth of the English people. The cry that Parliament, by its grants for the British Museum and the South Kensington Museum, has done for London what the other cities in England have been forced to do for themselves, is echoed and re-echoed in the press, and has been heard in the House of Commons itself. At the Conference of Librarians held in London in October, 1877, this complaint found forcible exposition in Mr. W. E. A. Axon's paper, "The British Museum in its Relation to Provincial Culture." His suggestion that the publication every year of the names of the books received at the Museum under the Copyright Act would enable the trustees to acquire without cost many volumes which in a few years can only be purchased at a large expenditure, should not be rejected without careful consideration. This, however, was a minor point in Mr. Axon's paper. Its primary idea was to urge the desirability of printing the catalogue of the Museum, as, to use his own words, "the greatest aid to investigation that the literary world could receive from the Government of a great nation." The possibility of carrying out this great enterprise was warmly supported by several eminent librarians among his audience, and opposed with equal warmth by a section not inferior in numbers or in learning. I hope that I shall not be accused of indifference to the claims of the provinces if I venture to throw in my lot among those who considered the difficulties of the undertaking as almost insurmountable.

At the very outset of our consideration of this question, we are confronted with a matter still in debate among librarians. Shall

the titles of the works be printed in full or with considerable abridgment? I have heard some advocates of the latter system push their opinions so far as to insist that in no case should more than one line of the printed catalogue be occupied with the description of a single book. Is this, however, practicable? Obviously in the case of thousands of novels happily published with no other title than the name of the heroine, this amount of room would be sufficient, but in those instances no one would desire to occupy a larger space with the description of the book. The political and religious writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have not, however, in composing their title-pages shown the same amount of consideration for bibliographers, and to reduce such titles to the same narrow limits would be impossible without mutilating them in such a manner that their own authors could not recognise them. Where is the man who could abridge the titles of the tracts of Prynne or Hugh Peters without destroying their resemblance to the original? If to inform students in the country of the works by any given author, which are preserved in the shelves of the British Museum Library, be deemed the sole reason for printing a catalogue of its contents, the abridged system might be found sufficient for the purpose. The object would, however, be attained much more cheaply, and I may add much more effectually, by adding to the existing staff one or two clerks who should be employed in answering the letters of country inquirers. The abridged system may, however, be summarily dismissed from our consideration as finding but little favour in the eyes of more prominent librarians. Mr. Winter Jones, in opening the conference of librarians, delivered an animated exposition of the various systems of cataloguing. "A good title," in his opinion, "ought to give all that appears on the title-page of the book, with such further information as to authorship, or editorship, or the nature of the contents as may in addition be derived from the work itself." Another eminent authority on libraries advocated a system of photo-bibliographic titles, and addressed to the conference the indignant inquiry, "Why abridge a title, except it be an index or cross-reference title? Better record it as left by the author." From across the Atlantic is borne the emphatic declaration of Professor Jewitt, of the Smithsonian Institution, "that the scholars of all nations demand of Great Britain that the Catalogue of the Library of the British Museum should be well done, and should be a work of bibliographical authority." The conclusion is irresistible that if we are to satisfy the demands of the chief rulers of libraries, the catalogue of the British Museum, if printed at all, must be printed without any great curtailment of titles. Those who are acquainted with the early volumes of *Punch*, will be aware that the proposition of compiling a general catalogue of the contents of the Museum Library was assailed with all the

satire which the contributors to that periodical could employ. Against it the gibes and the sneers of the writers in *Punch* were directed for several years. The trustees of the Museum, undaunted by the ridicule of those caustic satirists, persisted in their undertaking, and although after more than thirty years the catalogue is not yet complete, it has advanced beyond the end of the letter R. The old catalogue of books, now for the most part superseded, consisted of 82 volumes only. The present general catalogue now numbers more than 2,100 volumes, letter P alone requiring over 240, and eight others exceeding 100 volumes. I must not forget to add that there are separate catalogues of maps and music. The particulars of the collection of maps were contained a few months ago in more than 260 volumes; the music catalogue exceeds 300 volumes, in addition to 58 for the names of authors of the words which have been set to music. When the general catalogue of books is complete, and the reader is supplied with full details of the marvellous collection of English and foreign newspapers which is preserved in the basement of the existing buildings, the number of volumes required for the description of these collections will amount to at least 4,000.¹ To have conceived the idea of, and to have all but accomplished, so great a literary undertaking may well fill the hearts of its promoters with pride. If, however, we can have absolute confidence in the dictum of the chief librarian at the Museum, the whole of this labour has been altogether thrown away. In scarcely a single instance does this vast catalogue furnish the student with all that appears on the title-page of the book, or with such further information as to the authorship, editorship, and the nature of the contents as may in addition be derived from the work itself. The Museum authorities would probably urge in reply to the strictures of their chief official, that the amount of information to be found in the existing manuscript catalogue, even if it fell short of the requirements of experienced bibliographers, would be accepted by most readers as sufficient for ordinary requirements. They would reject without hesitation any proposal involving the necessity of undoing the labour of so many years; and their conduct, I venture to prophesy, would be supported by the opinions of those who hold the purse-strings of the country.

The strenuous advocate of a printed catalogue of the British Museum Library, as urgently required in the interests of country students, did not hesitate at the same Library Conference to express his conviction that the manuscript catalogue had so far advanced "that, probably, no great effort would be required to make it a complete

(1) The work of cataloguing the contents of the Bodleian Library is now all but finished. The catalogue will consist of 721 folio volumes, similar in shape and size to those in use at the Museum.

record of the printed books, up to whatever date might be decided to be the proper limit." Many of his hearers would shrink from endorsing this bold assertion. The manuscript catalogue if printed in its present state would not, in spite of the labour which has been bestowed upon it, be received with that chorus of approbation which its authors would desire. Very many works, now entered in the catalogue without the names of their authors, might with little trouble be assigned to their legitimate parents; the number of cross-references, though greatly increased of later years, might be considerably augmented. It must be allowed that these are great drawbacks to the perfection of the catalogue. Most of those who are best acquainted with the inside of the reading-room have many times spent hours in the search (alas! I must add, too often in the vain search) after anonymous books. At the same conference another distinguished man of letters declared that he could speak on the difficulty of finding anonymous books at the Museum "from bitter experience," and warmly urged the adoption of some plan for making this large class of books more available to the inquirer. I was myself surprised, when endeavouring a short time ago to compile a list of the writings of the Rev. R. Polwhele, by the imperfections of the present catalogue in this important particular. That well-known writer, in the course of his long literary life of sixty years, posed as a poet, divine, topographer, translator, and biographer. In his garrulous contributions to biographical literature he has himself given, with scarcely a single exception, the names of his works, anonymous or not. They amount to more than fifty in number, but only twenty-one are entered under his name in the Museum catalogue. Let not the inquirer, however, imagine that number to exhaust the whole of Polwhele's works contained in the library. Of the balance, which the student might not unnaturally deem to be lacking, at least seven could be found were he willing to spend several hours of his time for the labour.

The imperfections of the manuscript catalogue were brought even more prominently under my notice a few months ago. I was then endeavouring to find a well-known work by James Ralph, one of the gazetteers of the first half of the eighteenth century. I will now explain to the reader the various steps which I took, only premising that, for brevity's sake, I shall omit in this notice of Ralph's works described in the Museum catalogue any mention of his poems and dramas. That the name of one of his poems still lives is the result of a scornful couplet in the *Dunciad*; with that exception they have long since passed into the land where all things are forgotten. If Ralph's poetical productions are contemptible, his political works must still be consulted for their acuteness, as well as for the assistance rendered him by Dodington

and his crew. On finding Ralph's name in the catalogue, the student is referred elsewhere for the first edition of his *Case of Authors by Profession* (1758), *A Critical Review of Publick Buildings in London and Westminster* (1734), and for the pamphlet (entitled *The Other Side of the Question*) in which he answered the *Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*, which that imperious lady commanded Hooke, the Roman Catholic historian, to write. The waste of time involved in this mistaken system of cataloguing, I shall allude to presently; I would only observe now that as the reprints of the first two works bear their author's name on the title-page, they are described at full length under his name. If the student, disappointed at not finding under Ralph's name in the new catalogue his two principal works, *The History of England during the Reigns of William, Anne, and George I.*, and his volumes on *The Use and Abuse of Parliaments*, should turn to the old catalogue, he will close it with a keener feeling of disappointment. They are not to be found there, and it is little consolation to him to find in their stead the names of four other works by Ralph not entered in the new catalogue. It occurs to him that these works may be entered in the King's catalogue. He opens the volume containing the writings of Ralph. The *History of England* is found there, but the treatise on Parliament must be sought elsewhere. The inquirer returns to the new catalogue under the word Parliament, but again his labour is spent in vain. As a last resource he turns to the old catalogue under the same word. There it is duly entered, but the entry has been ruled through in ink. If the seeker after knowledge enjoys but a superficial acquaintance with the mysteries of the catalogue, he can come to no other conclusion than the work has been lost or mislaid.¹ The regular visitor will, however, know that this erasure was the ingenious contrivance of some long-forgotten custodian of the Museum for indicating that a copy of the work will be found in the King's catalogue under the same word. Success has at last crowned his effort; the works for which he has sought so patiently are all found. I am ready to allow that this is probably an exceptional example of error on the part of the framers of the new catalogue; but I must add that my

(1) I may here be allowed to mention that a noble author was recently led astray by this practice. In 1875 there appeared a reprint of Robert Ward's *Treatise of the Relative Rights and Duties of Belligerent and Neutral Powers in Maritime Affairs*, with an introductory proface from the pen of the present Lord Stanley of Alderley. From this we learn that the original treatise, though written at the solicitation of Lord Grenville, was reprinted because it was entirely forgotten—"having disappeared within late years from those libraries where it is known to have existed. . . . It was to be found in the British Museum, where the title may still be seen in the catalogue, with the stroke of a pen drawn through it." After the above remarks, the writer will not be surprised to learn that a copy of Ward's treatise is still preserved in the King's Library, and may be consulted at any time. Since the appearance of this reprint, particulars of this copy have been entered in the new catalogue.

experience of its contents has forced upon me the painful consideration that in most cases the number of works included under an author's name might be increased, were the task of entering all the cross-references satisfactorily completed, and the anonymous and pseudonymous works at present sown broadcast through the catalogue assigned to, and entered under, their proper owners.

Mr. H. B. Wheatley opened his paper at the conference of librarians, "On the Alphabetical Arrangement of the Titles of Anonymous Books," with the statement that books of that class are "the pariahs of literature." We have just seen, in considering the works of Ralph, that the original editions of three of his chief publications being published without any mention of his name on the title-pages, are described in full under other parts of the catalogue, while the later editions, which bore his name on them, are entered under his name. This is the rule laid down for the construction of the catalogue by the five illustrious bibliographers who originated it. Many works, published in the first instance in an anonymous or pseudonymous form, have in course of time been claimed by the lawful owners, and republished with their names on the title-pages. The governing principle of the Museum may be summed up in the phrase, once anonymous, always anonymous; consequently all the editions of these works which appeared without any mention of the names of their authors must be sought far and wide in the catalogue. Judged by this rule, the Museum list of the works of Sir Walter Scott will rank as a bibliographical curiosity. The first editions of nearly all his novels, and many other of his works, will be catalogued under such entries as a Layman, Paul, Somnambulus, L. Templeton (?), the Author of Waverley—anywhere, in short, rather than in their proper place. If the reader desires a more modern instance of this art of cataloguing, he should be referred to the writings of Miss Braddon.

The system of cataloguing anonymous books which is adopted by the Museum may be condemned in other respects; but we cannot now enter into that wide field of discussion. We may dismiss this subject with the remark, that if the main object of a catalogue is truly described as "to help the consulter," the effect of the Museum system is too often to hinder him.

The trustees of the Museum have always contended that the library should possess at least one copy of every separate work printed in the United Kingdom. Into the consideration of the value of the volume they have persistently declined to enter. The shade of Sir Thomas Bodley is often invoked for refuting the advocates of the principle of selection and proving that, in literature, the dross of to-day is the gold of the next century. It has been stated—and I believe that the report is true—that this principle has been

pushed to such an extent as to include copies of all the numbers of Bradshaw published in the year. I could myself mention the name of a London library where, in the last days of a former librarian now fortunately superannuated, the money of its owners was spent, not simply in preserving, but even in half-binding the numbers of that amusing serial. Mr. Poole, a prominent American bibliographer, in arguing for the preservation of one copy of every work, however despicable its literary value, happily referred to the collections of Thomason as containing innumerable specimens of work called "trash." In it there are many single books and pamphlets which, if sold to-day in America, would produce more than the insignificant sum of £300 which George III. paid for the whole library. During the year 1877 the number of distinct works added to the Museum amounted to more than 47,000, besides more than 16,000 other articles, comprising broadsides, single pieces of music, and parliamentary papers. If the process of acquisition continues as rapidly in the next twenty years, the rooms of the Museum will exceed the poetic description, "without o'erflowing, full." The adoption in national libraries of the principle of selection can only be justified by the plea of necessity; but the energies of our descendants will be severely taxed to prevent its application to the shelves of this wonderful collection.

Let us now anticipate the labours of the Museum officials for the next ten years, and picture the weary task of compiling the general catalogue, and incorporating the Grenville collection with it as finished; let us assume that this noble monument of patient industry has been reconstructed so perfectly as to defy the attacks of adverse criticism. If the trustees of the Museum should then yield to the arguments of the promoters of the scheme for printing the catalogue, and appeal to Parliament for pecuniary assistance, the guardians of the nation's purse would at once demand the cost of the publication. Fortunately we are not without a guide in the consideration of this question. Six volumes of the printed catalogue of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh have now appeared. The entries in that catalogue will be about 200,000; a supplementary volume, making a total of 5,000 pages, will probably be requisite; and the total cost will be £5,000. It is reasonable to suppose that the work of printing the Museum catalogue could not be commenced before 1885, and that by that time the number of entries of books in all languages will amount to at least 3,200,000. Judged by the test of the Advocates' catalogue, the cost of printing the catalogue of our great national library would amount to £80,000. Even if we make a considerable deduction from those figures on the ground that the preparation of the English catalogue for the press will not necessitate so much preliminary labour as the Scotch catalogue, the

total cost cannot be estimated at less than £70,000; and 80,000 pages of print, filling ninety-six quarto volumes, will be required for the completion of the undertaking.¹ The number of English scholars able and willing to purchase such a catalogue might be counted on the fingers of the hands; libraries at home and abroad might, perhaps, absorb thirty copies. By what process of conviction can the advocates of the printed catalogue have brought themselves to believe that Parliament would sanction the expenditure of that vast sum of money, in order that a few scholars in the country may know the contents of the Museum Library, or that the frequenters of the reading-room itself may find the books which they desire with greater ease than at present?

If the idea of this scheme can only be regarded as chimerical, in what terms can we express our opinion of those still more enthusiastic gentlemen who clamour for a "new general catalogue of English literature"? The author of a very interesting paper on the best modes of selecting and acquiring books for libraries gratified his audience at the library conference of 1877 with a vision of the probable contents of the national library, had the law of copyright been in operation from the day when Caxton first established his printing-press at Westminster. The vision of the priceless products of "Elizabethan and Jacobean literature" which flashed before the eyes of his hearers, was soon darkened by the mention of the "multitudinous crowd of worthless books that must have followed in their wake." It is impossible to calculate with accuracy the number of books, good, bad, and indifferent, which would be housed in the Museum, did it contain copies of all the works which have been published in Great Britain during the last four centuries, but probably we should not be far wrong in estimating that a perfect catalogue of all the volumes, pamphlets, and broadsides printed in Great Britain and Ireland would require at least four million entries. If this supposition be accepted as correct, only a moiety of English printed books can now be preserved there, and it would be necessary to supplement its contents by an equal number of volumes from external collections. Only those who have been engaged on a particular branch of bibliography can form any idea of the large number of volumes still wanting in the British Museum.² Sermons and pamphlets printed in the country

(1) Mr. Bullen announced at the Oxford conference that the trustees had authorised the printing of a catalogue of all English books down to 1640. This statement was far from satisfying many of the bibliographers present at the meeting, and Mr. Garnett tersely said that he should prefer a catalogue of books since 1640 rather than a catalogue of those prior to 1640. The publication suggested by Mr. Garnett, if well indexed, would be of much greater utility than that authorised by the trustees.

(2) Mr. Arber says that the library is lamentably deficient in early works. Mr. Henry Stevens believes it to be very incomplete in our early colonial period. Mr. Cornelius Walford adds that it has always appeared to him very poor in works on insurance and vital statistics.

rarely find their way thither, and many volumes printed in London (of considerable value in their time, even if they have been superseded by more useful publications) must yet be sought for in the shelves of local libraries. The obituary writers of the Press, in commenting in May of last year on the career of the late Mr. Carruthers, borrowed from the pages of *Men of the Time* the particulars of the volume which he compiled from the municipal records of Huntingdon on the history of that town. If any reader were induced by this announcement to seek for the work in the new catalogue under its author's name, he got nothing but his labour for his pains. This one instance might be multiplied indefinitely. A library at Manchester, Bath, or it may be at Penzance, will often be found to contain a copy of a book which, owing to the neglect of preceding librarians, has never been received into the devouring jaws of the Museum. The pecuniary outlay involved in printing the titles of the four million books before referred to would certainly equal that required for printing the catalogue of the books, both English and foreign, contained in the British Museum Library, and the labour of collecting from so many libraries the information concerning the English printed books not possessed by the Museum would cause the total expenditure considerably to exceed the sum of £70,000 required for printing the Museum catalogue.

The question may fairly be asked, if the propositions we have been considering are impracticable, in what way can the collections of the British Museum be rendered more useful? It is easy to answer the question. The inquiry of some simple student eager to know where he can find the best books, it may be on photography, or it may be on mathematics, must often have disturbed the thoughts of the more regular visitors to the Museum reading-room, as they are poring over the pages of the catalogue in the exciting chase after some recondite work. When he learns that the readers in the national library are without any subject catalogue, however simple, and is told the cumbrous methods by which he can best obtain the information that he seeks, he will open his eyes in amazement. The primary want of a library will seem to his simple mind to have been neglected. The richest library in the world is around him, but the keys to its contents are wanting. If the trustees are sincerely desirous of rendering the collections under their control more useful, the compilation of a handbook for the chief sources of knowledge in all arts and sciences should be their first care. No greater boon than this could be offered either to the frequenters of the British Museum reading-room or to readers in country libraries. Its accomplishment is not difficult, and its sale would in time be remunerative. Of all the papers on the British Museum Library which have been delivered at the Library conferences, that read by the able and courteous superintendent of

the reading-room, on "The System of Classifying Books on the Shelves followed at the British Museum," would by common consent be pronounced the most instructive and curious to the outside world. By the forethought of the late Mr. Thomas Watts, the whole of the volumes in the British Museum Library are arranged on the shelves in ten separate divisions or classes, each of which is again divided and subdivided. The names of these chief classes are theology, jurisprudence, natural history and medicine, archaeology and arts, philosophy, history, geography, biography, belles lettres, and philology. Theology is divided into 117 lower subjects, the nature of which will be rendered sufficiently clear by the enumeration of the first four, Polyglot, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Bibles; belles lettres has 101 lower divisions, such as English poems of sixteenth century, and English poets of seventeenth century. The literary student has long been aware from the numbering of the press marks that some system of this kind had been adopted for the classification of the books at the Museum, but the names of the divisions in which they were kept had, until the printing of the schedule to Mr. Garnett's paper, been concealed from curious eyes. Often has the reader, whose few hours have been spent in the empty chase, through the interminable manuscript catalogues, after some volume which has escaped from his pursuit, bemoaned the circumstance that, although he has secured many of the works on his particular branch of study, the book which he desires to obtain above all others is quietly slumbering on one of the adjoining shelves, but is yet as far away from his grasp as if it were not in the library. If the prayers of antiquaries should ever dispose the minds of the trustees into ordering the publication by their officers of hand-lists of the works contained in their library on the principal branches of literary and scientific study, the adoption of this system of classification could not fail to lighten the labours of the undertaking.

Another important circumstance was mentioned in the same paper, by which the foresight of the founders of the Museum catalogue has anticipated the necessity of the compilation of these bibliographical hand-lists. Four copies are kept of all the entries in the great catalogue; but the fourth copy, instead of being arranged in alphabetical order, corresponds with the divisions of the books on the shelves. By these means the trustees have been placed with but little cost in the possession of a class catalogue of all the literature under their care, and, although some preliminary time would necessarily be occupied in still further arranging these volumes, the cost of preparing such a catalogue has been greatly diminished. It would, indeed, be difficult to over-estimate the value of such hand-lists. The youthful aspirant for legal honours vainly desires to know the names of the best works on law; the

medical student yearns for information on the sources of knowledge which he ought to consult. Often, too, has the genealogist or the county historian desired a handbook of English topography arranged in the alphabetical order of places, and a dictionary of biography classified in periods or subjects. None of these wants have yet been remedied. Some of them may, indeed, be in time supplied should the promoters of the Index Society be rewarded with the success which their scheme deserves. But even if this happy consummation were accomplished, the field of labour is so vast that their energies can only break the surface of the ground. Wants like these are in part supplied in France by the labours of the Société Franklin. It has issued a general catalogue of books suitable for popular libraries, which is supplemented in its monthly bulletins, and a variety of special catalogues for the use of particular kinds of libraries. From the Society's bulletin for April, 1878, it appears that 60,000 copies of these catalogues have been circulated.

I am not bold enough to suppose that my propositions for the improvement of the British Museum Library will meet with universal approval. It is too true that an institution which has been established and is now maintained at a vast expenditure of public money, is only supported for the good of the select few, instead of for the benefit of mankind at large. The feeling that under present conditions the cost of this great establishment has been disproportionate to its practical utility is growing with startling rapidity. It is for its guardians to consider how the wishes of students in London or the country can be gratified without trenching unduly on the claims of the national purse. I should, indeed, be happy could I believe that this paper would point out any way by which the invaluable collections at the British Museum might be made to promote the interests of English literature throughout the whole country.

W. P. COURTNEY.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE progress of events in Afghanistan, the Afghan policy of the Government, and the light which that policy throws upon the general attitude of the Cabinet to foreign affairs, continue to occupy public attention, to the exclusion of almost every other topic. The English people are called upon to consider the political moral of these circumstances, by the side of which all other questions of the hour appear insignificant. The demand for reform in the English land laws is undoubtedly making great progress, and when an appeal to the constituencies comes, the matter is one which will occupy a conspicuous place in the programme of the Liberal party. At the present moment Englishmen have to consider how far their interests are safe in the hands of an administration which systematically acts, in regard to foreign affairs, in the spirit that has animated its Afghan policy, and which, when disappointment and vexation wait upon its most elaborately mistaken efforts, cannot repel the charge that the causes rest exclusively with itself. The failure of the Government in Afghanistan is hardly to be distinguished from its failure to carry out the programme originally announced in the Balkan peninsula, in Asia Minor, and in Egypt. But as, in the case of Egypt, the ministerial policy which was to extend and perpetuate English supremacy in that country, has resulted in diminishing and depressing English influence, and in admitting the active rivalry of France, Germany, and Italy, so the ministerial policy in the case of Afghanistan has lost for us the hold which we once had—as far indeed as any civilised power can be said to have a hold—upon the wild province, and has opened a new door for the entrance of Russian influence and intrigue. Of our future relations with that state it would be rash to attempt definitely to speak, but the retrospect of the transactions of the last two or three years is enough to show that they will be safe and satisfactory only in proportion as the policy of the present Cabinet is diametrically reversed. Lord Salisbury, defying the monitions of experience and the grave remonstrances of the most skilled and earnest of Anglo-Indian statesmen, took upon himself suddenly and violently to change our traditional bearing towards the Afghan ruler and his people. The Afghan disaster has come upon us, for the simple reason that, through Lord Salisbury, it was invited to come. He and his colleagues chose to ignore and despise certain obvious conditions, certain laws of race, as plain and undeniable as any other law of nature.

If for the calamity which has been the consequence of this course, Lord Salisbury is not to be held responsible, the very idea of responsibility in these matters must disappear. Technically, of course, Lord Salisbury, since he left the India Office, has been only answerable for what has occurred in the same degree as his colleagues. But as it was he who, by his personal initiative, originated the movement which has involved us in all our subsequent troubles, it is difficult to see how the applicability of the language used by Mr. Grant Duff at Elgin on the 11th of this month can be denied. As occurrences in Afghanistan have been nothing more than the logical illustration of antecedent and consequent, so, as the member for the Elgin burghs pointed out, Lord Salisbury has only shown his strict consistency with himself throughout the whole of that tragedy of errors which history will recognise in his Indian policy. Mr. Grant Duff told his hearers at Elgin of one peculiarity that had always distinguished Lord Salisbury's opinions:—

"The peculiarity was this—that no sooner had Lord Salisbury expressed a strong opinion upon foreign affairs than destiny had instantly shown that its view was entirely different. In 1862 he defended, as Lord Robert Cecil, the cause of the Confederate States of America, maintaining that England was their natural ally, and attacking the Federals. Before the Parliament had run its course the Confederate States were a dream of the past. In 1864 he transferred his unlucky advocacy to Denmark, and that advocacy, more fatal than the needle-gun itself, soon settled the fortune of war against that brave but unfortunate nation. In 1866 he said, in reply to Mr. Gladstone, 'What warrant had the right hon. gentleman for his statement of the facts? How does he know that the Venetians have a desire to be annexed to Italy?' All the world knew that before many weeks were over, Venetia sprang into the arms of Italy."

Mr. Grant Duff continued:—

"To tell the story of Lord Salisbury's misapprehensions in foreign affairs since he came into office would be to tell the story of his dealings with them. He it was who, in the teeth of the advice of all the most experienced men, insisted upon going to Cabul. They all remembered how he tried to seduce Lord Northbrook from the straight path in that matter, and how entirely and ignominiously he failed. But, what he wanted to impress upon them now was, that it was on Lord Salisbury alone, if any man in the world, that the responsibility rested of all that had happened."

The absolute justice of these words will be the more apparent if the salient points in the action of the Government are briefly recapitulated, and if at the same time the opportunity is taken of showing the pressing and positive nature of the warnings that were so obstinately despised, and the repeated contradictions into which different members of the Cabinet were, probably from a consciousness of the blunders that were being committed, from time to time betrayed. Early in 1875 Lord Salisbury instructed Lord North-

brook to press an English resident upon Shere Ali, "with as much expedition as the circumstances of the case permitted." The idea was not then suggested for the first time. In 1856, when Lord Lawrence was negotiating with Dost Mohamed, he was told to stipulate for a mission of British officers at Cabul. On this subject he wrote, in a memorandum addressed to the Home Government, as follows: "Hungering as he was for a subsidy, Dost Mohamed started back at the mention of such an act. On the second day he sent me a message by one of his sons that it was impossible, and he dare not consent to it." At Candahar an English mission was actually established, and of this Lord Lawrence wrote that "our officers were all the time in a most precarious position," and that "at last matters got so hot that they were glad to leave Candahar." The experiences of our temporary mission at Herat were to the same effect. With the exception of Sir Bartle Frere, there was no single Anglo-Indian statesman of any eminence who was not as vehemently opposed to the project which four years ago Lord Salisbury revived as Shere Ali himself. "Do anything," said the late Ameer, "but force English officers upon us." Nor did he hesitate to predict bloodshed, and a rupture of friendly relations with England as a consequence of such a step. A second time in the same year (November, 1875) Lord Salisbury urged the proposal upon the Indian Government, the chief members of which were quite as unfavourable to it as Shere Ali himself. "The majority of the Afghan Sirdars," wrote General Taylor, "appear to be senselessly rabid on this point, losing no opportunity of concentrating this prejudice in the Ameer's mind against the admission of British officers to the city in any form." Lord Salisbury, however, declined to be convinced of the impolicy of taking the contemplated step, and continued to direct Lord Northbrook to find, or, if need be, to make, a pretext for enforcing on the Ameer a temporary embassy. The then Viceroy adhered to his opinion, and the consequence was his retirement early in the next year, and the succession of Lord Lytton.

There were two specific sets of reasons which according to Lord Salisbury rendered it expedient to substitute English for native residents in Cabul. The first was the necessity of gaining better information, the second that of checking any possibility of Russian intrigue. At the time these arguments were advanced by Lord Salisbury, they were answered by experience; since then they have been refuted by facts. There was already on record the judgment of General Lumsden, who when he returned from Candahar, after a long residence there in 1857, said that he would have gained a better knowledge of what was passing in Afghanistan if he had remained at Peshawur, employing native commissioners on the spot. As

regards the second of the two points just mentioned, it will be enough to quote the opinion of so capable, and certainly so little sluggish an administrator as Sir Richard Temple. "If," he wrote ten years ago, "we engage ourselves in Afghanistan, Russia will find us in the hour of trial impoverished and embarrassed. If we keep out of Afghanistan, Russia will find us in the hour of trial strong, rich, and prosperous in India. . . . After all sacrifices have been made we should find the Afghans just as fierce and intractable as ever, and in the end have the satisfaction of seeing them join the Russian enterprise, in the hope of sharing the plunder of India." Last of all, let us remember the final words before hostilities were commenced, which the late Ameer uttered on this subject. "In any case, the permanent presence of a mission would embarrass his Highness in his internal administration, *causing annoyance to the patriotic party and raising the hopes of the disaffected.*" These protests were disregarded, and the fatal experiment was made. In every respect matters have turned out in the manner which, as was from the first plain, if past experience was not to be altogether falsified, was inevitable. The renewal last year of the active negotiations for an English mission was signalized by the dispatch of the Russian envoys; and since then, since the Treaty of Gundamuk was signed, and Sir Louis Cavagnari and his insufficient escort were dispatched to Cabul, what has occurred? It has been charged against Lord Lytton that he should have been more accurately acquainted with the state of affairs at Cabul, and that he should have strengthened our mission by the dispatch of more troops. But in the absence of information how was Lord Lytton to be aware of what was brewing in Afghanistan? while what is the light which this very deficiency of knowledge throws upon the alleged superiority of an English over a native resident? It must not be forgotten that there were no particulars connected with the Russian mission under General Kaufmann to the Ameer, which were not exactly reported by the Vakil at Cabul who was in our employ. And yet when, in 1875, Lord Northbrook had dwelt upon the industry and trustworthiness of these native residents, Lord Salisbury replied that he considered their reports deficient in the real essentials of news.

Meanwhile, the language employed by the leading members of the Cabinet at home will serve the better to acquaint us with the objects the Government had in view throughout these transactions, and also with the misgivings with which the business certainly inspired some of the members of the Administration. In March, 1876, the Prime Minister vindicated the Imperial Title Bill on the ground that it would be a warning to Russia not to advance farther in Central Asia. Two months later (May 5) he said that Asia was large enough for the presence both of Russia and England, and that far

from looking with alarm at the development of the power of Russia in Central Asia, he saw no reason why she should not conquer Tartary any more than why England should not have conquered India. At the same time that Mr. Disraeli was thus reassuring the English Parliament, Lord Lytton was once more informing the Ameer that a British Mission would be sent to Cabul. The sequel of this ~~was~~ the conference between Sir Louis Pelly and the Ameer's agent at Simla, in the first week of October, and the occupation of Quetta on the 22nd of the same month. The next year (July, 1877) came the Peshawur meeting, the real cause of the abrupt termination of which was, that her Majesty's Ministers already perceived the possibility of the Eastern Question drawing them into European trouble with Russia, and were anxious to keep their hands disentangled in Asia. Yet it was on the eve of this conference (June 15) that Lord Salisbury said in the House of Lords, "*We have not tried to force an envoy on the Ameer of Cabul.*" A little later (August 9) the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, "There is no change whatever in the policy of her Majesty's Government in India. I have always maintained that the *true lines we ought to lay down for ourselves are to strengthen ourselves within our own frontier.*" We may pass over the dispatch to, and the rejection by, the Ameer of an envoy on the second of August in last year, as well as the declaration of hostilities, and may advantageously compare with the words just quoted of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons, Lord Beaconsfield's statement at the Mansion House, November 5. A new frontier, he then said, must be sought for, and that a "scientific frontier;" a scientific frontier being subsequently defined by him as one which could be held more economically and by a reduced force.

From a comparison of these facts, dates, and statements, it is clear that Lord Salisbury and his colleagues have throughout paid no heed to the emphatic cautions of the most experienced Anglo-Indian opinion available; that such assurances as those given by Sir Richard Temple—an authority whom they might have been expected not entirely to ignore—that to send an English envoy to Afghanistan would be "to play Russia's game, and to give a leverage for Russian intrigue," were considered by them as absolutely worthless; and that the chief motive of the Government was a blind and unreasoning fear of Russia, a sentiment of which Lord Beaconsfield's own language shows them to have been half ashamed, but still a sentiment that was allowed to effect a radical change in the frontier policy of the Government, and that at a moment when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was strenuously denying that any such change was in contemplation.

The vicissitudes of the campaign itself we may pass by. The Treaty of Gundamuk was signed May 26, and on June 5 the Secretary of

State for India declared in the House of Lords that out of this war, too, England had brought peace with honour. Just as before the war was begun, or any serious attempt was made to station an English envoy at Cabul, the Government showed an utter inability to comprehend the gravity of the business on which they had embarked, and the real issues of the question whose settlement they had taken in hand, so when the war was over they were equally incapable of recognising that no guarantee of permanent triumph had been won. Yet in this matter, too, they were not without earnest and experienced warning. Again and again they had been told that even if they were successful in a war against the Ameer, their real difficulties would begin with victory. To conquer the ruler of Afghanistan, they were reminded, was by no means the same thing as to subjugate the people. Shere Ali himself, though by his courage and capacity he had triumphed over all his rivals, was not the chief of an orderly and centralized government. At best he was merely at the head of a loosely coherent and turbulent confederacy, which, if without actual was not without potential pretenders to his throne. His fierce and intractable subjects gave him a kind of wild obedience; but it was given on the condition—and a consciousness of that fact is apparent in all Shere Ali's communications with Lord Lytton—that he should in the main conform his policy to the popular wish. No attention whatever was paid by her Majesty's Ministers to these prudent words. The ministerial cheers of blind congratulation acquired fresh volume daily. The Government had foreseen all and accomplished all. It had given the lie to an accumulated store of political wisdom, and had proved that its knowledge of India and Indian character was deeper and more practical than that possessed by Lord Lawrence, Lord Northbrook, and Sir Richard Temple. Ten days after Lord Cranbrook panegyricized in glowing language the ministerial exploit, Sir Stafford Northcote declared that the war had been "magnificently successful;" and added, "We have arrived, in spite of very confident predictions to the contrary, at a settlement which will, I believe, avert and put an end to the uneasiness with which we have for some time had to contend in India, and will *enable the rulers of India to devote themselves exclusively to the material interests of that country.*" A little later Lord Salisbury, when taking credit on his own account and that of his colleagues for the restoration of an imperial policy worthy of the "sounding times of great Elizabeth," said that "the most momentous Asiatic war that England ever waged had been brought to a triumphant issue," while in the grand debate in the House of Commons, May 14, the Under Secretary of State made Mr. Grant Duff's words of evil omen the occasion for the following rhetorical paean:—

"I suppose that no one will revert to the dangers of placing an envoy in Cabul that was mentioned in December, for all those prognostications have

been contradicted by subsequent facts. Major Cavagnari has been received most honourably, not only by the Ameer, but by the people of Cabul. I will next consider whether the Treaty has alienated the people of Afghanistan. The honourable and learned member for Oxford has said, 'You have inspired the people of that country with such a hatred towards you, that all the ground you fail to occupy will be the fortress of your foes.' The result has, however, gone to show that the occupation of Candahar, which is temporarily undertaken, with the friendly feelings of the inhabitants, has gained for this country a friendly, an independent, and a strong Afghanistan. British influence is paramount in that country: our frontier is secure to a degree which has never before existed—at any rate, for many years past—and the Government are proud, as the country, in my opinion, ought to be proud, of the great exploits which have been accomplished by the Indian Government, mainly owing to the patient foresight and perseverance of Lord Lytton; owing to a policy and a course of action on the part of the noble lord, the results of which it will not be possible for any politician either in or out of the House to minimise."

These boastings were not only premature; her Majesty's Ministers had good reason to know that they were premature. It was no longer with the strong mind and resolute will, the sole guarantees of Afghan order, of Shere Ali that the Government had to deal. His flight, followed by his death, and the consequent depression of the spirits of the Afghan people, were the causes that helped forward the signature of the Treaty of Gundamak. But the representative and nominal chief of Afghanistan in these formalities was Yakqob Khan. Now, the Government was not without the means of knowing what manner of man Yakqob was, and to what his influence over the Afghan people was likely to amount. The very native agent whose faculty for collecting trustworthy intelligence had been so unjustly discredited by Lord Salisbury, had warned us that when it came to the conclusion of peace with Afghanistan, the successor of Shere Ali was not to be trusted. Treachery was not imputed to him; we were merely informed that, as has since proved the fact, Yakqob Khan lacked the ability and the authority which were necessary for the firm establishment of his rule, and that there was a danger lest his own acts should not be indorsed by his subjects. If as a youth he had been endowed with some intellectual gifts, these, we were reminded, had been greatly enfeebled by imprisonment, and of the boyish quickness which enabled him to penetrate M. Vambéry's disguise, nothing remained. To these counsels neither the Cabinet at home nor the Government of India gave any heed. The policy of the Ministers was to assert the power of England over Afghanistan, while incurring a minimum of responsibility and risk. The candid object of the Treaty of Gundamak was not to strengthen our Indian empire, but to help the Government with the English constituencies. It was nothing to the point that Yakqob Khan, as simply one pretender—the pretender who was for the time uppermost—among many, was not a competent person with whom to deal; he was at least a prominent one. Thus it came to pass that the Anglo-Afghan instrument was signed; that without any attempt to forecast the con-

sequences of the step, Sir Louis Cavagnari, attended by a most inadequate escort, was sent to Cabul, and the English people were told that henceforth on the north-western frontier they were secure against Afghan violence and Russian intrigue.

How short-lived that illusion was to be, we now know. What is the precise part that Yakoob Khan may have taken in the recent disturbances is a matter of comparatively little importance. It is an historical fact that the main cause of the unpopularity of Shah Soojah with the Afghans thirty-nine years ago, who was then our *protégé*, was that he relied on the aid of the infidel English for his support. Yakoob Khan has suffered from the same circumstance. He probably was aware that a rising against the English mission was imminent, and that it was inevitable. He may have been conscious of his own inability effectively to interfere, and may have resigned himself to events. There is no reason to doubt the honesty of his expressions in his letter to the Viceroy of the 11th of this month. Ever since the insurrection broke out, "I have," he says, "preserved myself and family by the good offices of those who were friendly to me, partly by bribes, partly by hoaxing the rebels." What has been witnessed, though not yet in its full completeness, is the uprising of a wild, warlike, and fanatical race, under the overwhelming influences of a common religion and a common hate—the motives which we have been constantly told would, in the long run, sway decisively the action of the Afghan people. This circumstance is itself a curious commentary on what may be the half-forgotten reason which was urged a couple of years ago in favour of our taking the part of Turkey against Russia. The Sultan, it was said, was head of the Mahommedan world, and England was in India a great Mahommedan power. Hence it was our duty to espouse the cause of the Crescent as against that of the Cross. At the time it was pointed out that more than two decades since the mutiny of Mussulmans in India immediately followed our championship of Turkey during the Crimean war. It is of course a delusion to suppose that the policy of England in the south-east of Europe and in the western corner of Asia can affect the movements of religious fanaticism in the region of the Khyber Pass, and it is to be hoped that if ever again the affections of England are divided between the conflicting claims of Turkish Mussulmans and Russian Christians, these facts may be borne in mind.

There is one thing which the Treaty of Gundamak, torn in tatters though it be, does place beyond dispute. It does not define our future relations with Afghanistan; it does not encourage us to hope that those relations will be friendly, and that they will raise an effective barrier against Muscovite machinations and craft. It is, in fact, so far as we are concerned, as if it had never been, and is only of any historical interest or value as introducing

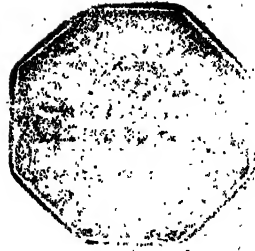
a new Afghan war. But to the country which Shere Ali lately ruled, and which Yakoob Khan in vain attempted to govern, the Treaty of Gundamuk signalizes an epoch of the most disastrous import. It marks the end of the only administration which has of late years given Afghanistan a fair degree of comparative peace and order; it will be remembered as the death knell of Shere Ali, and it will be associated with the anarchy and bloodshed which waited on the accession of Yakoob Khan. When we signed the treaty on the 26th of May, the seal of England was set to a document which was destined to serve as the malignant and ironical illustration of a new page in the history of the civilising mission of England. *Solitudinem facimus, pacem appellamus*; we spread havoc, we sow the seeds of deep and lasting disorder, we uproot the only foundation of the best apology for a Government that a barbarous province possesses; we leave nothing in its stead except a legacy of intestine feud and strife, and then we congratulate ourselves on having erected the fabric of a beneficent and a durable peace. Surely it would be better at once to give these sullen barbarians who sit in darkness plainly and directly to understand that we come not to send peace but a sword, and that we, a nation of Christian evangelizers, intend to be faithful to the example of the Hebrew filibusters of the Old Testament in their savage raids upon the unoffending Canaanites. To-day it is Afghanistan, yesterday it was Zululand; what will be the theatre of our desolating operations to-morrow?

These sins against the plain precepts of political and international morality—sins committed without any internal provocation, with no temptation even, save that which our Government has been careful to prepare for itself—involve their certain and inevitable Nemesis. In the present case the retributive justice which dogs the footsteps of a policy that will neither give rest to itself nor allow rest to others, has apportioned to us the tremendous task of the reorganization, and if it may so be called, the reconstruction of the political system of Afghanistan. But before this can be attempted, which is unquestionably our ultimate responsibility, there is an immense deal that must be done. The storm which burst first upon Cabul has now extended to Herat. It is no longer possible to speak of helping Yakoob Khan to reassert his authority. The insurrection is not so much against Yakoob Khan himself, as against the principle of foreign interference in the affairs of his province. For the time being we have by that interference destroyed all the authority which Yakoob Khan ever possessed. The only source of power which he can have is the good-will of his people, and that good-will we have, by procuring his consent to the Treaty of Gundamuk, effectually alienated from him. If we are to govern Afghanistan, if we are to help the present Ameer to govern it, we must conquer it. If we

conquer it, we shall entail all the perils and cost of annexation. What other alternative is there? According to the ministerial press and the only ministerial speakers who have broken silence since the catastrophe of the 3rd of this month, our policy in Afghanistan is to be unchanged. In other words, we are to treat an outburst which strikes at the very root of the assertion of British influence at Cabul by means of a British mission, as one of those minor accidents to which even the best regulated policy must be liable. We are to punish the perpetrators of the outrage, are to re-establish an envoy, and then, confident in the command of the passes, are to retire inside the scientific frontier.

It seems scarcely conceivable that the English Government, after the stern lesson they have received, should once more defy experience and fact. The Ethiopian does not change his skin, nor the leopard his spots; the Afghan Mussulmans will not lay aside their implacable hostility to the presence of an English resident, merely because of the impertunity of British policy. Of course we may establish another envoy at Cabul, and another and another. But it is perfectly clear after what has occurred that the life of no envoy who is not protected by an adequate escort can be safe, and that no escort can be adequate which is not practically equivalent to an army of occupation. Even then, supposing we succeed in stationing a resident at Cabul with some guarantee that his life shall be secure from attack, what guarantee have we against the bugbear of Russian intrigue? A fanatical and disaffected population, imperfectly held down by a sovereign whom a foreign and infidel will has imposed upon them, will offer all the opportunities that the spirit of Russian intrigue itself could desire. Before the Afghan question is settled, we must reckon not only with the ruler and people of Afghanistan, but with Russia. This question has been precipitated upon England not by Afghanistan, not by Russia, but by the policy of England's rulers. It is the same policy which has been seen in other quarters of the world, and which has brought, wherever it has been exercised, humiliation, bloodshed, and disgrace. It is a policy which rests upon absolutely nothing but professions and promises; a policy of sham treaties, of secret conventions, of universal mischief-making. There are only two alternatives between which the English people can choose. One is to make the Government abandon the error of its ways; the other is to abandon the Government. Whether the former of these is a practical expedient, those who know the Government best are the best able to say. When an administration does not blunder systematically, but blunders by adopting a course which common sense and experience proclaim can only lead to disaster, it is scarcely premature to consider it incorrigible.

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A GERMAN VIEW OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

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UHLS.

IN the onward progress of the development of the nations of Europe, the spectacle afforded by England in the conduct of her military institutions must always be of special interest to those who watch the course of events from the standpoint of philosophic contemplation (*philosophischer Betrachtung*). The question, whether the maintenance of a country's military system in a state of efficiency is compatible with the growth of free institutions, has, so far, been answered in one sense only. In some countries, indeed—as, for example, in Russia—the question has not yet arisen. For the people of that country, who have not yet emerged from a state of barbarism, the effectiveness of her military power depends on the intelligence with which the masses at the entire disposal of the Government can be wielded. The problem is here not yet solved, because the intelligent and unscrupulous directors of Muscovite policy are quite capable of learning by experience, especially from the sharp lessons of adversity; and therefore we must still regard the Russian army as on the road towards improvement, and a much higher stage of development may yet be attained by it before the ever-impending break up of the Russian polity takes place. Although, therefore, we may await with calmness and confidence the inevitable impending struggle between the Teutonic and Slavonic races, secure in our own happy combination of physical and moral strength, it would be unwise to rate too low the power of an adversary which has at its command great intelligence in the higher ranks, combined with unswerving obedience from the masses. The great difficulty with which a Muscovite general will have to contend in that struggle, is to be found in the all-pervading corruption of the civil administration of the Russian army. In other respects the present condition of that army resembles not a little that of the Prussian

army under our own Friedrich. There is the same despotic authority above; the same unquestioning (*blinde*) obedience below. Happily for us, there is wanting the steadfast probity and the traditions of economy which have always distinguished German military administration. As regards France, although there the House of Representatives interferes with the details of army administration to an extent unknown even in England, matters of organization being in that country prescribed by the Legislature for which in all other countries the Government alone is responsible, still there is at bottom the absolute authority which is the characteristic of all Republics; while the nation, admittedly intelligent in matters of war, is still smarting under the effects of events which need not be here more particularly referred to. Coming to our own country, however ill-natured and superficial critics—and there are not wanting such at home as well as abroad—may be disposed to scoff (*höhn*) at the spectacle presented by a nation which leads the vanguard of European thought and culture submitting to be bound with the fetters of an exacting and all-embracing military system, it is felt by all true patriots that the welding of German unity has still to be perfected, and that to complete the operation demands still the continuance of a nation's sacrifice. This explains an otherwise anomalous situation, in the propriety of which, however, all right-minded Germans acquiesce; and now that the corroding influences of an otherwise spreading socialism have been happily brought under control, if not altogether extinguished, we may still confidently pursue our onward course in a path which will eventually lead to a true freedom, content meanwhile to apply our intellectual and physical powers to preparations for the noblest of all pursuits.

In England, on the other hand, secure as she is in her insulated position, the ordinary course of political development has been suffered to proceed, unchecked by considerations of external dangers; and accordingly the change which the political condition of that country has undergone, from a monarchical Government wielded in effect by a powerful and jealous aristocracy, to what is now said to be a thinly disguised (*spärlich verkleidete*) democracy, is manifested in almost a picturesque form by the present condition of the English army. It is to the consideration of this subject that we propose to address ourselves.

In the Napoleonic wars the English soldier, as the historian Napier observes, fought under the cold shade of the aristocracy, and excellent officers went through their campaigns, distinguishing themselves year after year, without a thought of rising beyond subordinate positions. Promotion indeed to the list of general officers was made by seniority on brevets issued by the Crown at intervals of every few years; but the advantage fell to the fortunate scions of

the aristocracy, who, thanks to purchase and interest, were commissioned out of the nursery, and found themselves colonels of regiments when still almost in their teens (*noch in den Kinderjahren*). The Lords Combermere and Hill, and many other respectable officers of that time, as well as the illustrious Wellington himself, were thus advanced to be colonels while still very young men, before they had seen any serious active service, and hence passed on into the general officers' list by mere force of army seniority. In this way the aristocratic portion of the army secured a practical monopoly of the chief commands, a monopoly which their conduct might afterwards justify, while the system gave to the English army a body of generals in the prime of life. But now all classes are practically reduced to an equality as regards promotion; indeed even that limited degree of inequality is discouraged, which would consist in selecting those for advancement who had specially distinguished themselves. Such opportunities do not often arise in an army which usually acts in small detachments; but when they do happen, as on a late occasion, the colonel who has distinguished himself is allowed to remain in that grade till promoted in his turn by seniority, receiving at most a step of acting rank in the meantime. The susceptibility and prejudices of the army against such supersession are pleaded as the reason for this inflexibility of rule; unjustly no doubt. It is really the outcome of the democratic spirit, which grudges the elevation of one man above his fellows.

But the blended effects of the antagonistic elements, aristocratic and democratic, which are now at work upon the organization of the English army, are seen most clearly in the machinery provided for conducting its administration. With us, as with all Continental nations, the Sovereign is the head of the army, and the War Minister is merely the subordinate agent to execute his wishes. In England, too, the Sovereign is deemed to be the head of the army, and is represented by a Commander-in-Chief, who is almost always a member of the Royal Family, and receives a large share of the homage accorded to the occupant of the throne. The English indeed are an eminently loyal people, and their loyalty embraces even the cousins or nephews of the reigning monarch. If a prince in that country shows himself in public, wishing to evince his friendly sympathies with the amusements of the people—as, for example, by visiting the Palace of Crystal at Sydenham, a favourite resort of their aristocracy—he is not allowed, as he would be with us, to pursue his way unmolested, but is followed wherever he goes by an admiring crowd, which never indeed exhibits any vulgar curiosity (*curieuse Neugier*) or presses at all closely on his footsteps, but follows at a respectful distance. Nevertheless the functions of the Commander-in-Chief are very strictly limited; the real head of the army is the Secretary of State for War, who is

always a member of the Lower Chamber, chosen for his powers of oratory and great knowledge of military affairs, and who, although in all personal matters he treats the Commander-in-Chief with every demonstration of respect, is nevertheless his official superior, and issues to him all needful instructions for his guidance. The great officers of departments are, however, all attached to the staff of the latter, the War Minister's staff being mainly composed of civilian clerks; and although the principle of the supremacy of the Minister has been repeatedly affirmed, a sort of fiction is set up that the decisions of the War Department are not so much to be respected as obeyed, and that the real allegiance of the officers of the army is more properly to be given to the "Horse Guards," a name used to denote the Commander-in-Chief and his staff, derived from the building in which they were formerly located, but from which they have been lately removed to a part of the premises occupied by the War Minister. And here we may notice that a curious evidence of the prevalence of the democratic spirit is to be seen in the circumstance that, prosperous as England is, and large her revenue—although no doubt her mercantile supremacy is about to pass away from her—the Government dares not to propose the erection of a suitable residence for the War Department. The tradition of what the nation suffered from military rule under Cromwell, and again under the Stuarts, still survives. The army, it is said, must be kept out of sight. Accordingly the War Ministry is crowded into a pile of inconvenient and insignificant houses in the Pall Mall, overshadowed by the military clubs, while the lately adjoined departments of the Commander-in-Chief are accommodated—if so the term may be used—in some brick sheds hastily run up in rear of the same. But, again, the Minister, although the superior of the military authorities, is himself in turn subject to the authority of Parliament. This subjection is mainly exhibited in his obligation to answer any questions put to him in the Lower Chamber. These relate to every conceivable subject connected with the army, and often involve the preparation of laborious and expensive returns of no particular use; but the compilation of them is never refused. Where Parliament is concerned economy is never considered; and even when, as is most common, the question refers to the operations of troops engaged on service, the Minister never pleads the importance of not harassing a general in the field by troublesome inquiries, or the inconvenience of furnishing information to the enemy. The English are much governed by precedent; and it is a tradition that no honourable Deputy, however inquisitive he may be, is ever to receive other than a polite answer. The present War Minister is said to have earned a great reputation through this politeness—a quality much esteemed in his country.

A curious result of this above-explained division of responsibility,

and of the spread of the democratic spirit among the English, is that neither of these two great military authorities is intrusted with the framing of any measures of army reform. The War Minister cannot undertake them because he has no military experts on his establishment; the Commander-in-Chief, who has a large military staff at his disposal, composed of all that is most experienced and most promising in the army, is not trusted to do so, because of the democratic jealousy of their superiors now dominant among the English. So it comes about that for any such purpose a special committee or commission is called into being. Thus, when after the Liberal party, in obedience to the democratic sentiment, had abolished the Purchase system—a system, it must be confessed, full of abuses—and it was discovered that as a result promotion and retirement had come to a dead-lock, a special commission was appointed to prepare a measure for dealing with the matter, presided over by a retired Chief Justice.¹ And herein may be seen an illustration of the effect of administration conducted on these antagonistic lines. The object of the democratic party in abolishing Purchase was undoubtedly to remove the advantages which the richer and more aristocratic officers were supposed to possess over their poorer comrades, and to place all on the same footing in regard to promotion. Now, in the English army there are not present the same inducements to retirement as operate with us—the hard work undergone by company-officers in training their men, and the fact that many of our upper classes embrace the military career as officers, in order to avoid the obligation of serving in the ranks. The life of an English officer is a pleasant one, and the liability to foreign service at dull colonial stations, which used to be the great inducement to early retirement, has been much lessened by the withdrawal of troops from the different colonies, and their concentration at home. It is therefore only the rich, who have private means of livelihood, who will be likely to retire. But the new rule is compulsory on all, and when it comes into operation will make a clean sweep (*vollständiger Kehraus*) of all the officers still in the prime of life who have not yet succeeded in getting promotion to what the English term “field rank,” officers who are with them, as with us, the very backbone of the army. This enforced retirement will not injure the rich man much, but it will be ruin to the poor. Herein the democratic action, through ignorance, has entirely thwarted its own aim.

A further illustration of the same sort is afforded by the condition of the artillery, a very numerous body, and its sister service, the engineers. On paying a visit to the English military academies, fairly well-conducted establishments, I noticed that

(1) Note by translator.—Captain von Schwert has here made a mistake. Lord Pensance, the distinguished lawyer evidently referred to, was never a Chief Justice.

while at the War School of Sandhurst—for the infantry and cavalry cadets—only a short course of study was prescribed, the candidates for the artillery and engineer services, who go to the War School at the camp of Woolwich, undergo a much longer and more complete education. I naturally concluded that this was because the cadets entering the scientific branches of the service would be more largely employed on the staff and in high command than the rest of the army; hence the need for their being more carefully instructed, and especially for their course of study including the German and French languages, which are not taught at all at Sandhurst—a knowledge of these being especially needful for the staff officer. It was, therefore, surprising to be told that the officers of these services were deemed to be altogether ineligible for staff employment; but it was explained that this exclusion was not due to their deficiencies in a military point of view, but because the members of these branches were of ignoble birth, whom it was not fitting to advance to high commands. Further, I was told, in curious evidence of the jealous democratic spirit now predominant, that when lately an officer of this service, who is also a Parliamentary Deputy, carried a motion in the Assembly for the revocation of this apparently invidious distinction, the execution of the Assembly's decree was intrusted, not, as might have been expected, to the Horse Guards or the War Department, but to another of those everlasting Royal Commissions, of which the English are so fond; the reason assigned being, that it was necessary to put a restraint on the above-mentioned august bodies, lest, in their desire to recognise talent wherever they find it, injury should be done to the rest of the army by the undue exaltation of the scientific services.¹

The same sort of evidence of misdirected interference pervades all branches of the military administration, and is especially noticeable in the enormous growth of what are called the administrative branches of the army. Precedent being opposed, as we have seen, to the direct administration of the army by the War Minister, the officials who surround him make up for their impotence in this direction by the activity with which they exercise their controlling functions. A wise auditor of public accounts knows full well that a principal part of his duty is to keep in due bounds the officious zeal of his understrappers (*Handlanger*). But the moral courage necessary for the exercise of this is one of the rarest of official attributes, and the cry of maintaining the control of the civil authority over the military is one that is never resisted. The "appropriation audit" especially is

(1) Note by translator.—It is hardly needful to point out that, in his desire to trace everything to a remote cause, and in ascribing so much to the mysterious agency of the democratic spirit, Captain von Schwert is constantly falling into mistakes. His statement of the social status of the artillery and engineers is especially incorrect. There are other and excellent reasons for the exclusion of these respectable bodies from the higher appointments of the army.

a perfect bugbear in all English departments, and can be made the excuse for the creation of any amount of establishments. Not that any official auditors seem ever to care a fig whether the public money is well or ill spent, by things being bought dear instead of cheap ; all that they care about is to "work up," as they call it, to the parliamentary votes and the appropriation audit ; this phantom—the appropriation audit—scares all authorities and silences all discussion. The result is seen in that, while on the one hand the bureau of the Minister who looks after the little British army is large enough to administer all the armies of Europe, on the other hand the English general, who of all men stands most in need of education for the practical business of war, because so liable to be employed on detached service, and left dependent on his own resources, is kept during peace-time in perfect leading strings (*vollständig die Hände gebunden*). He superintends discipline, indeed, and may take the handful of troops under his orders out for exercise of a morning without asking leave ; but in all that relates to their food, clothing, arms, and equipment, in short all that bears on the real administration of an army, he has no more to say than the horse he bestrides. When, however, the troops go on service, all this is immediately changed ; all rules are then cast aside—or rather the rules in force contemplate only a state of peace—and everything is left to the general in the field, who from being a nonentity at once becomes supreme in all departments. If the general who finds himself in this position be an able man, he improvises a system of transport and supply, suited to the emergency and the scene of operation ; but if not, and the chances are against his being such, then the expedition ends in disaster, as so many English expeditions have ended, or at best falls short of the object with which it was undertaken. In the former category, I have been assured by intelligent British officers, was what happened in the expeditions to Abyssinia and Ashantee, and more recently in the war against the Zulus, when every detail, down to the uniform to be worn by the troops, was prescribed, *pro hac vice*, by the commanding general.

Just as the English are engaged in recasting their system of promotion consequent on the abolition of Purchase, so also their mode of recruitment is undergoing an organic change. With all their admitted fertility of mechanical invention, the same degree of originality is not observable in their military organization, which is for the most part slavishly copied from one or other of the nations of Europe, often without a sense of its unfitness for the special circumstances of their own nation. At present, owing to our late successes, German organization is most in favour and most imitated in England, although in many respects quite unsuitable for the peculiar condition of that country. Thus the English have lately been introducing our system of a reserve—a system undoubtedly efficient

when war has to be undertaken on a great scale and close to your own door, where the reserves are immediately available. Having established this new reserve accordingly, and transferred all their old soldiers to it, with a proviso that they shall be called out only on great emergency, the English have suddenly discovered that their army is wanted mostly for detached operations in all parts of the globe, and to act at once without waiting to be reinforced with reserves from home, and that for emergencies of this sort weak battalions of young troops are not the best material. And accordingly they are now busily engaged in elaborating a new plan for meeting a difficulty which might have been foreseen. But as usual, instead of intrusting the duty of framing the needful measure to the head of the army and his staff, an independent commission is appointed for the purpose, as a sop to the democratic feeling.

But not only have they been trying to improve their army on our model; in their reverence for copies, they are actually proposing to alter it for the worse, and that in one very important respect. Perhaps the strongest point in the British army is to be found in the character of its officers, who in their intercourse with the men display a happy mean between the familiarity so detrimental to discipline exhibited in the French army, and that exclusive caste feeling too frequently to be observed in our own. They are pleasure-loving, no doubt, and too often indifferent to the more scientific side of their profession—an indifference fostered by the neglect manifested towards it by the authorities—but scrupulously attentive to all the demands of duty; active in body and habit, and excelling in the manly pursuits to which so large a part of their time is dedicated, they are looked up to and trusted by their men, to whom they are always ready to lead the way. And fortunately for the English army, so weak in other respects, its battalions and companies are very strongly officered. Yet this peculiar advantage it is actually proposed by some of their would-be reformers to throw away. They are so enamoured of the German system that they would substitute for the handy company, barely a hundred strong, well commanded by its three officers, the larger German company of double that strength; as if there were any virtue in a paucity of officers, and as if we did not adopt the large unit purely on grounds of economy, so necessary with the great forces we have to keep on foot.

This change, however, is advocated by some, not so much on grounds of tactical efficiency, as in order to improve the relative position of the captains, which has suffered of late from the elevation of the non-combatant branches and the multiplication of honorary titles. Paymasters, and doctors, and commissariat officers have now all high relative or honorary rank, while honorary rank in advance of their substantive position is freely given to the militia, and is being

demanding by the volunteers; who will soon get it, for in England the authorities always yield to pressure in matters of this sort. So that it has gradually come about that now the captain of a company of infantry, instead of being a big man, as with us, is a mere nobody. And it has accordingly been urged that if the existing companies were doubled up, the commander might be styled major, instead of captain, and thus the combatant officers might have the position restored to them which they have gradually lost, for the lieutenants in their turn would be converted into captains. But to this it is objected that the doctors and the non-combatative branches would thereon demand a still further advance, so that the only effect would be the abolition of the junior ranks all round; the army before long would consist of nothing but generals and field officers, but everybody would be relatively just where he was before.

This multiplication of the higher grades is indeed one of the most striking things about the English army. The English regiment, which is the same thing as a battalion, has three field-officers, where we have only one. But these officers have at any rate nominal duties to perform, and the establishment is a fixed one depending on the number of battalions. Far more extraordinary is the enormous proportion, or rather disproportion, of general officers to the strength of the army. The English have, in fact, generals enough to command all the armies of Europe. It was explained to me, however, that this list was eventually to undergo reduction. All those of a certain age have lately been placed on a retired list; but although promotions have been made in their room to what is called effective establishment—of which, however, only a very small fraction is ever employed—this last is to be gradually reduced. So far, however, as can be made out by a foreigner, who finds it very hard to understand the complex system of the English army, the distinction between the retired list and the effective list consists merely in this, that the names of the retired officers are entered in the Army List in italics, and that they are not eligible for employment; but inasmuch as only a small fraction of the generals on the effective list ever do obtain employment, and that therefore promotion to the rank of general in most cases already involves practical retirement, the distinction is scarcely more than nominal, and the so-called reduction in the establishment involves in the first instance a large augmentation. It was further explained to me, however, that the measure was necessary in order to stimulate the promotion of the colonels, which had got into a very stagnant condition. For with the English the regiment is not commanded by a colonel, as in other armies, but by a lieutenant-colonel who, after five years, obtains promotion to the higher grade—by brevet, as it is called—and is simultaneously placed on the shelf (*gestattet sich auszurufen*). A few of these colonels do indeed obtain command of what are called

Brigade-depots, where they have charge of a bare handful of recruits, and some find employment on the staff. But whether employed or in retirement, all the colonels, after several years' probation, are promoted in order of seniority to be generals, when a few of them may be fortunate enough to obtain the charge of the miscellaneous collection of troops called a 'district.' And, as the explanation ran, it was in order to shorten the time thus spent on the colonels' list that the late augmentation was made of the generals.

It has been argued, moreover, that this plan of keeping up a large staff of general officers, far in excess of any possible wants, was a good one, because it admitted of picked men being selected for commands. These, having the opportunity to practise high strategy and the movement of troops on a large scale, would thus prepare themselves in peace-time for the duties of active service.

"So, then," I said to my informant, "the few among your generals who hold command, the selected few who are employed, are all engaged in the movement and exercise of troops, undergoing training in fact for active service?"

"Naturally," he replied, "we have not many military commands, but those we turn to the best account; our general officers who are selected to hold them prepare themselves in the handling of their brigades and troops generally on a large scale."

While my friend was speaking I was turning over the pages of the Army List—a toilsome operation, for although the English have only a small army, they have a very large Army List. At last I came to the West Indies, where I found a general and staff to be stationed.

"So your general here," I said, "is engaged in handling troops on a large scale? How many brigades are there in the West Indies division?"

"Ah," he replied, "that is an exceptional case; there are not any troops now in the West Indies; at least, not any white troops."

"Then, probably it is in Ceylon and China that your brigades are massed, for there, also, I see you have general officers and their staffs?"

"Well, no," he said, "it so happens that almost all their garrisons have been withdrawn from those places. You must go to India if you want to see our system properly at work. In India we have a large establishment of troops."

"Ah, so it is in India that your major-generals have real brigades to command?"

"Well, it is not quite that either; we have real brigades in India, and plenty of them, but they are commanded by colonels with acting rank. They are younger, you see, than the major-generals, and better up to their work, because they have not been so long unemployed.

In fact," he continued, warming up, "we generally employ colonels on active service everywhere for the command of brigades."

"So!" I observed.

"Yes; and one of our colonels has lately distinguished himself very much in this way in an independent command in South Africa."

"When a colonel does that, of course you promote him at once by what you call a brevet?"

"Not out of his turn; that would be unfair to the other colonels who are senior to him."

"But who have not distinguished themselves?"

"No; but still, after once you have become a colonel in our army, the rule is that you should not be superseded."

My friend was evidently a representative of the new democratic sentiment. In the old days of purchase supersession was rather the rule than the exception.¹

A further examination of the Army List brought out the facts that the officer commanding the British army corps in Afghanistan began the campaign as a colonel, with only acting rank as major-general, and that all the brigade commanders under him are only substantive colonels, with acting rank as brigadier-general. So that, after all, with this huge list of generals, kept up ostensibly in order to give the means of selection, this selection was not employed. For their generals on service the English go down to a lower grade. I returned to the charge.

"Don't you think, my friend," I said, "that it would be a good thing to spend a little less money on your generals, whom you make no use of, and to apply the saving to keeping up a few more soldiers, of which you have so few?"

"Ah, but you want this list of general officers to make an outlet for the ranks below."

"Listen, dear sir," I rejoined. "These promotions are still in the hands of the Horse Guards, are they not? Your Chamber does not interfere in the matter."

"Thank Heaven, no; we have not got so low as that yet."

"Your Commander-in-Chief naturally gathers round him all the abler spirits of the army. Your head-quarters staff comprises all the men of character, and distinction, and originality of conception, to be found in the army, taken from all branches of the service, without favour?"

"Natürlich," said my companion.

"So that your Horse Guards, as you call it, represents the best

(1) Our author's love of theorising has again led him astray. Supersession still goes on below the rank of colonel; it is only when that rank is reached that promotion goes by seniority. And he is a little hard on the unemployed officer, who not only has not the chance of distinguishing himself, but is to be superseded into the bargain.

talent of the army in all branches, representative men, of independent mind, whose judgment carries great weight?"

"So," replied my friend.

"Well, then, why should not the head of your army, with the help of such a staff, do as the head of ours does, select the best men for promotion to generals, without reference to seniority? You need then have no more generals than there are commands to fill. Think what a saving there might be."

"Promote by selection on his own responsibility?"

"Yes; with the aid, of course, of an able and independent staff, representing all the best talent of the army in all branches of the service, and whose judgment would carry universal acceptance."

But my companion shrugged his shoulders. "Exercise responsibility?" he asked. "Promote by merit? No, no! Promotion by merit would never answer in our army; it would be too great an innovation. Promote by seniority, and everybody is on the same footing. It is not the business of our Horse Guards to exercise responsibility of any sort, but to work the system as they find it. Besides, you might have questions asked about the promotions in the Assembly, and then there would be the very deuce to pay."

And I found it quite impossible to convince him of the wisdom of my views.

We had been speaking of the list of what are called the effective generals, but these by no means exhaust the visible supply, it being customary in the English army to give every colonel on retirement the honorary rank of general. But indeed England nowadays swarms with military titles. All the members of the Civil Service in India have military rank, in order, it is said, to make them respected by the natives of that country, who have a great esteem for military titles.¹ The militia officers, who are called out for a month in the year, carry their rank about with them all the year round, and so do many of the volunteer officers, without being called out at all; in fact, wherever you go in England you may meet with peaceful-looking citizens—merchants and manufacturers and private gentlemen, and what not—who turn out to be majors or colonels of something or other, but who have nothing military about them but their title. The English in former days used to laugh at the Americans for their fondness for these things, which is certainly hardly compatible with the proper Republican spirit, but the laugh may now be turned against themselves. Not, however, that the English are not at heart a warlike people; the existence of the martial instinct is shown in the admirable persistence with which they have continued

(1) This is a mistake, although a natural one for a foreigner to fall into, our system being, it must be admitted, a little complicated. Only a part of the Indian Civil Service is composed of military officers.

to keep up their volunteer system, at much personal inconvenience, with little or no encouragement from the Government, often it may be said under positive discouragement; a system which, although no doubt faulty, is yet capable of being turned into a very powerful weapon of defence, if only sufficient time be allowed and warning given. The nation evidently believes that this warning will be given, although occasionally subject to panics; but the Government is more constant than the people, and so far from yielding to the popular cry just now being raised about the defenceless state of the country, owing to the reduced condition of the infantry at home, it has during the past season knocked off the usual Autumn Manœuvres, as some small set-off against the cost of the war in South Africa. Such items as Autumn Manœuvres, or the strength of the rank and file of the army, are just those with which both political parties can play at small economies, the Liberals on principle, the Conservatives by way of a sop to the extreme left (*An der äussersten Linken*); but neither side will venture to attack those parts of the system which would furnish real matter for economies, the overgrown administrative establishments, and, what particularly strikes the Continental observer, the enormous disproportion of senior officers. On the contrary, the tendency of late measures has been rather, as above explained, still further to increase this disproportion, while the abolition of purchase has for effect that a number of officers are to be pensioned off in the prime of life, whether they like it or not.

Turn we now to the general military policy of the English. And first as regards their defensive arrangements, to which reference has just been made. The truth is these people do not believe in the possibility of ever being put on their defence, and perhaps with good reason: hence the want of reality about all their defensive arrangements. A year or two ago a scheme was brought out for the mobilisation of all the forces of the country, the auxiliary forces included—that is, the militia, volunteers, and the yeomanry, who are also volunteers, but mounted men. This was done under the influence of one of those panics to which the people of that country are subject. The whole island was mapped out into districts, to each of which an army corps composed of the three forces was assigned—on paper. But the further measure of providing that any of these bodies should be really capable of mobilisation was not proceeded with. The staff and the means of transport have never been assigned to these army corps, large portions of which are wanting to complete, even on paper. And the press, which was very keen about the matter at first, having now waxed cold again, it is generally understood that the whole scheme will drop as soon as it can with decency be allowed to disappear from the Army List. The genius of these

islanders is indeed essentially aggressive. They feel, and rightly, that the best defence of their own country is to carry the war into that of the enemy. Their conception of war always embodies the notion of foreign expeditions, and they cannot therefore be got to take serious precautions against danger at home. But herein is seen the curious mixture of confidence and unreadiness which enters into their character; for although their first need in furtherance of such a policy is to have a body of troops so organized as to be readily capable of being sent abroad, and which, even if small in numbers, should be complete as far as it goes, no steps have been taken to provide such a body. The army corps created under the so-called mobilisation scheme above referred to, being composed in part of militia, are not available for foreign service, and to send even a small force away, that organization would have to be broken up and a new one improvised for the occasion. Apart from any question of European war, the history of England shows very plainly how her great colonial empire and foreign possessions involve a never-ending liability to undertake military operations in some quarter or other of the globe. The experience of the past indicates that some unexpected cause for taking the field is to be always looked for, although the nature of the call can never be indicated beforehand, and that as soon as one little war is finished another will break out somewhere else. This experience, then, points to the need for always keeping up the nucleus of a small force in a state fit to take the field. But it is disregarded, and as soon as each difficulty is disposed of, the Government of the day, like a sailor who spends all his savings as soon as his ship is paid off, invariably cuts down the rank and file of the army, till there is not even a brigade available and ready for active service.

This unreadiness and want of foresight are shown even in such a matter as the dress of the troops. That curious medley of old-world ceremonies and modern rules, the standing orders of the British army, (known as the Queen's Regulations), lays down the uniform to be worn in peace-time with extreme particularity. There are, for instance, half-a-dozen different ways prescribed for wearing the sword, but not a word is said about the uniform to be worn on active service. Indeed, to see a body of English troops on parade one might suppose that the contingency of war was not contemplated. The object in view seems to be that the officers should be easily distinguishable from the men, and that the staff should be especially conspicuous, while the generals with their peculiar coats and cocked hats surmounted by enormous plumes are to be made out from an immense distance. If the English army were now to take the field, their staff would be swept away in the first general action; the generals especially would be a sure mark for the enemy's sharpshooters. Also, probably because they wear their uniforms so little, all branches of the service affect a great quantity of expensive gold lace and em-

broidery on their coats, which would be soiled by the first exposure and make them quite unfit to be worn as uniform on service. The bravery of these islanders would thus appear to savour of recklessness, did they really sacrifice their lives for the love of finery; but what in fact happens is this, that in the absence of any rules on the subject, each general on active service is a law unto himself, and improvises some sort of uniform for his troops on the spur of the moment; but the absence of any distinct provision is, as I have said, a curious instance of the English unreadiness.

It may be mentioned that the English army is the most expensively dressed of any in Europe; this is partly a consequence, no doubt, of their system of voluntary enlistment, which makes it necessary that the soldier's life, and especially his dress, should appear attractive to the vagrant population from which recruits are mainly obtained. The greater costliness of the cavalry uniform, and the way in which the trooper's coat is bedizened with tags and embroidery, would seem to indicate that the cavalry is a less popular service than the infantry, needing special attractions; as indeed is only natural with an insular people, the enclosed nature of whose country affords little scope for cavalry operations, while that branch seldom takes a part in the isolated expeditions to distant regions of which the military records of the nation are mainly composed. In the British, even more than in other armies, the leading part has always been played by the infantry, and its triumphs have always been associated with the prowess of that arm. But although the British uniform in all branches is costly, the result to foreign eyes is hardly commensurate with the outlay. What these people term "smartness" is the thing now most aimed at in their uniforms; smartness at present taking the form of a retrenchment of the skirts of the tunic till hardly any skirts are left. A thus curtailed (*verkürzter*) guardsman, his scanty coat surmounted by an enormous shako, and his trousers tucked into gaiters, seen alone, as when on sentry, has a very forlorn and topheavy appearance, although the effect in the mass is well enough. But in undress no skirts at all are worn, and smartness takes the form of an almost indelicate tightness of dress. To see one of their tall troopers—for although compared with us the English are a small race, they have a sufficiency of tall men wherewith to overweight their limited number of troop-horses—wearing on the extreme edge of his head a little cap, about as useful as the pocket-handkerchief a lady carries at a ball, and a curious instance of survival (*Zopfthum*), his legs encased in very tightly-strapped trousers, and the upper part of his body in a very tight and very short jacket, with not a pocket big enough to hold even a sausage, looking altogether the picture of discomfort and smartness—when I see one of these long-legged giants walking in Bloomsbury Gardens, or other fashionable resort for the children of

the aristocracy and their female attendants, my impulse is always to present the poor fellow with a petticoat to wrap round him. Also when dining with the officers—and on more than one occasion during my visit to England have these hospitable islanders pressed on me their good solid food and fiery Xeres and Oporto wines in their camps of Aldershot and Shorncliffe; when I have seen a stout and rubicund field officer, whose short open “shell jacket” displayed all the proportions of his portly frame, methought that the long frock-coat worn by all branches of our own army was both more comfortable and more decent (*anständig*). But, as I have said, the English are an imitative people in affairs military, and perhaps before long will adopt this our good custom of a coat that really covers, as they have adopted our helmet and many other parts of our system.

It has been mentioned that the English are subject to alternate modes of over-confidence and alarm. Just now the former feeling seems to be in the ascendant, in consequence of the satisfactory conclusion of the wars in Africa and India. But when I was in England the people were greatly exercised at the supposed excessive youth of their soldiers, and the cry was raised for old men. Whether or not the drill and discipline of the troops has suffered from this cause, as was alleged by some, I could not tell, for there were no soldiers left in the country to be inspected, except those still under the drill sergeant. But probably there was some exaggeration, as usual, in these criticisms; and, as I used to tell my English friends by way of consolation, our own troops are all young, and that they might remember also how that their army, which backed up our own so nobly at Waterloo, was largely made up of recruits and freshly-drafted militiamen. By these and such-like reflections I succeeded in comforting them.

One thing in England surprised me much. I had always understood the people of that country to be sober-minded and spare of speech, and especially averse from anything like boasting. Accordingly, when first I saw the newspaper advertisements on the walls of the railway stations, containing such announcement as “Great battle!” “Decisive victory!!!” “Desperate resistance of the enemy!!!” and so forth, I pressed forward like every one else to buy a copy. (The English paper costs ten pfennigs, but is larger than a German paper, although the cramped Roman character makes the type somewhat indistinct.) This is news indeed, I thought. A great battle involves a great army to fight it. Whence have these English got their great army? I soon found, however, that the event thus described was really an affair between a handful of British soldiers on the one side, and some undisciplined mountaineers on the other, who could not be got to stay and be killed, but gave up an impregnable position before they had inflicted any serious loss upon the assail-

ants, whose "unconquerable valour" in driving them off was dwelt upon in the various leading articles with much complacency. The same sentiment is fed by the illustrated papers, which draw pictures of battle-fields absolutely false in every respect, but which are eagerly bought not only by the ignorant multitude, but by the educated classes. One such I saw, of a body of infantry in square, standing back to back and selling their lives heroically against countless numbers of savages; although the official records explained specifically that the slaughter was due to the troops in question being taken by surprise and trying to escape in disorder. On another occasion a lady drew my attention to a picture in one of these papers. It was of a field redoubt, very strong, with high perpendicular scarp, on the top of which a group of British soldiers were standing, rifle in hand, awaiting, comfortably sheltered behind the parapet, the attack of some savages who could be seen advancing armed with spear and shield across the open plain below. "Look at these noble fellows," said the lady, in a voice tremulous with emotion—and let me here remark, that their language spoken in the low rich tones of these charming English ladies falls as pleasantly on the cultivated ear as even the dulcet accents of our own Suabia—"see," said my lovely hostess, "how nobly these gallant fellows face death at the call of their country." I replied that the Zulus were certainly making a noble defence of their country, and that few European troops would face such tremendous odds; at which remark the lady looked surprised, and our pleasant occupation of looking over the pictures together came abruptly to an end. But this is merely an illustration of the present state of mind among the English; to hear them talk about these conflicts with savages in Asia and Africa, one might suppose that they had no higher standard of military excellence than the people of a South American republic, and that it was no longer the same race which had fought at Minden and Salamanca, and stood by us so stoutly at Waterloo, to say nothing of the conquest of the Sikhs, and the stubborn suppression of the Indian mutiny. But it was explained to me that herein was another illustration of the spread of the democratic spirit; that the masses had now begun to take an interest in military affairs, the result being a crude and misdirected criticism which might be expected to improve with the advance of general intelligenco.

And, although there is so much to surprise and even amuse the unprejudiced observer in the clumsy working of the English military machine, it is impossible not to recognise the fact that these islanders possess all the qualities necessary for furnishing a good army as well as for administering it properly. The energy and spirits of the English youth, albeit sometimes exhibited in a coarse and boisterous form; the fondness of those of the upper classes for manly exercises, and an

active life, are evidences of the one; the aptitude of the people for self-government, their quickness of movement in all the business of life, of the other. When we compare, for example, the decision and vigour exhibited in conducting the traffic on a great English railway, with the slower if more methodical habits applied to the same business in other European countries, one cannot but feel that the exhibition of the same sort of qualities should be equally successful in the conduct of an army or a war. Under a proper system of decentralisation the English officers would be as capable as any in the world of acting on their own responsibility; that rapid and intelligent action in all parts of the military machine which we have succeeded in obtaining only by patient labour, should come to them readily as part of their nature. But just now the English army is passing through a transitional stage. The English will tell you, indeed, that in getting rid of Purchase, and abolishing the privilege of the Guards, and the cat, and introducing short service, and putting the Horse Guards under the War Department, they have already reformed their army. The truth is, however, that they have scarcely made a beginning, and that their system is still a curious medley of old-world customs and modern applications. The time will come, and is possibly not far distant, when looking back on what their military system is at the present day—its barbarous method of recruiting, involving wholesale desertions and dragging in its train the huge burden of their military prisons; the total dislocation between the militia and the line, two bodies which should be closely bound together and mutually support each other; the cumbersome and unwieldy civil administration; the negation of all proper responsibility to the superior combatant officers; the monstrous superfluity of officers in the higher grades; the degradation of military rank by the profusion of honorary titles scattered broadcast over all branches of the service; the enormous cost of the army and the small number of men to show for it;—when the English shall have arrived at a simpler, more reasonable, and cheaper and more efficient organization, they will look back on their present military condition with the same sort of scorn as they are now accustomed to employ when referring to the times of their Sir Dundas and their Herzog von Yorck—and with even better reason for feeling surprise that such a state of things should ever have been tolerated.

WINTER QUARTERS.

"La terre est son médecin ; chaque climat est un remède. La médecine, de plus en plus, sera une émigration, une émigration prévoyante."

MICHELET.

AGAINST the many privileges which are said to be exclusively the lot of an Englishman must be set off the obvious disadvantage that he has to live in a climate which, for a great part of the year, is little short of detestable. So long as he remains strong and well, he usually contents himself with grumbling, and adopts (or sometimes does not adopt) such artificial means of protection as his intelligence and experience show to be useful and necessary. But if he inherits, or acquires accidentally through disease, a feeble and ailing constitution, then too frequently he falls a victim to the rigour and inclemency of the external conditions to which he is exposed ; or, if he is both wise and rich, he follows the example of the migratory tribes of the animal kingdom, and seeks at each recurring season those conditions of climate which to him, as well as to them, are the conditions of life and comfort.

But we should be unjust and short-sighted if we failed to see any compensatory advantages in this climate of ours which we so often abuse. Many of the best qualities of an Englishman are, to a great extent, due to the character of the climate of the country he inhabits. His capacity for endurance, and for adapting himself to varying conditions and circumstances, his energy in overcoming difficulties, his physical strength, are in some measure the outcome of his life-long contest with unfavourable external conditions, and of those out-door exercises and sports to which he is driven in order to keep the blood actively circulating through limbs which would otherwise be chilled and benumbed ; or to keep his mind free from the melancholy and depression which inactivity under a leaden sky most surely induces.

The return of the month of November necessarily brings to many minds the consideration, where they can pass the next five or six months with the least inconvenience and the greatest benefit to their healths. To the too numerous victims of pulmonary consumption, as well as to those who fear to become so, it is a question of the greatest import ; and not to those alone, for increasing experience of climatic conditions and influences shows that a vast number of other chronic maladies acquired in this climate are stayed in their course, and not infrequently altogether arrested by judicious change to more favourable external conditions. A few general considerations, therefore, as to the facts and principles which should guide us in the

choice of a winter climate may perhaps prove, at this moment, both opportune and profitable.

It would be unwise within the limits of a review article to hamper oneself with any attempts at a strict classification, while an exhaustive survey of the whole series of winter health-resorts is, of course, impossible. It will be better to confine our consideration to those which are tolerably accessible, and especially to such as recent inquiries have brought more prominently before the public. And, in the first place, let us attempt to dispose of the question of the utility and scope of high-mountain health-resorts in winter, and especially of that portion of the question in which the public are beginning to take a great interest, the relation of those elevated regions to the cure of pulmonary consumption. It will be interesting in this place to mention, that in the very first volume of this Review, *i.e.* fourteen years ago, an article is to be found which foreshadows this discussion. "In cold climates," says the writer, "on the contrary, consumption is almost unknown. In Iceland it is seldom seen; in Greenland a case is the exception, and in more northern regions it disappears altogether. In mountain ranges above 3,000 feet it is an exceptional complaint. Heat is favourable to the development of the disease, especially when accompanied by moisture."¹

The discussion in this country has, during the last two or three years, been almost limited to the examination of the merits of *one* health-resort, viz. Davos in the Grisons. Ten years ago, when I first examined the subject, and when I first visited Davos and the Upper Engadine, it was the latter place that was chiefly in the minds of English physicians as a possible winter sanitarium for consumptives. Davos was then resorted to almost exclusively by Germans and Swiss. The reputation of the Upper Engadine as a winter station seems to have collapsed completely. A writer in this Review, speaking from an intimate personal experience of the Engadine for many years, and who certainly could not be accused of any prejudice against the place, thus speaks of his own observations of the residence of consumptive patients there :—

"It is well known that, in the treatment of such cases, medical opinion has undergone a change, so astounding as to look like a leap in the dark, or, at least, in the dim twilight. As the remedial agent, the extreme of dry cold has suddenly replaced the extreme of moist heat; and some patients who, only twenty years ago, would have been more or less boiled in Madeira, are now frozen on Alpine heights. How far has this bold experiment succeeded? In the Engadine, certainly, the results (so far as they go) have not been encouraging. Out of the very few who, within my knowledge, have spent winters (or parts of winters) there, at least six have died—a startlingly large portion of the entire number; whereas consumptive cases where the cure of certain disease is itself certain and certainly due to the Engadine winter, are—I will not say

(1) "Dangers of Madeira." Fortnightly Review, Vol. I., 1865.

unknown—but exceedingly rare. But, on the other hand, there are consumptive patients whom the air seems to have kept alive, and who are, though not well, quite well enough to enjoy life.”¹

This evidence was of great value, coming as it did from one who had, during a series of years, followed with interest the histories of the consumptive invalids he had met in the Engadine, biassed by no medical predilections, but as an earnest and honest advocate of that place as a health-resort, in such cases as it had appeared to him to be of use.

Now it is not a little remarkable that, while the Engadine at an elevation of 6,000 feet (speaking in round numbers) has failed to acquire a reputation as a winter station for consumptive patients, although introduced to our countrymen on high authority more than ten years ago, Davos, its near neighbour, not more than twenty miles distant, at an elevation of 5,200 feet should have grown with us into sudden and rapid popularity. If the curative agencies said to be at work at Davos are either the elevation, the cold, the rarefaction of the air, or its clearness and purity, and therefore its *antiseptic* properties, all these should be found in the Engadine. Comparatively small circumstances, however, frequently determine the popularity or unpopularity of a health-resort; such as slightly greater accessibility, the presence of a skilful or agreeable physician, the enterprise of hotel-keepers, and, especially, good fortune in its literary exponents. Davos has been so fortunate as to find an enthusiastic advocate in a very able and distinguished writer.² Now enthusiasm is an excellent thing for the fortunes of a health-resort, but it is the most unfortunate of all things when introduced into medical discussions. The invalid public, always more ready to listen to enthusiastic advocacy than to careful and discriminating criticism, catches at the advocacy, and loses sight of the discrimination. *Surtout pas trop d'enthousiasme*, should be in the mind of every one who takes up his pen to write on health-resorts. Mr. Symonds himself has recently confessed elsewhere³ that he is “not an exclusive believer in Davos,” and that he is “perhaps more inclined to caution about it than when he wrote a year ago in the *Fortnightly*.” By this time the advocates of Davos as a winter station are so numerous and influential, the number of cases which have undoubtedly received benefit by wintering there have become so numerous (over two hundred and fifty English resided at Davos last winter), that I feel I shall be doing more service now, if I adopt, as I did in 1870, the position of a critic rather than that of an advocate; although

(1) “The Upper Engadine,” by the Hon. Lionel A. Tollemache. *Fortnightly Review*, March, 1876.

(2) “Davos in Winter” (*Fortnightly Review*, July, 1878), by J. A. Symonds.

(3) *Lancet*, August 30, 1879.

now, as then, I am fully convinced of its importance and value as a winter sanitarium in suitable and carefully selected cases. But my personal knowledge of the experiences of winters at Davos is by no means unchequered by calamities. It is quite certain that last winter, no doubt an exceptionally bad one, was most disastrous to many invalids there; and I do not know a more cruel or unfair thing than to throw all the blame of failure on the unfortunate invalids themselves, as is too often done. I therefore repeat that last winter was disastrous to several invalids who had taken every available means of ascertaining if the climate of the place was likely to be suitable to their cases; and it would be infinitely more instructive if the medical men at Davos would furnish us with the most complete and elaborate details of the fatal cases and failures there, than the too brief records which they give us of their successes. A foreign gentleman who had wintered in Davos about four or five years ago, was seen by me in London the following summer, and he repeatedly assured me that during the winter he spent there, he frequently saw two and three interments a day; his wife, who went there to be with her husband, maintains to this day that she acquired a severe gastric catarrh there which made her life a burden for years, and from which she has hardly yet recovered completely.

I have seen others who found life there so excessively dull and monotonous that no amount of persuasion would induce them to return; while others, after passing nearly two whole seasons there, have found it excite a condition of nervous irritability impossible to endure. To what cases then, and to what persons is the climate of Davos especially adapted? It is adapted to cases of chronic catarrhal, inflammatory, and ulcerative lung disease (for my own part I prefer to avoid the much too general term Phthisis altogether, as including cases never at any period of their course suited to treatment at Davos), occurring accidentally in persons of originally sound constitution, and with obvious reserve stores of physical vigour. "Send us patients," say the physicians at Davos, "with not much local disease, and plenty of constitutional vigour." Most health-resorts desire patients belonging to that category!

But much misapprehension has arisen, especially in the minds of the public, from the common habit of speaking of cases of consumption as in the first, second, and third stage; a purely artificial and most misleading division, for very many cases in the so-called third stage are infinitely more hopeful than others in the so-called first stage; indeed, there is a certain form of lung disease—I refrain, for reasons of my own, from calling it phthisis—the gravest fact about which is that there is a cavern in the upper part of one lung, and this is, beyond all doubt, one of the most, perhaps the most, curable form of ulcerative lung disease which we ever encounter, although it

would be defined by most physicians as a case of consumption in the third stage. To arrest cases of true phthisis—cases, I mean, having all the general, as well as the local symptoms of phthisis in its first stage—that is indeed a rare thing to see; but cases of cavities, large and small, in the lungs, where the disease has been arrested, are extremely common. I lay stress on this fact, because I am constantly encountering popular statements which show that this is entirely misunderstood.

But it is particularly in catarrhal forms of disease in young people that the dry and bracing climate of high valleys, like Davos, proves of remarkable value. The tendency to chronic catarrhal inflammation is one of the banes of our own climate; it is aggravated by humid air whether at a high or a low temperature, but more especially by the latter. It is relieved and cured in dry air, and if the air is cold as well as dry, the tendency to future returns of the malady is decidedly diminished. In examining cases of advanced lung disease, in high mountain valleys, I have been struck again and again with the absence of signs of catarrh, even though the progress of tuberculization in the lung went steadily on.

The peculiar climatic conditions of Davos are thus well summarised by Mr. Symonds: "The position of great rocky masses to north and south is such that the most disagreeable winds, whether the keen north wind or the relaxing south, known by the dreaded name of *föhn*, are fairly excluded." Last winter this wind prevailed to a great extent, and in consequence the snow thawed at times in mid-winter. "Comparative stillness is a great merit of Davos; the best nights and days of winter present a cloudless sky, clear frost, and absolutely unstirred atmosphere. March is apt to be disturbed and stormy; and during the summer months there is a valley-wind, which rises regularly every morning, and blows for several hours. Colds are rarely caught there (last winter again proved exceptional in this particular), and consequently patients are enabled to pass a great part of their time in the open air;" and this, we shall find, in other winter health-resorts, to be an important point; at Davos sleeping with open windows is a *sine quâ non*.

"There are no patients," says one of the local physicians, "who cannot, if they are so inclined, sleep with safety with an open window during the winter." "I was recommended," says Mr. Symonds,¹ "to be in the open air from sunrise to sunset, to walk for two hours in the open air before going to bed, and to sleep with open windows. The invalid can take more liberties with open air at Davos than anywhere else." Yet this is in a climate where the range of temperature in twenty-four hours is extreme, and in the same month (January) the extreme solar heat registered has been

(1) *Lancet*, August 30, 1879.

145° F., and the extreme cold —10° F. So much for equability of temperature. In the same communication Mr. Symonds adds, "What I have been able to observe of the progress made by consumptive patients, induces me to think that unless they can take daily exercise, they would be better off in a milder climate." In short, as I pointed out ten years ago, in order to support with advantage a climate like than of Davos or the Upper Engadine, the constitution of the patient must possess a latent power of vigorous reaction to the strongly stimulating influence of the climate; if not, a very acute sense of misery is produced. So that it is the general state of the patient's constitution that has to be considered rather than the precise extent of local mischief. The effects of the rarefaction of the air has certainly been, by some, exaggerated; it is not by any means so great as to cause any trouble to persons who have the power of readily exchanging the air, by increased frequency and amplitude of the respiratory act—to persons whose respiratory mechanism is practically intact, though limited tracts of lung may be out of gear. But with much pulmonary emphysema, with old, rigid chest walls, with very extensive pleuritic adhesions, or with large tracts of lung disabled, then the rarefaction of the air becomes a serious matter. I have certainly myself seen a fatal result rapidly brought about in this way. And I again say, as many persons have died at Davos, why do not the resident physicians give us full information as to *how* they die? "It is the duty," to quote Mr. Symonds again, "of the Climatologist to attempt a classification and co-ordination of what is known about these various health-stations." But how can this be possible, so long as those who only have the means of doing so will not write as fully about the dark side as they do about the bright side of their experience? Moreover, the enthusiastic advocates of Davos are not even agreed amongst themselves; "for one of these reviewing in a daily paper a small book, "*Davos-Platz*, by one who knows it well," says—"The author describes weeks of unbroken sunshine, whereas perfectly cloudless days are comparatively rare, and the weather is not less changeable than elsewhere in the mountains. The author promises a probability of cure in all pulmonary cases that have not advanced beyond the possibility of amendment, whereas experience seems to show that only certain constitutions, and certain types of disease are adapted to the peculiar condition of the climate." I may add that facts are quite against the conclusion this writer arrives at, viz. that "the many rival valleys of the High Alps will soon find themselves as crowded with permanent residents in winter, as they now are in summer with passing tourists." The Upper Engadine is by far the most important and appropriate of the rivals of Davos, and I have already pointed out the ill-success that has attended the attempts to make it popular

as a winter station. I must not, however, dwell longer on this interesting question, but pass on to the consideration of other winter resorts. Egypt resembles Davos in this respect, that its climate is also dry and exhilarating, and these resorts are, not infrequently, presented to the invalid as alternatives. It also resembles Davos in the wide range between the day and night temperature, depending upon the powerful heating effects of the sun's rays during the day, and the great and rapid radiation of the heat absorbed during the day, after sunset, into clear, cloudless space. The climate of Upper Egypt is, however, on the whole a more reliable climate than that of any high mountain valley, and less subject to variations; while the interest of the voyage up the Nile, and the diversions which it presents, render it a much more suitable resort for those who dread *ennui*, or who need occupation as well as relaxation for the mind.

The objections to Egypt are, of course, its distance and the expense attending the journey; and, moreover, whichever route you select, it is impossible to avoid a sea voyage of at least three days. The objections to this, as well as to other sea voyages, are forcibly put by Mr. Flower¹:—

“The principal objection to persons in delicate health undertaking a long sea voyage is the uncertainty about the influences to which he or she may be exposed; while on land, the traveller is, to a great extent, his own master, and has power to control the surrounding conditions. He may regulate the day's journey, according to strength or inclination, he may linger in such places as have agreeable associations and environments, he may hasten over those of an opposite character; but when once embarked upon a voyage, whether he find himself crowded in a dark close cabin, with two or three uncongenial companions, lying on a narrow, hard shelf, port-holes rigidly closed, and the atmosphere he breathes poisoned by noisome odours, of which the sickening smell of the oil of the engines is one of the least objectionable; the rain pouring on deck, making escape from his prison, even for a few minutes, impossible; when he feels he would give all his worldly possessions for a breath of pure air, or a few hours' cessation from the perpetual din of the engines within and the waves without; he is perfectly helpless, he must go through it, day after day, and night after night, until the weather changes or the voyage is ended.”

There is only one period of the year when Egypt is ever visited by the European as a health-resort, and that is from the middle of November to the beginning of April, when it is considered to have the “finest climate in the world.” There are several routes from England to Egypt. The shortest and most convenient is that through Italy to Brindisi, and there is now, on one day in the week, a saloon carriage attached to the train at Calais which goes *through* to Brindisi. In this way the journey to Egypt is accomplished in six days. The longest is that by P. & O. boat from Southampton, which takes thirteen days. In returning, it is important for invalids

(1) “Notes of Experience in Egypt,” by W. H. Flower, F.R.S. *British Medical Journal*, September and October, 1874.

with lung disease to bear in mind that it is not safe to return by the Southampton route, as the transition from the climate of Egypt to that of England is too abrupt. It is very important to leave Egypt before the heat becomes too great—i.e. not later than the middle of April—and it is undesirable to return to England before June. The interval may be conveniently spent in a variety of places of great interest, such as Syria, Italy, Greece, or some of the islands of the Mediterranean.

The chief characteristic of the climate of Egypt is its dryness.

"In the richly wooded districts of the equatorial regions of Africa," writes Mr. Flower, "where the numerous affluents of the Nile take their rise, almost continuous rains prevail; but in the deserts of Nubia and Upper Egypt, through which the great river flows in its course to the sea, sometimes years pass without a single shower. The absence of rain and absence of vegetation are obviously related to one another. The Mediterranean coast, and the Delta, are less dry than the upper parts of the country, and Cairo occupies an intermediate position."

We have the authority of the same writer for the statement that in an exceptionally wet season there were only eleven days out of one hundred and fifty in which rain fell, and on some of these it was scarcely more than a few drops. The days, as a general rule, are much like one another, fine, clear, bright, and sunny, and "the subject of the weather, so important to us in our island home, soon loses all interest, owing to the absence of change." Another of the characteristics of the winter climate of Egypt is the warmth or heat of the day (70° to 75° F. in the shade), as contrasted with the coldness, freshness, and heavy dews of the nights. In the night the thermometer often falls to 40° or lower, seldom quite to freezing point, so that there is a very considerable range between the day and night temperature. It has been justly observed that this is an advantage to many constitutions—that a sultry night following a hot day often induces languor and depression, and that the freshness of the Egyptian night and early morning is invigorating and bracing, and enables one better to bear the fatigues and heat of the day. Persons with delicate chests must be careful to protect themselves by appropriate clothing, and by retiring before nightfall, from the sudden change from the day to the night temperature, which they may otherwise find trying or injurious. The air of the desert—that is, all the country above the level of the autumnal overflow of the Nile—is universally admitted to be most invigorating: "a refreshing breeze, in winter at least, generally tempers even the heat and glare of the midday sun, and in the morning and evening it is decidedly cool. Nowhere on land is air so pure, as nowhere else is there such complete absence of all decomposing organic matters in the soil; it has been well compared with that of the open sea.

Most of those who go to Egypt for the winter, go with the inten-

tion of making the Nile voyage; but a winter may also be passed agreeably and advantageously at Cairo, or at Ismailia, as well as on the Nile. The thing of chief importance is to breathe as much of the desert air as possible. It has been objected to Cairo that the hotels and all the modern houses are built on low ground that, until reclaimed, used to be subject to the overflow; and that the whole of the ancient city, with its crowded population and filthy streets, is between them and the desert; that the prevailing winds, being from the north, blow directly across the Delta. "This, and the great amount of not very clean dust which fills the air of a great city full of people and animals, form the principal drawbacks to Cairo as a residence for invalids." An alternative presents itself in a place fifteen miles south of Cairo, and three miles from the east bank of the Nile, named *Helwan les Bains*, on account of the existence there of a warm sulphur spring. This station, of which I have received most satisfactory accounts from patients who have stayed there, possesses a good hotel with a medical director who speaks English; and as it is in the open desert, only a few miles from Cairo, and therefore very accessible, it ought to become popular with those who need to live in the winter climate of the Egyptian desert, and yet who may not, for many reasons, be disposed to enter upon the Nile voyage.

Ismailia is quite a new town, with good sea-bathing, distant nine hours by rail from Cairo. It has been reclaimed from the desert, is laid out with pretty gardens, and to the advantage of pure desert air offers great quiet to those who love repose, while the constant passage of vessels through the Suez Canal relieves it from monotony. Of the Nile voyage little need be said in the way of description.

"It is," Mr. Flower says, "a perfect rest from nearly all the little cares and troubles of the world; the weather is almost always fine, so that nearly the whole day may be spent on deck, and the variety and exercise of a walk on shore can generally be got at some time or other in the twenty-four hours; the life on board a dahabeeah is generally a healthy one. It is essentially an out-of-doors country life. The air, though perhaps not equal to that of the higher parts of the desert, is pure and bracing; for, owing to the narrowness of the strip of fertile land on the sides of the river, the air is practically that of the desert. On the first subsidence of the water, after the autumnal overflow, the banks are muddy and damp, so it is well not to take to the water until December, by which time they are well dried by the sun, though January, February, and March are the best months. The higher the river is ascended, so the salubrity increases. The nights are generally clear, bright, and cool, and warm clothing is essential, as no artificial heat can be obtained on board the boat."

Egypt as a winter resort has, then, the following advantages:—
1st. It is almost rainless; at Cairo five or six showers would be the average in the winter. 2nd. It has a generally dry and clear atmosphere; attended, it is true, with great changes of temperature in the twenty-four hours, a circumstance which proves invigorating rather

than otherwise, if the invalid is careful to protect himself from the sudden fall of temperature at sunset, as well as through the cold nights. 3rd. Extreme cold is excessively rare. The mean winter temperature at Cairo is about 58° F., and it rarely falls below freezing point. 4th. Its climate allows of constant exercise in the open air, and exposure therefore to the tonic effect of fresh air and sunlight.

The climate of Egypt then is tonic and stimulating, and it is useful in a great variety of chronic ailments, the chief of which are the following:—It is said to be especially useful in cases of phthisis in scrofulous persons, those cases of phthisis which have a tendency, even in this country, to run a very protracted course; it is helpful, too, in most other forms of scrofulous disease; it is of value in gout and rheumatism, and especially in certain important visceral changes which gout induces; catarrhal conditions find their relief and cure here as well as in the cold dry air of high altitudes, so that cases of chronic bronchial, laryngeal, and pharyngeal catarrh get well in Egypt, as do also some cases of catarrhal asthma. Persons suffering from exhaustion of the nervous system from too great excitement, worry, or undue application to business or study, are precisely the cases for the Nile voyage. The same may be said of those numerous cases of intractable dyspepsia associated with hypochondriasis or hysteria.

The climate of Egypt is not limited simply to the relief of early phthisis, but advanced cases often do well there, though it is considered inexpedient that they should venture on the Nile voyage or go beyond Cairo. Cases of phthisis with a tendency to rapid progress in irritable or highly nervous constitutions must not, however, be sent to so tonic and exciting a climate.

I purposely pass in the next place to the consideration of a winter climate, the characteristics of which are in striking contrast to those of the two preceding. The tonic and stimulating climates of Davos and Upper Egypt on the one hand, and the soft, soothing climate of Madeira on the other, may be regarded as at the two extremes of winter health-resorts for European invalids. Madeira having been for many years greatly overrated, has, during the last few years, come to be vastly underrated. It has suffered from one of those violent oscillations of medical opinion to which all health-resorts are liable; and after such an acute disturbance we may take it for granted that it will be long before a rational equilibrium is established.

Writing of Madeira, Dr. Lambron, of Luchon, calls it "*La première résidence hivernale du monde.*"¹ The late Dr. Andrew Combe wrote: "*If I must go abroad, I shall most likely return to Madeira, on the simple ground that, if I must forego the pleasures of home, it*

(1) "*Choix d'une résidence d'hiver.*"

is better to resort at once to the *most* advantageous climate," &c. A certain Dr. Heineken, according to a writer in this Review¹ already quoted, was said to have lived there with a quarter of a lung for nine years! But since the comparative want of success which attended the action of the authorities of the Brompton Hospital in the winter of 1865, the reputation of the island as a winter sanitarium for consumptives has been on the decline. The Brompton Hospital sent twenty carefully selected cases of phthisis to winter there; of these two only were greatly benefited, seven improved slightly, six returned no better nor worse than when they left England, four returned worse, one died in the island.² It is, I believe,³ sufficiently well understood now that the climate of Madeira is only suited to a very limited and carefully selected class of cases; but to the proper case it is a climate of the greatest utility. If we bear this fact in mind, we shall be able to reconcile the wide discrepancies which we find in authoritative and evidently unprejudiced statements about this island. Madeira is the type of what is termed an oceanic climate, *i.e.* a climate essentially soft and equable. It is also moist and sedative, and, no doubt, to persons with considerable constitutional vigour, it seems relaxing and depressing. But to certain persons in a state of profound debility, with much feebleness in the organs of circulation, in cases of irritative, chronic bronchitis, and emphysema, in some cases of advanced consumption, and particularly those complicated with repeated attacks of bronchitis, even cases that have seemed quite hopeless, a prolonged residence in the climate of Madeira has been attended often with most remarkable amelioration. The feeble flickering lamp burns longer there than in a more stimulating and tonic air, and now and then it seems to gather renewed power and burns up again with some of its old lustre. As I am not, however, concerned to rehabilitate Madeira, I shall content myself with this brief reference to it as a tribute of respect to its former not altogether undeserved popularity.

Climate-resorts have been classified roughly into Continental climates, *i.e.* those in the interior of continents—Upper Egypt may serve as an example; Oceanic climates, places situated in the open sea, as Madeira; and Littoral climates, or places on the sea-coast.³ I propose to take, as my first example of a coast climate—and these climates, from their great popularity and importance, must neces-

(1) "Dangers of Madeira."

(2) It would be of the greatest possible value if the Brompton authorities, as I urged in 1870, would make the same experiment with regard to the winter at Davos for consumption as they did in 1865 with regard to the winter at Madeira.

(3) The physical causes of the characteristics of sea and coast climates I have explained, at some length, in an article on "Sea or Mountain," in the *Fortnightly Review* for August, 1877.

sarily occupy a considerable share of my attention—one which has quite recently been introduced to the notice of the British public, as being of extraordinary value: I allude to Mogador, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, and nearly in the same latitude as Madeira. A French physician, Dr. Thenevin, quoted by Lombard in his *Climatologie Médicale*, has resided there for many years, and it is mainly owing to his careful observations that the peculiar salubrity of Mogador has been made known to the medical profession. For the following details about Mogador and its climate I am, however, indebted to Hooker and Ball's admirable work on *Morocco and the Great Atlas*.¹ Mogador, they say, is the last outpost of civilisation on the African Coast at this side of the French settlements of Senegal. A low, rocky island lies opposite the town, separated from it by a navigable channel, and affords shelter from all winds, except those of the south-west. The town is, in one respect, the most habitable in Morocco, being remarkably clean, and, in that respect, superior to many seaports in Europe. The narrow but regularly built streets contain houses mostly of two stories, enclosing a small courtyard, which is entered by a low and narrow doorway from the street. In the Moorish town, inhabited by natives of the lower class, the houses are of one story, and poor in appearance; but the practice of white-washing within and without once every week makes them look clean, and, no doubt, has much to do with the remarkable immunity of this place from contagious and epidemic diseases. Its surroundings are not prepossessing. The low tertiary limestone rock on which it is built is covered up to the city walls with blown sand, driven along the shore before the south-west wind, forming dunes that cover the whole surface; and in most directions one may ride two or three miles, before encountering any other vegetation than a few paltry attempts at cultivating vegetables for the table within little enclosed plots, whose owners are constantly disputing the ground with the intrusive sand. Regarded as a sanitarium for consumption, Dr. Thenevin bears testimony to the following facts:—Phthisis is all but completely unknown among the inhabitants of this part of Africa; while in Algeria cases are not rare among the natives, and in Egypt they are rather frequent. In the course of ten years he had met but five cases among his very numerous native patients, and in three of these the disease had been contracted from a distance. He had seen, moreover, several cases among Europeans, who had arrived in an advanced stage of the disease, on whom the influence of the climate had exercised a remarkable curative effect. The observations of M. Beaumier, especially those for temperature, may help to explain these facts, as they certainly show that Mogador enjoys a more equable climate

(1) Published by Macmillan & Co., 1879.

than any place within the temperate zone as to which we possess accurate information. These are a few of the results:—

	Fahr.
Mean temperature during eight years	66·09°
„ „ for hottest years	68·65
„ „ for coldest years	65·75
„ of the annual maximum	82·05
„ „ „ minimum	53·00
Highest temperature observed	87·08
Lowest „ „	50·07

More striking still is the comparison between the temperature of summer and winter. The following results show the monthly mean temperature, derived from eight years observations:—

Summer	{ June 70·8°	Winter	{ December 61·4°
	{ July 71·1		{ January 61·2
	{ August 71·2		{ February 61·5

Showing a difference of only 10° F. between the hottest and coldest months. It has not been possible to ascertain accurately the daily range of the thermometer, as there were no self-recording instruments employed; but there is reason to believe that this would exhibit a still more remarkable proof of the equability of the climate. So far as observations go, they shew an ordinary daily range of about 5° F., and rarely exceeding 8°. A comparison of the climate of Mogador with that of Algiers, Madcira, and Cairo, which have nearly the same mean winter temperature, will show that the mercury is occasionally liable to fall considerably below 50°, and that the summer heat is greatly in excess of the limits that suit delicate constitutions, the mean of the three hottest months being about 80° F. at Algiers, about 82° at Funchal, and 85° at Cairo.

Rain falls at Mogador, on an average, on 45 days in the year; and out of 1,000 observations on the state of the sky, the proportions were—clear, 785; clouded, 175; foggy, 40; the latter entry referring to days when a fog or thick haze prevails in the morning, but disappears before mid-day. The desert wind is scarcely felt there. On an average it blows on about two days in each year, and then has much less effect on the thermometer than it has in Madeira, owing, no doubt, to the protective effect of the Chain of the Great Atlas. These remarkable climatic conditions have been mainly attributed to the influence of the north-east trade wind, which sets along the coast and prevails throughout a great part of the year; the average of north and north-east winds being about 271 days out of 365. The Great Atlas Chain, with its branches that diverge northward towards the Mediterranean, screen the entire region from the burning winds of the desert, and send down streams that cover the land with vegetation. There are not half-a-dozen days in the year that may not be spent agreeably out of doors. Some of the salubrity of

the climate may possibly be due to the circumstances that the N.N.E. winds come saturated with vapour, and charged with minute particles of salt from the breaking of the Atlantic waves on the reefs near the town. There is a competent resident French physician. The chief drawbacks, at present, would probably be in respect of the food supply, certain comforts necessary for invalids, and society. It may be that Mogador is destined to succeed to the renown, as a sanitarium for consumption, once possessed by the adjacent island of Madeira. The best known health-resort in Morocco, however, is Tangier, and as it is only 35 miles from Gibraltar, from which place it is reached in three hours by steamer, and as it is known to possess a very fine climate, it is somewhat to be wondered at that it has not become more popular with Europeans. But, as Messrs. Hooker and Ball observe in the work from which I have already largely quoted, Morocco, though a country close to Europe, is among the least known regions of the earth. "Nothing is more rare," they remark, "than to find a country where neither the natives nor foreign visitors have any complaint to make against the climate, and in that respect Morocco is almost unique." Tangier has rather a large annual rainfall, 30 inches, but it falls principally at one season, and that is in October and November. In the winter and spring the air is usually delightfully clear and bracing, and the daily temperature remarkably equable, the thermometer in the shade during the day ranging from 60° to 66° F. It would seem, in the case of Tangier—as, indeed, must be the case in sea-voyages,—that humidity of air under certain conditions is no drawback to salubrity,¹ for on this part of the Morocco coast "the breezes, whether they travel eastward from the Atlantic, or westward from the Mediterranean, are laden with aqueous vapours nearly to the point of saturation and nothing dries spontaneously by mere exposure to the air."

The town of Tangier is built on rocky ground, rising steeply from the shore to the west of a shallow bay, and behind it to the westward rise undulating hills stretching up to the Djebel Kebri, or Great Mountain. From the hills to the west of the town magnificent views are obtained, including the Mediterranean, the Straits of Gibraltar, with "its double stream of vessels of every size and every nation," the coast of Spain, and the chain of mountains stretching towards Malaga. On the eastern side of the bay the

(1) Hooker and Ball make the following judicious remarks on this head:—"To the human body there is nothing unpleasant in the effects of such air (at a temperature of 75° to 85°) when nearly saturated with vapour, and so long as the temperature remains habitually between 70° and 80° it is decidedly favourable to health." "Air at 50° F. cannot at the utmost carry more than about $4\frac{1}{2}$ grains of aqueous vapour to the cubic foot; but at that temperature it produces, when nearly saturated, that feeling on the nerves of the skin, familiar to every inhabitant of this island, which is the ordinary forerunner of colds, sore throats, rheumatism, &c."

shores are low and sandy, but backed by the "rugged range of the Angora Mountains, culminating in the Apes' Hill opposite Gibraltar." The city is surrounded by zigzag walls on all sides, and entered by three gates, which are closed at nightfall. "The main street is as rough and steep as the most neglected of Alpine mule-tracks, and disfigured by heaps of filth; importunate beggars of revolting aspect, led about by young boys, assail one at every step; the miserable shops are mere recesses, where, in an unglazed opening, little larger than a berth in a ship's cabin, the dealer squats, surrounded by his pultry wares." But, "unlike the towns of Southern Europe, where the main thoroughfares are cared for by the local authorities, while filth is allowed to accumulate in the byways, the dirt and offal are here let to lie under one's nose in the most public places, while the steep, narrow lanes that intersect the masses of closely-packed houses are generally kept clean and bright with perpetual whitewash."¹

Tangier contains a good hotel, the Royal Victoria, recommended for its cleanliness and comfort, and kept by a very civil coloured proprietor, Mr. Martin. Its admirable climate is marred somewhat by the drawbacks of dirt, bad smells, and the complete absence of roads, and it is only in the immediate neighbourhood of the town that Europeans can safely walk or ride without an escort. "We carried away from Tangier (Hooker and Ball) the impression that even on the Mediterranean shores there are few spots that combine such advantages of climate, natural beauty, and material comfort."

Algiers will commend itself to many who are in search of winter quarters. It will commend itself to those who have "done" Egypt, who are weary of the Riviera, and who do not dread a passage of forty or more hours across the Mediterranean. The touch of Oriental as well as modern military life there, the great interest of the town itself, as well as the variety of interesting excursions in the neighbourhood, the gaiety and vivacity of the French settlement—these are decided attractions for many of those who have to spend each recurring winter out of their own country. The journey is not a long one, and good steamers leave Marseilles on the Tuesdays and Saturdays of every week, and profess to accomplish the crossing in thirty-six hours; passing by the islands of Minorca and Majorca on the road, it is a pleasant enough voyage in fine weather. But for those who suffer much from a sea voyage, there is scarcely enough in the climate of Algiers to compensate them for their sufferings. Algiers has its admirers and its detractors, which may be taken to prove that it has its bad seasons and its good seasons. There are discrepancies, too, in the different accounts of the mean annual rainfall, one giving it as 28 inches, another as 36; so with regard to the average number of rainy days in winter, one author making it 42, and another 72; so

(1) Hooker and Ball's *Morocco and the Great Atlas*.

also with the mean winter temperature, estimated by one observer at 62.13° F., and by another as 57.2° . There can be no doubt, however, that much rain falls during the winter months at Algiers; but authorities differ even as to which are the wettest months; one (*Encyclopædia Britannica*) says December and January, another (Murray) says November and February, and a third (Scoresby Jackson) November, December, and January. All, however, seem agreed that March and April are the best months. The winter temperature of Algiers is, on a general average, about 10° F. higher than that of the Riviera. The difference between the day and night temperature is not so marked; but as soon as the sun sets the air often becomes highly charged with moisture. The thermometer very rarely descends to the freezing point; one observer only found it do so twice in twelve years. Although the winter rainfall is so considerable, the climate is said to be the reverse of damp and relaxing, for a rainy day in Algiers may simply mean a heavy shower of half an hour or an hour's duration, and as soon as the shower is over the invalid can take exercise again in the open air; and it may be worth bearing in mind that in a large city like Algiers these occasional heavy falls of rain serve to wash the air and keep it free from the accumulation of impurities due to organic emanations from men and animals. But I have heard of winters in Algiers when the rain fell in great quantity, "nearly daily, and often all day," in the months of November, December, January, and February. The prevailing wind is the north-west, a "cold and dry wind," blowing across the Mediterranean. The sirocco blows but seldom, perhaps for three or four hours during four or six days in a month; but it is excessively disagreeable while it lasts, for, coming across the great desert of Sahara, it is laden with a fine, penetrating dust, and feels hot and burning like a blast from an oven. The climate of Algiers, less exciting and milder, and more equable than that of the Riviera, is not humid and relaxing like Madeira; it seems, therefore, capable of exercising a tonic and bracing influence in many cases of chest disease, as well as in other chronic maladies. This kind of combination of tonic and sedative climatic influences is peculiarly suitable to cases of early phthisis in somewhat feeble, lymphatic constitutions, or in cases where the existence of nervous irritability or excitability would counter-indicate a residence in the Riviera, to the various health-resorts of which I must now hasten to give a brief consideration.

The beauty and accessibility of the health-resorts of the Riviera will always make them popular with those, whether they be invalids or not, who desire during the winter to exchange a clouded sky for a cloudless one, and the confinement of their own rooms for free sunlight and sea breezes. Not that the climate of the Riviera is by any means a perfect one. It has a heavy rainfall and a fair number of

rainy days; the transition from day to night temperature is sudden and considerable; damp and chill evenings succeeding to hot and dry days; it can, and does, freeze there, though not often; it is tormented by some of the fiercest and most disagreeable winds that blow, and in some parts, as *e.g.* Nice and Hyères, clouds of dust make life at times a burden. Yet, notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the Riviera has many recommendations, as we shall presently see. Its position with regard to the chain of the Maritime Alps gives it almost complete protection, especially its western portion, from the north; and to this and its southern exposure, and the relative warmth of the Mediterranean,¹ it owes its warm climate, for its mean temperature is from 8° to 9° F. higher than that of England. Though the rainfall is great—for instance, at Nice, there is nearly twice as much rain falls during the winter months as in London—yet there are fewer rainy days, for during the same period there are eighty-nine rainy days in London to thirty-six at Nice. The rain falls in heavy torrents for a short time, and then there is no more rain for days; while as to cloud we find, also, in the same period, that whereas London has only twelve cloudless days Nice has ninety-seven. Then, as to relative humidity of atmosphere in winter, if we compare Cannes and London, it is (estimated roughly) as seventy-five to ninety. It must be remembered, however, that the Eastern Riviera has a much larger rainfall and more rainy days than the Western. At Genoa one-third more rain falls in the winter than at Nice, and nearly twice as much as at Hyères, and it has nearly twice as many rainy days as Hyères, and a third more than Mentone or Cannes. The greatest rainfall is in October, then November, December, and March, and the smallest is in February. There are, of course, here, as everywhere else, quite surprising variations in different years.

Owing to the general prevalence of land winds the air is much drier and more exciting than that of littoral climates generally. The north-west wind, or *Mistral*, is an exceedingly dry, cold wind, as it parts with all its moisture in traversing central France. It is more felt in the western towns than in those east of San Remo; it blows with greatest violence in March, and is exceedingly hurtful and unpleasant both to sick and sound; it blows, also, frequently with much violence in April, and once or twice in each of the other winter months. The *Sirocco*, the hot, enervating sirocco, coming from Africa, blows chiefly in the spring and summer, and often, also, for two or three days in the winter months; it appears not to be a moist wind, as stated by some, but to be usually followed by rain. The north-east wind, or *Greco*, is felt most severely and frequently

(1) Dr. Marcet, of Cannes, has shown that the temperature of the surface of the Mediterranean at Cannes is from 5° to 9° F. higher than it is on the west coast of Cornwall, and he concludes "that the temperature of the air near the Mediterranean must derive a considerable accession of heat throughout the winter from that which is stored up by the water during the summer."

along the Eastern Riviera, and gives to the climate of Genoa its peculiar bleakness. "It is a biting, cold wind, often accompanied with sleet, hail, or snow." The Tramontana, or north wind, owing to the northern mountain boundary which protects the Riviera, is less felt than those other winds, except in places, like Ventimiglia, exposed to winds blowing down long valleys penetrating the chain of alps in a direction due north and south. There are also, of course, the regular daily breeze which blows from the sea on to the land, and the regular evening land breeze blowing seaward. It must not be forgotten either that in the towns along the Riviera the invalid is exceptionally well off in point of hotels, house accommodation, the command of the best medical skill, and in many places the presence of nurses trained in the hospitals of London.

It is impossible in the limits allotted to me here to attempt to estimate the various claims or to state the different characteristics of all the health-resorts along the French and Italian Riviera. Those who seek especially shelter and warmth will naturally be attracted to San Remo and Mentone, while those who desire a more bracing and exhilarating climate will prefer Cannes, or Nice, or Hyères.¹ Speaking generally, the climate of the Western Riviera is tonic, stimulating, and exciting, especially useful in cases where the vital energy is drooping and wants flogging into renewed activity. It often proves injurious to persons of a nervous and irritable temperament, and to cases which have a tendency to febrile excitement. It is on this account often ill-borne by many hysterical persons and hypochondriacs; and this leads me to refer, in conclusion, to another group of health-resorts, which, although littoral stations like those on the Riviera, have very different properties and characteristics. I allude to the comparatively sedative climate of the stations on the south-west coast of France—Arcachon, Biarritz, St. Jean de Luz, the adjacent Spanish town, San Sebastian; and with these littoral climates we may associate the neighbouring inland health-resorts of Pau and Dax.

As an example of a sedative, yet not a relaxing climate, Arcachon has seemed to me, from personal observation, to possess singular advantages for the treatment of certain maladies. Ten miles from the Atlantic coast, from which it is separated by high sand dunes covered with pine forest, it is protected to a great extent from the fury of the W. and S.W. winds by the dense forest, which also offers a protection from the winds coming from the E. and S.E. To the north of the town lies the great sea basin, a harbour many miles in extent, enclosed on all sides, only communicating with the

(1) For full and interesting details concerning the Riviera and its various Health-Resorts I can refer, with confidence, to the painstaking and laborious work on the Riviera, by Dr. Sparks of Mentone (Churchill and Sons); and to Dr. Hassall's work on San Remo and the Western Riviera for many pleasant sketches.

Atlantic by a narrow channel running almost due south. The N. and N.E. winds must pass over this basin, and become thus somewhat warmed in winter and their irritating dryness diminished, while it is maintained that they also bring from the surface of this unusually salt sea water, and from the vast extent of sands exposed by the retreating tides, an appreciable amount of saline and other marine emanations, to give a special efficacy to the air in certain scrofulous conditions. It shares also in the equable temperature which belongs to littoral climates. It must be admitted that the air at Arcachon contains much moisture, owing to the W. and S.W. winds which blow in from the Atlantic and bring much rain and mist; but, owing to the extreme porosity of the soil, which for miles and miles is wholly sand ("there is not a stone within twenty miles," was the testimony of a resident Englishman who knew the district well), the water is drained off from the surface as soon as it falls, so that there can never be any stagnant water on the ground. The air of the forest is also impregnated with the balsamic resinous emanations from the pine-trees, peculiarly grateful to some forms of chest affections; and, moreover, it is found to be very remarkably rich in ozone. I have heard it somewhat carelessly remarked that the pine-trees have been ruthlessly cut down at Arcachon, and this is a fair example of the kind of superficial criticism that often passes current with respect to health-resorts. It is not, of course, possible at Arcachon or elsewhere to build houses on the tops of trees, and so long as this is the case, if houses have to be built, trees to a certain extent must be cut down to make room for them. But Arcachon contains two quite distinct parts: there is the Plage, a level tract on the south shore of the *Bassin*, which is occupied by somewhat closely-packed streets and houses, and which in summer time becomes a sort of Margate for the population of Bordeaux; there is also the Ville d'Hiver, separated from the former by a high sand-hill, and which consists of numerous villa residences actually built in the forest; each house being surrounded on all sides by pine-trees. The prevailing winds, N.W., W., and S.W., being sea winds, are not cold, like continental winds; but they often blow with great violence, and were it not for the protection of the lofty pine-trees, *over* the tops of which they blow, they would form a serious drawback to the climate. They are most frequent from December to February, and they usually blow continuously, day and night, for several days in succession; it follows that there is less sudden transition from day to night temperature here than in the Riviera. The climate of Arcachon is, in short, mild and soothing, and it is especially suitable to cases of irritative bronchial or laryngeal catarrh, to cases of phthisis with tendency to congestion or inflammatory complications, and to persons of nervous temperament. It is not suited to persons of a lymphatic and torpid habit, who do better in the tonic and stimulating air of

the Western Riviera. Cases of consumption and of other chronic lung diseases have certainly been arrested at Arcachon, and dyspeptic persons, in whom the dyspepsia has been complicated with hysteria, hypochondriasis, and nervous irritability, have derived great benefit from its climate. Biarritz, with its excellent hotels and cheerful town, has, in some respects, the same qualities as Arcachon; but as it lies exposed to all the fury of the Atlantic winds, and has no protection like the pine forest of Arcachon, it is more bracing and less mild than it, and by no means so suitable to cases of chest disease. It is, however, well suited to some forms of nervous exhaustion and irritability. St. Jean de Luz, being a little to the north of the last, westward spurs of the Pyrenees, is beautifully situated in a fine bay a few miles south of Biarritz, with the climate of which it has much in common. It is, however, more protected from winds, and better suited therefore to pulmonary invalids. It would, however, be found dull and deficient in accommodation compared with other winter stations. We have little precise information about the climate of San Sebastian. It certainly shares the mild, sedative character of the adjacent health-resorts on the south-west coast of France, while it would in all probability be found warmer and more sheltered, and therefore better suited to pulmonary visitors, while for historical interest and beauty of situation it certainly carries off the palm. The climate of Pau, its advantages and disadvantages, have been so vigorously and hotly contested, that in order to avoid entering on controversial ground, I shall content myself with stating that all are agreed in the fact that it is greatly protected from winds, and that the air there through a considerable part of the year is exceedingly still and motionless. Every one also knows that it enjoys an admirably picturesque situation, and that the winter visitors find a great deal more sunshine there than they would in England, combined with every distraction and amusement they can desire. Moreover, some forms of asthma and chronic phthisis undoubtedly do remarkably well there. It is a sedative, not a tonic climate. Dax resembles in climate its neighbour Pau. It has, however, thermal springs and a hydrotherapeutic establishment, which may commend it to many invalids who desire to combine hydrotherapeutic treatment with a residence in a mild but salubrious and sedative climate.

I have only one other winter health-resort to mention, and that is Amélie les Bains, in the Eastern Pyrenees. It is little thought of as a winter station for English people suffering from chest complaints, yet it has very considerable recommendations. Its climate is intermediate in character between the exciting south-east and the sedative south-west coasts of France. It has been found of great value in cases of consumption and catarrhal asthma, in persons who found the climate of the Riviera too irritating and exciting, and that of Arcachon too mild and relaxing.

A very few general observations must conclude this brief survey of winter quarters. In searching for a winter health-resort, what do we desire to avoid and what do we desire to find? There are three things which we desire to avoid, especially when they are found combined together, as in our own winter climate, and these three things are damp, cold, and variability. It is the combination of these three conditions which makes the climate of England so unsuitable and even dangerous to many persons. It gives rise to the distressing catarrhal conditions which are so common, and which often lead to graver disturbances of health. It is the cause of attacks of acute and chronic rheumatism, of many forms of neuralgia, and not infrequently it is responsible for serious inflammation of internal organs. This combination of climatic conditions, necessarily associated with a clouded and sunless sky, produces a further depressing effect on the mind and spirits. It need scarcely be said that the more sensitive the organization, the more acutely will these unfavourable conditions be felt. What we seek, then, in a winter climate is the opposite of these conditions, viz., dryness, warmth, and equability. But it is always difficult to get all we want; besides, as a matter of fact, while some invalids require a combination of warmth and moisture, others need warmth and dryness, while others do better in a combination of cold and dry air; but no one wants a combination of cold and damp, and all desire sun-heat, a clear sky and as much of it as possible; and we shall find, as a rule, the value of a winter climate depends on the number of clear and sunny days, or the number of days and hours during which an invalid can take exercise or be in the open air. The mere absolute amount of rain-fall seems of small importance, provided the nature and inclination of the soil is such that the water drains off rapidly from the ground, and that there are long or frequent intervals of clear, sunny skies. Indeed, as I have already pointed out, heavy rains often have a salubrious effect in cooling and cleansing the atmosphere. It seems quite clear, too, that diurnal variability of temperature, even within wide limits, does not render a climate unhealthy even to invalids, if it is also a dry climate and the invalid learns to protect himself from the possibility of sudden chill. Nor does humidity, when accompanied with moderate warmth, seem to be necessarily unwholesome, especially in oceanic climates. There are obviously many other details demanding consideration, which the limits of a review article prevent me from dwelling upon. One word, however, with regard to the expense attending a change of winter quarters, which proves such an obstacle to many an invalid. Let me say to him, in the words of Dr. Johnson, "Sir, your health is worth more than it can cost;" and let me remind him, in the words of another author, whose name I cannot at this moment recall, that "if life without money is not much, money without life is nothing at all."

J. BURNET YEO.

THE AUSTRIANS IN BOSNIA.

LAST August I made a short excursion into Bosnia, with the view of judging on the spot of the present results and future probabilities of the Austrian occupation, and of ascertaining in what way the Austrian Government had grappled with the difficulties of taking over a Turkish administration.

The administrative task in Bosnia which had been imposed upon Austria was in many respects similar to that accepted by England in Cyprus, with this essential difference, however, that Bosnia and Herzegovina contain a population six times more numerous than that of Cyprus. The information which I gleaned during my excursion, and the result of my observations, may perhaps prove to many as fresh and interesting as they were to me.

Through the kindness of a friend I made the acquaintance of Baron de Krauss, of the Austrian Ministry of Finance, who is specially charged, in that department, with the affairs of Bosnia. My interview was a most agreeable and satisfactory one. I found that the journey to Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, could be made without difficulty, although the question of its being made with comfort seemed more than doubtful. Referring to the impatience which many people expressed as to the settlement of affairs in Bosnia, the Baron said: "Le bon Dieu took six days to make the world, and yet people expect us to make all right in Bosnia in one. Don't forget, in judging of what you see, that it is only ten months since the last shot was exchanged with the insurgents, and that the work of organization requires time. It may be true, and I think it likely, that some of our subordinate functionaries in Bosnia are scarcely equal to the duties demanded of them, but we found ourselves in a position of much difficulty in selecting the *employés* for Bosnia. We could have wished to send *there* more of our trained civil servants, but a very limited number volunteered to go, and the field for our choice was necessarily limited to those Austrian subjects who could speak the Slav language. It will only be after the lapse of a certain time—say a year or two—that we shall be able to separate the competent from the incompetent."

Speaking of the organization in Bosnia, the Baron said: "That in present circumstances it required to be chiefly military. The Duke of Würtemberg is the supreme military and civil authority. The civil administration has been divided into three departments—the Ministries of the Interior, Justice, and Finance. Some people have advocated the creation of a kind of Parliament for Bosnia, but

that is not possible ; perhaps, later on, a kind of consultative body of native notables may be established. There are six Sandjaks, which, under the Turks, were administered by Mutesariffs (Pashas). These Mutesariffs have been replaced by Austrian functionaries. In each of these Sandjaks we have established a court of justice consisting of five Austrian judges, assisted by a native. The Sandjaks are subdivided into arrondissements, and over each arrondissement is an Austrian officer, assisted in most cases by the old Turkish Caimakam, who is content to act as an adjutant. In the subdivision of the arrondissements the Turkish Mudirs remain in authority as before. The only tax which we have abolished is that for military service, but as this involves the loss of about a million of florins, we must find some means of replacing it by something else. We have introduced a criminal code based upon the Austrian with some slight modifications, as the Turkish code could not properly be applied by Austrian judges ignorant both of its spirit and letter." In reply to my inquiry as to the registration of land, the Baron said : " He thought nothing had yet been done ; the registers all being in Turkish, it has consequently been found impossible to continue them. No change has been made in the relations between the Mohammedan Beks and the Christian 'colons' (peasants). That question will require great consideration. We have constructed a narrow-gauge railway from Brod to Zenica, a distance of 197 kilometres, at a cost of about four millions of florins (£350,000), and we have thoroughly macadamized and provided with proper bridges a carriage road from Brod to Serajevo, a distance of 270 kilometres. Other carriage roads are also in course of construction."

My preparations for the journey were soon made, and I was fortunate in getting a capital dragoman, who, besides English and French, spoke Slav, Hungarian, and German. We left the Sud Bahn station at 7.30 P.M. for Essek. At 1.30 P.M. of next day we arrived at Essek, and two hours later left for Austrian Brod, which we reached at an hour after midnight. There we found an omnibus in waiting to take us across to the Bosnian village of Brod. On this journey by omnibus we saw the first of the results of the Austrian occupation, a magnificent iron bridge across the Save. It is intended to pass the trains from Austria over this bridge, and thus enable passengers to reach Bosnian Brod by car direct from Vienna. These arrangements were not sufficiently advanced to give us the benefit of them, but the rails were already laid down across the bridge, and we saw an engine passing over. At two o'clock in the morning we reached the temporary station of the narrow-gauge railway from Brod to Zenica. Very temporary indeed that station was. The omnibus could not approach it, and in utter darkness we

were landed, with our effects, about two hundred yards off, and had to get across two deep ditches as best we could. It was very cheerless, but the light of a café at a little distance attracted us, and, on reaching it, we were glad to find refreshments. The *cafegi* saluted me in English. He had been in America, but looked like a rolling-stone which had gathered no moss. But in present circumstances I regarded him as a benefactor, and felt thankful to the enterprise which brought comfort within reach of the weary even in such a forlorn spot. *

At four o'clock in the morning we were requested to take our seats in the cars. One solitary lamp in the hands of the conductor was all that there was to light us over several lines of rails which we had to cross, and to guide us to our compartments. In the darkness we could form a very indistinct idea of the nature of the cars in which we were to be confined for the next eighteen hours. With the exception of three, they looked small trucks similar to those used in Scotland to carry coals to the iron furnaces. The three cars farthest back had roofs, and were furnished with canvas curtains on the sides. Into one of these last we entered and took up our quarters. Round the sides of the compartment was a wooden bench, ten inches broad, which seemed rather narrow to make a comfortable seat. There is no distinction of persons in the Brod railway. All pay the same fare, and have the right to share the same discomforts. Some very ungainly, strongly odoriferous Jews, with huge fur cloaks, the sight of which made one feel creepy, followed us into the compartment. Fortunately two nice clean-looking girls came after them, and by the use of a little judicious gallantry I got them to sit down next me and so felt my mind immensely relieved. We started in perfect darkness, and I waited with much curiosity for daylight to investigate our surroundings. We soon realised that our cars were beyond description, rough. I had often, when a boy, journeyed in country carts without springs, but rough though that mode of locomotion was, it was as nothing to travelling in railway cars without springs. The rapid rough shake gradually shook us off our narrow benches, and every now and again we received hard shocks when one car struck against the other. Our cars were not only without springs, but without buffers also.

It was broad daylight when we reached Derwent, and I at once got down to examine the mode of our conveyance. The gauge of line was two feet six inches, and the rails one and a half inch broad. The train consisted of sixteen open waggons filled with soldiers and labourers, four covered goods waggons, and three passenger cars. The day before the convoy had consisted of thirty-six waggons. The goods waggons had a width of forty-eight and a height of forty-five inches. The wheels of the cars were only sixteen inches in diameter. We went at a very good pace, and sometimes I should

say attained as much as twenty-five kilometres an hour, with no swinging from side to side at even the highest speed. On examining the cars I found a sufficient explanation of the roughness of our ride. Instead of springs a wooden block rested upon the outside of the wheels' axle, and across that block was laid a beam which was the basement of the car. A block of wood projecting from each car was the substitute for a proper buffer. When I asked why they had not at least provided the passenger cars with springs and buffers, I was told that all was still "provisori;" but that "provisori" had lasted ten weeks, and it said little for the attention to details which might have been expected from a civilised administration that more had not been done for the comfort of passengers during that interval. Pesth or Vienna could have supplied proper springs and buffers in a couple of days had it been any one's business to think of the matter. While on this subject I may say that many examples of the same unpardonable indifference to details attracted my notice during the journey. The Imperial post from Serajevo to Zenica consisted of a miserable little gig without springs, such as the Imperial and Apostolic Government might have bought second-hand from some Galician Jew for a five pound note, and I expected at every moment that one of its crazy old wheels, which had an uncommon play, would break and bring us to the ground. A few hundred pounds would have supplied a sufficient number of comfortable post-gigs, and good springs for the cars on the railway. When I asked the postal conductor if he was not ashamed of covering the crazy old gig with the Imperial arms, he answered that it was no business of the post-office to provide the transport, he had just to take what the military authorities supplied him with.

Leaving Derwent we began to ascend by rather rapid gradients, and on reaching Modram we had risen six hundred feet. A few of the curves were rather sharp, but altogether the tracing reflected great credit on the engineering talent employed. From Modram to Kotzoko we descended as much as we had ascended from Derwent, and were now on the banks of the river Bosna. From this point to the terminus of the railway at Zenica we seldom left the valley of the Bosna, and crossed the river at least three times.

Approaching Doboï we were attracted by a large wooden cross, laden with immortelles, which was erected in the centre of a considerable number of large graves, and was the first token of the bloody resistance which the Austrians had met with in occupying Bosnia. They were graves of the fallen under General Szipari's command. It was at Maglaj, the next important station, that the disaster to the Hussars occurred. A body of one hundred and twenty Hussars had been sent forward from Philipovich's main army to reconnoitre. Meeting with no opposition, and deceived by a friendly

welcome from many of the people, they imprudently pushed on as far as Sepse, distant about forty miles; but *there* they learnt that an opposition was being organized to cut off their return to the main body. They at once began a hasty retreat. Arrived at Maglaj they had to pass between two hills, and there found the road broken up and passable with extreme difficulty by cavalry. While the horses were floundering over the rough ground, a heavy fire was opened from under cover on the hills. They had been caught in a trap, and there was nothing for it but to run the gauntlet. Some fifty men were left dead, and few of those who got back to Doboj returned on their own horses.

The moral effect of this disaster was worse than the actual loss. Blood had been drawn, Austrian troops had been seen flying in disorder, and these circumstances doubtless nursed the idea of opposition in the breasts of many who would never have ventured resistance to an imposing and well-protected force. The fanatical spirits in the country rose, and from this time the advance of the Austrian troops encountered a persistent resistance of the most annoying kind. There was not much open fighting, but shots were fired at the troops from the houses and at every covered spot. Evidence of this opposition was apparent all along the road in the front rooms of the houses being riddled with shot, which, as the walls were only formed of rubble, must have had deadly effect in the interior of the rooms. A similarly unfortunate encounter to that at Maglaj occurred later on at Tuzla, where a regiment got into a weak position, and was obliged to retreat with terrible loss. The celebrated Hadgi Loja, of whom we shall speak later on, was there. He sent to Serajevo the most exaggerated statements of the disaster, urging the citizens to resist, and promising to come to their help when he had cleared his part of the country of the Austrians. This incident, which I received on the best authority from one who was then in Serajevo, exemplifies the evil influence through exaggeration which small disasters may cause. Fortunately, the Austrians advanced very slowly upon Serajevo, and before they arrived the true facts of the case were known.

The most severe fighting was at Doboj and Tuzla, and at these two places I was informed that there might have been engaged nearly fifteen thousand insurgents. One who was with General Szapari's troops told me that the insurgents were chiefly Mohammedan Bosniaks, with a few soldiers of the Turkish army amongst them. They were generally well armed and fought like heroes. "Frequently," he said, "I saw them allow themselves to be bayoneted rather than retreat."

Sepse was the next important station that we came to. It is a considerable town boasting of several mosques. Close to the station

were barracks erected for the Austrian troops. We had seen similar erections all along the line, and continued to see them as far as Serajevo. When the Austrian troops entered Bosnia, they bivouacked in the open, and were not even supplied with tents. Immediate preparations were, however, made as they went along for the erection of barracks. A very few of these were brought, I was told, from Pesth, and were constructed simply of wooden planking, but the triumph of common sense and the difficulties of transport led to the adoption of the native systems of structure.

It was just getting dark as we reached the remarkable position of Vranduk. The river Bosna seems here to have cut its way with difficulty between two hills, the one about one hundred and fifty feet, and the other about two hundred and fifty feet high. The stream narrows considerably and bends round sharply, thus forming a kind of half island of the hill to the left. The rising is precipitous from the water edge, but notwithstanding houses are built on the steep slopes, which, from the opposite bank of the stream where we were, looked like dovecotes. The road, unable to pass along the precipitous sides towards the river, rose to the summit of the hill and passed over its crest to the other side. On the summit of the hill is an extensive castle, which, at will, bars all passage. Once this castle must have been impregnable, to-day its occupants would find their quarters too hot if shelled at from the hill on the opposite side. Vranduk always played an important part in the civil feuds of Bosnia, and the natives thought that the Austrians would not get past it. The insurgents, however, very rapidly abandoned the castle when they saw that the Austrians were outflanking the position by passing farther in the interior, and they dreaded being caught between two fires. The Austrians have very ingeniously improved the road over the Vranduk hill by piercing a tunnel through the rock, and thus avoiding about a quarter of the ascent.

It was nearly ten o'clock at night when we reached Zenica, the terminus of the railway. We had travelled most uncomfortably, in consequence of the badness of the cars, but otherwise most satisfactorily, for about eighteen hours. Deducting stoppages, we had accomplished one hundred and ninety-seven kilometres in fifteen hours. I left the railway very strongly impressed with two things. First, the wisdom of the Austrian authorities in making the line notwithstanding its rather exaggerated cost; and second, the adaptability and advantage of such narrow gauge railways in similar circumstances. The explanation of the exaggerated cost is simple. The country was in an unsettled condition, and labour, at all times difficult to obtain, was exceptionally so on account of the large transports which were at that time required for the army of occupation. It is greatly to be regretted that the line is not at once

carried on to Serajevo, for the advantages in a military and economical point of view would be great. Fewer troops would be required to occupy the country, when fresh supplies could be rapidly sent forward in case of need, and during the winter the immense advantage of railway communication over transport by carts will always be found. The obstacle is of course want of money, an obstacle in regard to which I shall make some remarks later on.

I passed an uncomfortable night in a very dirty hotel at Zenica; but it was a short one, for we were told that the post-carriages for Serajevo left at four o'clock in the morning. Punctually at the hour indicated we repaired to the post-office, but all was darkness and the officers sound asleep. In fact, we did not start till five o'clock. Shortly after leaving Zenica the road ascended rapidly. At Zenica we were 450 feet above the level of Vienna, and when we reached the summit of the hill beyond it, we had risen to 1,750 feet. We then descended a thousand feet, and arrived at a post-station called "Compagnie Khan," where we changed horses and stopped fully half an hour. While I was taking a cup of coffee at a little restaurant, four cart-drivers, Slavs from Croatia, came and sat down near me. After their first portion of wine was drunk, one of them began to sing a song, in the chorus of which the rest enthusiastically joined. I thought at first that it was a national air, but was surprised to hear frequently repeated the name of Philipovich. Calling my dragoman, I asked him to listen attentively and tell me what was being sung. It was a song in honour of Philipovich, who, according to the words of the song, "with the Austrian Kaiser's troops, in fifteen days had driven the Sultan out of Bosnia." This little incident was quite a revelation. I could easily understand the disadvantage to Austria of having as her chief representative a too popular hero like General Philipovich. His reputation with the Slavs may have had some advantages, but on the other hand it gave too much of a party aspect to the administration, and must have been disagreeable to the Turkish and Catholic elements of the population. On this account the Government showed great wisdom in the nomination of the Duke of Württemberg, a Protestant and a German, and who is the representative to all parties of a strictly impartial and non-sectarian policy. From all I heard, the Duke has fully satisfied the anticipations of impartiality which were expected of him. The song, evidently a favourite one and in frequent use, likewise indicated the erroneous views which were popularly current of the Austrian occupation among illiterate Slavs. Instead of that occupation being known as a measure to which the Sultan had voluntarily consented, it was reputed to be the triumph of Philipovich, the Slav, over the Sultan's power.

It was about six o'clock in the evening when we first got sight of

Serajevo, and glad was I to see it, for the day had been excessively hot and the journey very tiresome. Serajevo is beautifully situated on the slopes of two hills, and through the midst of it runs a little stream. The distant view of glistening minarets peering out from amongst the foliage of the gardens is very picturesque; but, like all Oriental towns, the conception of beauty which we had formed, is dispelled as soon as we enter the crowded and dirty streets. Mohammed was wise in refusing to descend into Damascus, not because his appreciation of the true Paradise might afterwards have been lessened, but because the pleasant sensation produced by the vision of beauty upon which he gazed at a distance would on a nearer view have been turned to disgust. The dilapidated-looking houses, with their wooden kiosks, dingy from age, protruding over the narrow streets, gives to Serajevo the impression of poverty and dirt that is peculiar to all Eastern towns. Here and there some good houses relieve the view, but they are few and far between. We pass along the Turkish bazaars, with their little wooden hovels crowded with goods, and with the imperturbable Turk squatted at one side of his den. I remember how, long years ago, I used to go into ecstasies over the charms of such Oriental shops and their masters, but now my thoughts move gladly forward to the time, not probably many years distant, when that wooden hovel will have given place to a solid stone structure, and its owner, instead of waiting, as now, with apparent indifference for his customer, will be erect, stirring, and bland.

It is true that I saw Serajevo at a most disadvantageous moment. A great fire had ravaged the best quarter of the town, and left it a mass of charred beams, ruined walls, and mounds of rubbish. It seemed amazing that any part of the town should have been left standing, for all the wood-work around looked like tinder, ready to burst into flame upon contact with the smallest spark. The fire had devoured three hundred and sixty dwelling-houses, four hundred and fifty magazines, and a quantity of wooden stores. The loss of property was great, especially as few of the goods in the magazines were saved. The losses fell mostly upon the well-to-do classes, but some were heartrending. Families which had attained to opulence were utterly ruined, and a great number were absolutely destitute of the resources necessary to repair their ruined houses. An Austrian commission proposed to take the opportunity to rebuild the ruined quarter in a better manner, to make a proper embankment of the river, and to lay out wider streets; but want of funds made it hopeless to expect the full realisation of this scheme. Something, however, I hope has been done to secure wider streets.

In this matter, as in numberless others, the uncertainty of the Austrian tenure is a great impediment to progress. Private enter-

prise cannot come to the aid of the State in developing the resources of the country, and even the State itself cannot freely engage its own credit for that purpose. Had there been stability of tenure, Austrian capital might have come to the aid of the distressed sufferers by the fire, and on the security of a mortgagee have advanced them money to rebuild their houses. We can understand the sentiment which prevented the Congress of Berlin from decreeing the absolute alienation of Bosnia from Turkey, although no one could doubt for a moment that the alienation was really irrevocable; but it is certainly necessary in the interest of Bosnia that some arrangement should be made with Turkey, by which security is afforded to investors under the new order of things, and an assurance given that in the event of the country reverting to Turkey, proper indemnities would be allowed them. Works of utility especially should be protected by a declaration on the part of Turkey that all concessions made in favour of such works will be duly respected.¹

The population of the town of Serajevo cannot be given with certainty, but in Mr. Consul Freeman's opinion it may be put at forty-five to fifty thousand, pretty equally divided between Mohammedans and Christians. There is also a small, well-to-do Jewish population, numbering about two thousand. Excepting the Consular body, there are few foreign Europeans resident in the town. British philanthropy is well represented by Miss Irby and Miss Johnstone, who did such meritorious work during the late civil war in succouring the families of refugees. They have an educational institute in Serajevo, where from twenty to thirty girls are cared for and receive a good education. I doubt not that the Austrian administration, in its enlightened impartiality, will gladly encourage these ladies in their good work; and it is manifestly in its interest to foster every element for good which is free from all admixture with local jealousies. I expected to find that the Catholic community was greatly ahead of the orthodox in the education of its members, but I am sorry to say that this does not seem to be the case. The Catholic priesthood of Bosnia is, with a few exceptions, little in advance of that of the orthodox Church, and it does not devote itself as it ought to do to the instruction of the children of its community. In the country villages education is much neglected, and I was informed that few were to be found in the villages who could either read or write.

And now, having brought my readers with me to Serajevo, I will endeavour to describe the general situation of Bosnia and the results of the Austrian occupation.

(1) These remarks apply also to Cyprus, and no time should be lost in procuring that trifling favour from the personal friendship of the Sultan, of which we hear much but see few proofs. The demand is a perfectly reasonable one, and proper precautions could be taken to prevent abuses.

The position of the Austro-Bulgarian Government during the insurrection of 1878 was a difficult one. We were continually told of the great inconvenience and danger to Austria of a continuance of the state of rebellion on her frontiers, but this was a comparatively small evil. The real danger was lest the result of the insurrection should be the absorption of Bosnia and Herzegovina into Serbia and Montenegro, or the establishment of a national administration in friendly alliance with these principalities. In both these events a barrier would have been erected against the advance of Austria towards the East. That the proper destiny of Austria is to advance in that direction is a fixed opinion with the majority of Austrians, and the saying of one of her great men, that "the East begins outside the walls of Vienna," is quoted frequently to a stranger as oracular. The only road eastward which these Austrian ambitions can take is through Bosnia, and keep it open she must. Turkey was useful to Austrian interests in keeping open the passage, but when that power became unable to maintain her position in Bosnia, then there was great danger of the passage being for ever closed by an advance on either side of Serbia and Montenegro.

One of the chief leaders in the insurrection, and certainly the ablest, was Liubabratich. He was an enthusiast for the deliverance of his country from Turkish domination, but was also well known to have patriotic views which were inconsistent with the establishment of another foreign domination in its place. The success of the insurrection under such a leader would certainly have imperilled Austrian interests and ambitions. Very adroitly the Austrian authorities took possession of the person of Liubabratich, and did so at a place called Vingani, which was really on Turkish and not Austrian territory. He was thus quietly removed from the scenes, and is still enjoying life at Gratz. The final victory of Austrian diplomacy was in having entrusted to her by the Congress of Berlin the occupation and administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Happily, the decision of the Congress was as truly in the interest of the two provinces as it was in that of Austria. Indeed, no other solution could have secured to the provinces a reasonable hope of peace. On account of the different factions into which we have already seen that the population was divided, it was necessary that the government should pass into the hands of a power independent of and superior to all of them. Had the native Christian element in the provinces become predominant, or had it aided Serbia to become so, there would inevitably have resulted a struggle of extermination with the Mohammedan population, which is nearly as numerous as the Christian. This would not have been a solution to secure peace. As impossible was it to hope that the Turks could re-assert and maintain their dominant position in the country. Only by force of arms

could they do so, and the conflict would have kept alive the embers of war which the Congress sought to extinguish.

Long before, it had been evident that it was for the interest of Turkey to sever her connection with Bosnia, when Russia was threatening Turkey with a declaration of war. I remember expressing this opinion to a distinguished Turkish statesman, who was then Ambassador at Paris. "The Bosnian struggle," I said, "weakens you without profit. Retire from a position which you cannot retain. Austria will certainly find herself forced to accept your place in Bosnia, and this will be no disadvantage to you." The astute diplomatist did not deny the correctness of the counsel, but said, "Beginning in that way, to-day we give Bosnia, to-morrow we will be forced to yield Epirus." The unfortunate course of events has replied, "Bosnia has gone and Epirus is going, but with them Turkey has to register the greater losses of Bulgaria and Roumelia." The fault of Turkish diplomacy of late years has been that it has refused to recognise the inevitable, and not sought to diminish its consequences by foresight. Very different would have been her position to-day had she shown herself able to adopt courageous resolutions. The same hesitation is manifest in her conduct with Austria concerning Novi Bazar. That position is no longer of any value to Turkey, for it was only of vital importance when she was called upon to maintain her power in Bosnia. This necessity being no longer upon her, every soldier she maintains in Novi Bazar is fruitless expenditure, and her prestige would immensely gain were she to retire, not hesitatingly, but as the result of a deliberate policy.

There were not wanting many in Austria who refused to acquiesce in the policy of occupation, foreseeing that the possession of Bosnia would involve the empire in considerable outlay. That party has unfortunately had, to some extent, an apparent triumph, because the occupation has proved to be an enterprise costly both in men and money. The story of the occupation is an interesting and an instructive one.

Before the decision of the Congress became known Hafiz Pasha was sent to Serajevo, with two battalions of regulars to reinforce the garrison. An eye-witness told me that it was striking to notice the effect upon the citizens of the entry of that small body of troops. "They were thoroughly cowed," said he, and he concluded that, had "they willed it, the Turks might have continued to retain complete mastery over the town." Strange to say, however, when it became known to the Bosnian Begs that the Congress had handed them over to Austria they rose against the Turks, banished Hafiz Pasha, and formed a provisional government. The Pasha and the military officers left the country, but the soldiers were simply

disbanded, and it is a fact that these same soldiers joined the insurgent bands against the Austrians. Many of them were seen later on flying through Serajevo, after a disastrous encounter with the Austrians at some distance from the capital. The impression conveyed to the minds of competent judges was that a fanatical party in Constantinople, probably at the Palace, endeavoured to counteract the decision of the Congress and to create difficulties. Only, really, in this way can we explain the sheepish retreat of Hafiz Pasha, when from the fortress, which commands the town, he might have defied all opposition. It is, at all events, a very general conviction that the action of the Begs was not altogether spontaneous, but was the result chiefly of Turkish instigation. I do not wish to be understood as implying that the Sultan or the Council of Ministers were parties to such false conduct. It was, doubtless, the machination of a fanatical party behind their backs.

The result, however, was very unfortunate to Austria. She was called to enter the country by the decision of the Congress—a decision to which Turkey had been a consenting party. It was, therefore, for Turkey to facilitate her entry, and this was especially the case when it was only from the Mohammedan population that the Austrians could anticipate opposition, seeing that the Slav Christians might be relied upon to prefer Austrian to Turkish rule. On the contrary, a Turkish Pasha had just allowed that Mohammedan population to break loose from all authority, and thus left it free to oppose the decision of the Congress.

So difficult was the position thus created for Austria that I cannot help thinking that the occupation should have been delayed until, through the action of diplomacy, the true sentiments of the Sultan's Government were distinctly made known to the Bosnian Begs, or, at least, until a Turkish functionary of superior rank had been commissioned to accompany the expedition. Too much reliance seems to have been placed upon the sympathy of the Christian Slav population, whereas it was exactly the exhibition of that sympathy which was most likely to excite Mohammedan antagonism.

The fact is, that when the Austrians entered upon the occupation of Bosnia, the capital of the country was in the hands of unknown men, who had placed themselves there ostensibly in opposition to Austria. What an incentive this was to resistance in every hesitating breast is self-evident. Indeed, that hesitation seems to have early characterised the disposition of many members of that provisional government, although at first these doubting spirits were carried away by the fanatical zeal of some of their colleagues. Chief amongst these fiery spirits was Hadgi Loji, who was more of a rapacious adventurer than a patriot. We have already recounted how he exaggerated

the defeat of an Austrian regiment at Tuzla, and urged the Provisional Government of Serajevo to make a determined resistance. But this Provisional Government had already become conscious of the hopelessness of their position, and were convinced of the necessity of laying forcible hands upon Loji, regarding him as an author of evil. They had arranged for his apprehension, but on hearing of it Hadgi Loji anticipated their intention, and went himself to the Konak with four or five attendants. His purpose has remained a mystery, for in going up the stairs of the palace his gun went off and lodged its contents in his foot. He was thus forcibly removed from the scenes and consigned to a hospital, where he was found by the Austrians on their entry into Serajevo. The old rascal, with his foot still in bandages, and scarcely able to use it, contrived to escape from the hospital, but was caught a short distance off. He is now in safe keeping, and I believe the Austrian authorities are puzzled to know what to do with him. The general amnesty may be presumed to extend its pardon to him, but it is scarcely safe to let him go free.

The occupation was first undertaken with about fifty thousand men. All went well until the occurrence of the unfortunate disaster to the Hussars, which I have already described. A rather severe engagement took place at Doboj, and after that the advance was slow. Reinforcements were demanded and waited for. When all the reinforcements had arrived, at least one hundred and twenty thousand Austrian troops had entered Bosnia. There was not, however, much fighting, and one who was with the army assured me that very many of the regiments never fired a shot all the time they were in Bosnia. I heard severe criticisms made on the commissariat, just as if it had been the commissariat of a British army. The sufferings of the troops were very great. It was August when they entered the country, and shortly after their arrival rain began to fall. The troops were without shelter, and severe sickness broke out among them. It was only when barracks had been erected that the sickness began to diminish. Transport was excessively difficult; the roads got broken up, and the pressing nature of the wants of the army gave no time to allow of their repair. The diet was also very insufficient, and I was told that scurvy broke out in some of the regiments. Vegetables could not be got, and bread and meat was too frequently the unvarying meal.

These trials, and the galling nature of the opposition experienced, irritated both officers and soldiers, and, from what I gathered, very severe examples seem to have been made of the rebels. Certainly the list of prisoners taken under General Philipovich's command must have been very meagre. The slow advance of the troops was, however, fortunate, for as time went on the opposition diminished. Thus at Serajevo the opposition was very feeble, and presented more the appearance of sullen ill-temper than of serious resistance.

As may be fancied, the expenditure incurred by such a vast movement of troops was very great, and it did not in the least surprise me that the occupation was considered to have cost about twelve millions sterling. Worse than the money cost, however, was the loss from sickness. By some accounts no less than fifteen thousand men were invalided; others made the numbers still greater. Very galling was the position of one regiment mentioned to me (the 49th, I think), which was never under fire, and yet had over four hundred men invalided. On the whole I think it must be admitted that the occupation was begun with too much precipitation, and that the entry without Turkish commissioners was the cause of all the subsequent troubles.

But from all that I heard and saw, I arrived at the conviction that Austria has no more opposition to fear in Bosnia, and that under a cautious and judicious administration the country will now quietly acquiesce in its change of masters. It cannot be pretended that there is at present much contentment among the different classes of the population, but daily the advantages of a just rule will become better understood.

The state of feeling in the three leading sections of the population is curious to mark. The Bosnian Begs are beginning to understand that there is no chance of the re-establishment of Turkish rule, and comprehend that if they had not the Austrians over them they would probably have the Servians or Montenegrins, which would prove a much greater calamity. The Austrian Government has also lately been very considerate to them, and this appears especially to be the policy of the Duke of Würtemberg. The wisdom of this policy is evident, but it will require a great deal of watchfulness not to carry the consideration so far as to alienate the sympathies of the Christian population. Strict impartiality must be the motto, and it would seem desirable gradually but steadily to disaccustom the Mohammedans to the position of superiority which they have for so many centuries enjoyed.

The Christian orthodox population is disappointed to some extent, because the object of its recent insurrection was not Austria, but deliverance from the Turks and the possession of the property of the Begs. Its struggles and trials have resulted in only half a victory—a barren deliverance. In towns where the cost of living has been greatly increased by the occupation, discontented remarks such as the following are often heard:—"The Austrians came to make reforms, but we don't see them. Our taxes are as heavy as before, and in some cases exacted with more severity. Where, then, is our advantage?" Among the peasants there is more contentment, because they have gained largely by the expenditure of the army for provisions, fuel, and forage.

The Catholic population is the most bitterly disappointed. They had indulged in extravagant dreams of the favours which were to be showered upon them when their co-religionists the Austrians took possession. In the country their position had always been an unenviable one. As Christians they had sided with the orthodox in the civil war, but their numbers made them of little account. Now they hoped to attain to an importance hitherto unknown to them. But the Slavonic predilections of General Philipovich were little to their taste, and the cold impartiality of the Duke of Würtemberg is only slightly more bearable. They have discovered that the Austrians treat their co-religionists with no more favour than they show to the Turks, and that they have not the least intention of obtaining for them release from the "tretina" due to the Begs.

The picture thus presented of the feelings of these three parties is, however, a compliment to the Austrian administration, and the highest possible testimony to its wisdom and justice. Immensely superior in power to any of the sections, Austria has nothing to fear for her position in the country, and I feel sure that, with a continuance of moderately wise government, it will daily gain in security and power.

In criticising the administration of the country, I will not fail to remember the very just remark of Baron Krauss, that to organize an administration is the work of time. Up to the present the difficulties and dangers of the military situation have absorbed too much of the attention of the authorities, and until this is changed, the civil administration will not occupy the position to which it is entitled. I was told that General Philipovich sent adrift all the functionaries whom he found in Serajevo, and certainly this was a great mistake. However he may have despised them, they would have been useful to initiate the new employés, and to continue the old routine until the new was decided upon. As far as I could gather, the new functionaries were not able to overtake the work thrown upon them. A merchant who required a formal certificate of some kind had been waiting fifteen days, greatly to his detriment, without getting it, and a comrade of the employé who should have given it, assured me that the latter was not to blame. He worked over hours, and yet could not keep pace with the daily demands upon his time. This constant pressure deprives the employés of the leisure necessary to study economic questions of importance; and it seemed to me that great advantage would result from the nomination of commissions to study these questions, composed, not of employés overwhelmed with work, but of competent persons possessing the necessary leisure. The greatest number of the civil employés are Croats, and I heard want of confidence in them often freely expressed. This distrust may, however, be unfounded, for a native's confidence always diminishes

in proportion as the object of it resembles him. I was glad to see that the Bohemians acquire very soon the dialect of Bosnia, and they appear to be generally more esteemed than the Croats.

In going to Bosnia I had expected to get much advantage from observing the manner in which questions connected with taxation, and with the relations between landlord and peasant, had been treated by Austria; but it will be time enough in two years hence to visit Bosnia for that purpose. In the centres of population the taxes are exacted with even more severity than under the Turks, but in many of the country districts the tax-gatherer has scarcely yet made his appearance. It was useless to ask what was being done or thought on the question of Dimes, for I found that there was no very uniform course pursued in regard to them. I heard of them being collected in some places in money according to valuations fixed by a local tribunal, and in others of their being taken in kind and consumed at once by the army. I was told, but only on the authority of a subordinate employé, that a project was being studied for the abolishing of Dimes, and the imposition in its place of a tax upon each peasant according to the head of cattle which he possessed. It was proposed to divide the peasants into three classes, the lowest paying five florins per annum. The fact is that in regard to taxation the employés managed as best they could in present circumstances, and gave little thought to the future.

Like the British Government with Cyprus, the Austrian Government desires that its new possession should be self-supporting, but both forget that they are in the position of proprietors who have acquired new properties which require a certain outlay of capital in order to develop their resources. We should think very little of the private individual who, of his free will, became such a proprietor, and refused to engage his credit or his capital to improve his property. There is danger of a similar accusation being made against the British in regard to Cyprus, and the Austrians in regard to Bosnia. But it must be admitted that the position of the Austrian Government with Bosnia is much worse than that of Great Britain with Cyprus. The latter need not have expended in the occupation more than a few thousand pounds, the former has irretrievably lost £12,000,000 sterling in getting possession of Bosnia. It is now a useless speculation whether a large part of that enormous amount might not have been saved; the fact is that the money is lost, and will never be recovered. A great country like Austria can afford to lose such a sum, provided the loss is not often repeated. But the misfortune is that she must go on losing heavily during several years unless a radical change of system is introduced. The Budget for the military expenditure during the coming year has been fixed at £2,000,000 sterling, while for the same period that of the civil

administration of the country is limited to £300,000. There can be no doubt that means must very soon be found to reduce this enormous military expenditure, for it is more than the Austrian Empire can bear. The utmost which it is hoped to extract out of the country itself is about £400,000 sterling, so that after paying the expenses of the civil administration there will only remain about £100,000 to the credit of the military budget.

It was quite painful to me to see the Khans along the road filled with young men of good education, who were spending their time in drinking beer and playing skittles, and I felt strongly convinced that the occupation of such a country by a regular army, with all its paraphernalia, involves an exaggerated expense. Each of those young gentlemen cost four or five times more than a non-commissioned officer, and yet the non-commissioned officer is worth four times more in such a country than the officer. At one of the stations a company of Uhlans rode up, very handsome to look at, gorgeous in all their accoutrements, and yet there was the feeling of their being entirely out of place, like men going to sea in frock coats. Simply mounted and a commoner class of men would have been much more serviceable, and cost probably one-third of the amount. For the civil administration of the country a gendarmerie has been organized which promises to be both efficient and useful. They are chosen from good non-commissioned officers, can all write well, and receive as pay 40 florins per month (£4). Their present number is about two thousand, and the total cost of the service is £120,000. As a measure of precaution they only go at present in pairs, which is evidently a mistake. Joining with a non-commissioned officer a simple private soldier, who would cost less, the force would at once be increased to four thousand, while the expenditure would not exceed £200,000. While discharging the duties of a police force, these men also represent an important military power in the country which would prove quite sufficient to suppress in the bud any hostile action on the part of a *disarmed* population. I would also advocate the establishment of a body of mounted gendarmes such as exist in Ireland. Ten such men having their head-quarters at each *chef lieu*, would form a useful body of men for defence, and for the collection of revenue. For economy a few well-affected natives might be added in moderate proportions to this force. With such an extension of the gendarmerie, a few thousand regular troops occupying certain important positions would more than suffice to keep order in the country, and thus the exaggerated military expenditure would be reduced to less than half a million sterling.

We have said that the budget for the civil administration of the country has been fixed at £300,000. This is one-third more than the expenditure under the Turkish government, but as it includes the expenditure of £120,000 for the police force, I was assured by

competent persons that it will not prove sufficient. The Austrian employé is an extreme bureaucrat, and never reflects how he can simplify his work. Thus enormous sheets of paper are filled up with writing when printed cards would suffice. He has not got yet to understand that time is money, and that his great object should be expedition.

From what precedes, it is evident that the financial results of the possession of Bosnia to Austria are far from being brilliant, and unless an active effort in the way of economy is at once made, great discontent will be expressed by certain sections of the Austrian Empire. It is satisfactory that the line of the Lim river has been peaceably handed over to Austria, and thus all danger on that side to her new possession is removed. She can therefore without delay set about the organization of the internal administration of the country, and her first duty ought to be to reduce her military force.

The most reliable information concerning the value of Bosnia to the Turks is obtained from the British Consular reports. These reports, written by Mr. Consul Holmes, and by his successor and present consul, Mr. Freeman, are drawn up with admirable care and are full of valuable information. From these sources it is evident that the revenue of Bosnia and Herzegovina varied from 42 to 50 millions of piastres, say from £350,000 to £420,000 per annum. Of this revenue fully one-half was the product of the tax upon produce called Dimes. Any increase upon the amount of that revenue cannot be expected for some years, seeing that, in the first place, it would certainly be false policy on the part of Austria to aggravate the position of the taxpayer, and in the second place, that she has been already obliged to abolish the tax for military service which produced 6 millions of piastres, or £50,000 per annum. The civil expenditure, detailed in the above-mentioned reports, varied from 19 to 21 millions of piastres, or £165,000 to £172,000, and it will tax all the economical powers of the Austrian administration to keep its civil expenditure within these limits. But Bosnia was no profit to Turkey, as we find proved by most interesting details in Mr. Consul Freeman's report for 1877. He there shows that the military expenditure of Turkey in Bosnia absorbed all the surplus between revenue and the cost of administration, and further necessitated the remittance in hard cash from Constantinople of about 10 millions of piastres, or £80,000. The burden to Austria during some years from the possession of Bosnia will be considerably more than it was to Turkey, and I should say that, besides considering the first expenses of occupation (about £12,000,000) as dead loss, it will require very careful administration to keep the loss during the next four years within £2,000,000 sterling, or on an average half a million per annum. The outlay of such a sum

may be very disagreeable to the Austrian Minister of Finance, but in reality it is a small amount of capital to expend as "*frais d'installation*," in entering upon the possession of such a property. And it is desirable that this should be the view of the matter accepted by the Austrian Parliament. In later years when her position in the country is thoroughly consolidated, and when the country itself has begun to increase in material wealth and prosperity, it will be found that the outlay was a profitable one, both for the treasury and for Austrian interests generally. The expediency of the policy which led to the occupation of Bosnia is no longer a subject worthy of discussion. Austria is now in Bosnia, and has spent a large sum of money in getting there. All and much more would be lost by retiring now from the position which has been taken up, whereas, by manfully facing the further expenditure required, she will improve in an important degree her position and all the sooner make, in commercial language, the property a paying one.

The country which has been confided to Austria for administration is a very fine one. The Sandjak of Herzegovina is the least fertile, and presents little natural beauty. But Bosnia is a splendid country. It is mountainous, yet this expression is apt to convey a wrong idea of its characteristics. More properly it might be described as a highly undulating country, very much resembling the Côte du Nord of Brittany in France, but with the hills loftier and the valleys wider. The finest scenery in the country about Mostar I was unable to visit, but I was greatly charmed with the views between Derwent and Zenica. Both hills and plains are richly wooded, and the vegetation even in the month of August was most luxuriant. The summer had been an exceptionally dry one, and rain had not fallen for a couple of months, and yet the eye was refreshed with the rich green undergrowth that covered the meadows from which a crop of hay had already been taken. The wooding in the plains is not dense but widespread, and many of the trees are as handsome as can be seen in our English parks. The cultivated fields are generally of from one to three acres in extent, and are bordered as in Brittany with rows of trees and brushwood. But few of these fields are thoroughly cleared, and patches of brushwood or little clusters of trees left standing give the impression of a very slovenly culture. Rivers are abundant. The Bosna is a large, fine river, navigable in many parts and for considerable distances, but in no place did I see its waters used for irrigation. It rises a short distance from Serajevo, and is already a considerable stream a few hundred yards from its source. As may be supposed there is capital fishing in Bosnia, and Mr. Consul Freeman, a lover and practitioner of the gentle art, told me with delight of the very heavy trout he often hooked. I shall always remember with peculiar pleasure the beauty of a ride over the hills to the South of

Serajevo, made under the guidance of Mr. Freeman. The most of the way there was no beaten track, and we had to make short work with fences, but my companion knew every inch of the ground, and his horses seemed to be quite at home stumbling over the rough boulders of rock. It was early morning, the air was clear, the sky was cloudless, and the view of Serajevo lying below us, with its minarets peering out from gardens of rich foliage, was a landscape such as cannot be forgotten.

The largest part of the country through which I travelled is devoted to pasturage, and from the temperate nature of the climate, and the abundance of water and shade, it is certainly well adapted for the rearing of cattle. In 1876 the country contained 2,000,000 head of sheep, 1,000,000 of goats, 600,000 horned cattle, and 160,000 pigs. More than half the area of Bosnia is covered with wood; but the land is cultivable to the crests of the hills. I was much struck by observing in many places that the crests of the hills were cultivated with corn, while lower down there was nothing but wooding and meadow. The villages are generally well-up on the slopes of the hills, and not in the plains—an evidence of the hitherto unsettled condition of the country.

The mineral wealth of Bosnia is very great, and there is promise of its being easily developed. Iron ore is extracted in many places by the natives, smelted with charcoal, and made into horse-shoes and nails. During the Russian war the export of horse-shoes to Servia and Bulgaria was very extensive. I observed that coal is obtained very frequently in close proximity to iron, thus assuring to Bosnia the great advantage which Scotland enjoys, of having the material for smelting close at hand. The seams of coal and iron are quite close at Visoko, Travnik, Jaice, Konjica; and at the great iron seams of Vares, Kresovo, and Mojdan, coal beds exist at a distance of less than 25 kilometres. The quality of the iron is proved by the use to which it is put, for only the best iron can be used in making horse-shoes. The coal used by the locomotives of the railway from Brod to Zenica was all of the country, and one of our engine-drivers assured me that it was perfectly serviceable. Some pieces which he pointed out to me should have been left at the pit's head, but others he held up as capital specimens of coal.

The agricultural production of the country has hitherto been far below the capacities of the population to produce, as little more than half of the population, the Christian peasants, are real producers. I was astonished to hear it cited as a grievance of the Mohammedan small proprietors, that they could not cultivate themselves the lands which they possess. To do so, it appears, would be to infringe the traditional rights of the Christian peasants, and to turn these tenants off the property would be considered almost an illegality. When the Mohammedan population had a monopoly of all the adminis-

tive positions in the country, there was some compensation for its being excluded from agricultural pursuits, but now that that monopoly is abolished, many of the smaller Begs would gladly occupy themselves with the cultivation of their lands.

A thorough modification of the agrarian laws of the country will soon be found imperatively necessary. I do not think that there is any hardship or injustice in the fixed quota of one-third of the produce ("tretina") which the Christian peasant is required to pay to the proprietor of the soil (it is the proportion agreed to by both parties of free will in most Oriental countries); but it will certainly be found necessary to call on the Christian peasant to become a proprietor, and thus unify the interests of all classes in the country. As matters at present stand, the proprietor of the soil is not master of its powers of production; on the contrary, he is at the mercy of the Christian "colon," and has to accept, as his rent, a fixed share of whatever the latter extracts from it,—much, if the peasant is industrious, or little, if the contrary. A ready solution of these difficulties would be that effected in Bohemia, where the colon was put in full possession of the land which he could cultivate, and the proprietor was indemnified for the land thus taken from him. But in Bosnia, where the only cultivated lands are those in the hands of the Christians, the Mohammedan Begs would be left with waste lands, which, from being unaccustomed to agriculture, they could not make profitable. As a certain consequence, the majority of the Mohammedans would fall into idleness, and from that sink into vice and crime. A better solution, it appears to me, will be found in that practised in Roumania, where the peasant did not receive all the land he could cultivate, but such a portion of land only as would suffice to provide his family with the necessities of life. These portions varied from eleven to four acres, and, by subsequent enactments, the proprietor was indemnified in bonds, which he could convert into cash. In that way the proprietor was only deprived of about a fourth of his cultivated lands, and the peasant being able to cultivate more than the land which he held in possession, was glad to lease extra plots from the proprietor. In carrying out this in Bosnia, it would be fair to give the landlord absolute power over the remainder of his land. From conversations which I had, I was pleased to observe that the Austrian authorities are fully alive to the necessity of in no way weakening the Mohammedan element, which is the true bulwark of the Austrian position and the best check upon Panславistic proclivities.

A colony of Wurtembergers has purchased a fine estate of about seven hundred acres near Derwent from a rich Turk at about £1 an acre. The success of the enterprise seems certain, for more sober, industrious, and patient colonists than the Wurtembergers cannot be found. Most advantageous will it be to Austria if more of such

colonies are induced to settle in Bosnia, and it would be wise to offer them special bounties on condition of military service in case of need. A thousand such yeomen, devoted to Imperial interests, and uncontaminated by Slav aspirations, would be an invaluable addition to the population, and an economical source of strength.

All philanthropists should rejoice that Bosnia, with its antagonistic sects, has passed into the hands of a Power from which may be hoped as strict impartiality as the rule of England secures to India. When Bulgaria and Roumelia are creating difficulties to their Mohammedan population, it is pleasant to think that that population will find justice and fair play in Bosnia, and that there is at least one Government in that part of Eastern Europe which takes no cognisance of religion or race, and under whose laws all enjoy equal privileges.

It will be peculiarly interesting to watch the future fortunes of the Mohammedan population of Bosnia. In Turkey generally the Mussulman element is admitted to be less vital than the Christian; not because the former are believers in the Prophet, but because they are, so to speak, of a less industrious stock. In Bosnia this argument can have no existence. Bosnian Mussulmans and Bosnian Christians are of the same blood and race, and differ only as a Mormon of British origin differs from an English Churchman. Now that both enjoy the same position before the law, there is apparently no reason why the Bosnian Mussulman should not be as industrious and as prosperous as his Christian neighbour. But if in the race of progress the latter should outstrip the former, many will with apparent reason argue that the one religion is more calculated to develop the material interests of its believers than the other.

The political importance of the advance of Austria to the line of the Lim in the Sandjak of Novi Bazar will be apparent to the most casual observer. She thus effectually separates Servia from Montenegro, and from her commanding position is able to keep in check any onward movement on the part of either Bulgaria or Servia. She also gains a position from which she can materially assist Turkey, if need be; in a word, no movement can occur to the south of the Balkans upon which she may not, if she will it, exercise an influence. It would be foolish, however, to ignore that the position increases gravely the responsibilities and dangers of Austria. Were it not for the friendly attitude of Germany, we might anticipate ere long a counter-move on the part of Russia in order to deliver from their present position of check the pawns with which she played in the recent war, namely, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro, and it is not difficult to foresee that any such counter-move would be made on the side of Galicia. But for the present no such danger is imminent.

R. HAMILTON LANG.

MEN AND WOMEN.

Among the social questions agitating men's minds in this age of transition between the old world of thought and faith and custom, so rapidly disappearing, and the new world scarcely yet visible in its rudiments beneath the tide of change and destruction, there are none that go deeper to the very roots of our social life than those touching the relations between the sexes, and the position assigned to women in the family and in the State. For centuries those relations had been considered fixed as the law of nature itself and too sacred to be touched by profane hands; but, of late years, they have shared the fate of other revered institutions and have become open questions, to be tried as freely as any others in the ruthless crucible of doubt and analysis. A powerful agitation has sprung up in favour of more even justice to women, from which have resulted the several movements for the improvement of their education, their admission to the medical and other professions and employments, the removal of their political disabilities, and the reform of the marriage and other laws affecting their property or person, or their rights over their children. These movements, carried on simultaneously, though for the most part independently, have already achieved a very considerable improvement in their position. The educational and professional battle may be considered to have been won in principle by the decision of the University of London last year to open all its degrees to women. On the political side the concession of the parochial, municipal, and School-Board franchise, including, in the latter case, the right to sit on School Boards, leaves only the Parliamentary franchise to be obtained, and that, according to the statement of a Cabinet minister last year, is only a question of time. The movement for the reform of the laws affecting their civil rights has been slower, as might have been expected, considering how closely it touches men in the points on which they are most sensitive, ~~their~~ power over their wives and children, and over women in general as their natural subordinates. But even in that direction there is a steady though slow progress, and whenever the Parliamentary franchise comes to be exercised by women, the perception of women's grievances will, we may feel sure, be very much quickened in members of Parliament, and the rate of this redress astonishingly accelerated.

Still, notwithstanding this successful advance along the whole line, or rather, it may be, on account of it, there is a phase of opposition yet to be gone through, in some respects the most perilous of

all. Those of ridicule or of contemptuous indifference have passed or are passing away and in their place has arisen an angry antagonism, which vents itself in cynical words, sometimes in brutal deeds, words and deeds which are justly and hotly resented by the women exposed to them and the men who so generously support their claims ; and thus a partisan warfare comes to be waged and hostile camps formed, in which, though the sexes are largely mixed, the watchwords are triumph or defeat to the one sex or the other.

That this antagonism will also be a passing phase is as sure as that the law of nature, binding men and women together by their common and imperative need of each other, will overcome every artificial disturbance, and finally establish the true relations between them. But in the meanwhile, its consequences in the present or immediate future of society, threaten to be disastrous to men and women alike, since, like a civil war, it invades family as well as public life, and brings discord and disunion among those who should be bound closest together. The object of this essay is not to write up one side or the other in any party spirit, but, leaving party questions aside, to look at the facts as they stand in human nature and human history, and endeavour to arrive at dispassionate and, it is hoped, just conclusions on questions of such vital importance to the best interests of society.

The subject divides itself under three heads. 1st. What has been the position of women in the past and up to the present day? 2nd. What are the causes, natural and artificial, which have made it what it was and is? 3rd. Does the welfare of society require and justify the continuance of the old state of things, or demand the introduction of more equal relations between men and women?

To answer the first question, by even the most cursory survey of the past history of women, would far exceed the limits assigned to this essay ; and it must suffice to state the general and indisputable fact patent throughout the history of mankind, that in all times and in all the families of man of which we have any knowledge, the position of women has been one of subjection. There are exceptions for individuals ; there is an exception for every woman during the time of courtship, but there is none for the sex. As a sex women have always been and still are completely subordinate to the masculine gender. And notwithstanding all that Christianity and the general advance of civilisation have done for them in modifying both custom and opinion, the popular feeling about them, shared even by women themselves, still emphatically pronounces that their proper place is one of subjection ; that they belong in some special sense of dependence to their male relations first, and, in a lesser degree, to the male public generally, whose taste, judgment, and convenience ought to regulate their lives ; and any assertion of independence, of

freedom in the choice of pursuits or mode of life, is still regarded as a breach of proper feminine feeling, to be visited, as the case may be, with ridicule or serious reprobation.

We come now to our second question, To what causes is this due? Why should the universal history of women have been, and still be, one of more or less complete subjection to men, under whatever forms of chivalry, courtesy, or even idolatry, it may be disguised? It seems impossible to account for a fact so universal and so persistent under every variety of time and circumstance, except by admitting a real inferiority in the sex. It is scarcely credible that had the sexes been really equal in power, the one should always have remained in subjection to the other. There must have been successful rebellions and long alternations of rule between them, and this at once supplies the reason why, to avoid such a disastrous conflict, in which so large a proportion of the energies of the race would have been wasted, there should be just that degree of inferiority in the one, which precludes conflict and insures the unquestioned predominance of the other, essential to the progress of all. There is, however, no evidence to show that the inferiority of the woman amounts to actual deficiency in any of the qualities belonging to the man. It is rather like the difference between the right hand and the left. The left can be trained to do equally well what is done by the right, and with naturally left-handed people does it better; but the right has, as a rule, just that slight superiority which prevents any hesitation as to which shall be used.

But women are far more heavily handicapped in the race of life than by this slight average inferiority. Even if it did not exist, the division of functions, which imposes on the woman the bearing and rearing of children through the long period of helpless infancy, would, of itself, account for her subjection to the man on whom she and her children must depend for food and protection. The question is, how far the natural supremacy thus enjoyed by man may rightly extend,—how far the natural disabilities of woman justify the imposing upon her of artificial ones; also how far the welfare of the community, the *suprema lex*, requires and justifies the inequality in the treatment of men and women by the laws of inheritance and marriage, and the exclusion of women from any of the rights and privileges of citizenship on the ground of sex alone? This is the third question we have set ourselves to answer. Let us see what answer can justly be made to it.

It is clear that the first purpose of human life is the preservation and propagation of life itself. Hence the argument for woman's subjection from her physical weakness and need of protection for herself and her children is a conclusive one in the barbarous stages of society, in which warfare is the normal condition of things and

the battle of life is fought with thews and sinews only. But as civilisation advances law tends more and more to supersede physical force in the protection of the life, property, and rights of individuals, and the more perfect is the civilisation the more complete will be the equality it gives to the weak with the strong. Moreover, although the preservation and continuance of the race is the first purpose of life with man, as with the lower animals, it is not with him, as with them, the sole purpose, but only the necessary condition for the fulfilment of other purposes, of the continuance and preservation of his higher life as an intellectual and moral being, tending towards a goal, which, however obscure to us now, is clearly not mere material prosperity or pleasure, since he is called upon perpetually to sacrifice both at the supreme command of duty. Nor, let it be noted, has the advance of the race been due at any time to physical force, but to intellectual and moral development. If physical force were the ultimately governing force in this world, as is so often alleged, then man assuredly would never have governed it, for of all animals he is the most naturally defenceless, and, by his long period of infancy and childhood, the most heavily weighted in the struggle for life. His brain and his hands alone have given him the mastery and made the most powerful of the brutes his slaves or his victims. So it has been throughout his history; the dominant races have been those of greatest moral and intellectual vigour, and the decay and fall of nations have come with moral, not physical, effeteness. Note again that the higher purposes and interests of human life—religion, philosophy, art, science, literature—stand altogether apart from the struggle for life. In their realms, the battle is not to the strong nor the race to the swift of hand or foot, but to the strong in moral purpose, to the swift in intellectual apprehension; and the combatants rank by these alone, irrespective of any physical distinctions.

This argument may be said to cut two ways as regards women, for if it disposes at once of the objections to the claims of women on the score of their physical weakness, it strengthens that founded on their mental inferiority. Let us examine whether that mental inferiority is of a degree and kind to justify, for the sake of society, the disabilities imposed upon the sex.

If we put the case in the extreme form, which it is apt to assume in the minds of the vulgar, that every woman is naturally inferior to every man, then this natural disability must be so overwhelming that to add any others to it is simply absurd. What would be thought of the sanity of legislators who, to secure the superiority of the right hand over the left, should propose to tie up the left, and to prohibit left-handed persons from using it? It is scarcely necessary, however, to show that no such universal inferiority exists as between

individuals of each sex. It is only by taking the average of both that the average man will be found superior to the average woman. If we come to individuals we find that a great many women are indefinitely superior to the average man, and that some women are superior to all but the supremely great men. It is, indeed, continually asserted that women are naturally incapable of reasoning, of abstraction and concentration of thought, of sustained mental labour; that they have no creative power, no sense of humour, &c., &c.; but as all these allegations have been again and again disproved by the lives and works of women, the only residue of fact seems to be that, in the great competitive examination of life, no woman has taken her place among that small class of senior wranglers recruited throughout the ages at the rate of some half-dozen in a thousand years. When it is remembered under what immense disadvantages, physical and social, women have laboured in attaining the eminence they have indubitably reached in every department of intellectual labour, there seems scarcely any need to assume an innate inferiority to men to account for their never having attained the highest place of all. Be this as it may, the fact that no woman has equalled Homer, Plato, or Phidias, Shakespeare, Raphael, or Beethoven, can scarcely be alleged as a reason for excluding women from the rights and privileges habitually exercised by men who, assuredly, have as little pretensions to such equality.

With regard to the moral and spiritual equality of the sexes, there is complete antagonism of opinion among those who yet agree in opposing their civil and political equality. It is asserted on the one side that woman is of purer and holier nature than man, and, therefore, that to admit her to the arena of public life would be to soil and lower her to the masculine level. On the other it is maintained that women are deficient in some of the highest moral qualities, and that it is from the consequences of those defects that society and women themselves must be protected by keeping them under the rule of the more just and generous, as well as stronger sex. Let us try to find out on which side the truth lies, beginning with the last stated, the alleged moral deficiencies of women.

Women then, it is averred, are naturally wanting in some of the highest virtues: courage, truthfulness, justice, generosity, magnanimity; and are naturally prone to meanness, artifice, vanity, frivolity, jealousy, and spite. Now, although history and the daily experience of life abundantly refute these allegations, as they do the similar ones respecting women's natural deficiency in the higher mental qualities, yet this much must be admitted; that, taking the average woman in her normal condition of subjection and confinement to the narrowest interests of life, and comparing her with the average man in his normal condition of freedom, she is more prone to that class

of defects. But, if we change the conditions under which the comparison is made, we shall find that it is in the condition, and not in the sex, that those defects are inherent; that they are found in men as commonly as in women, wherever and in exact proportion to the degree in which their lives, their property, their happiness, the respect in which they are held, and which necessarily reflects back on their self-respect, are dependent on the good pleasure of others. The virtues in which women are said to be deficient are the virtues of the strong and the free; the vices to which they are said to be prone are the vices of the weak and dependent, of the slave, the pauper, and the parasite.

Again, the vanity and frivolity, the littleness of heart and mind, which are attributed to the one sex, may be found equally developed in the other when placed under similar conditions. In the countries and in the times where despotism or bigotry have excluded men from all avenues of public activity and free pursuit of knowledge, we shall find them in the leisured classes sharing precisely the same defects with the women of their own class. Nay more, the men who, in our own and other free countries, prefer idleness to any of the active careers open to them, and deliberately choose the life of frivolous pleasures and frivolous interests to which the women of their class are confined, and from which the average woman has not strength enough to shake herself free;—these men more than equal women in their proneness to those so-called feminine defects, while adding to them the masculine ones of grossness and impurity.

Now let us look at the other view of womanhood, which credits it with special virtues instead of special defects, modesty being pre-eminent among them. To this must be added tenderness, self-devotion, delicacy and quickness of perception, idealism, reaching its highest form in religion. But if we apply the same test as before we shall find that so far as these qualities are specially developed in women, they are rather what the French call *graces d'état* than inherently feminine. Modesty belongs as much to a fine-natured youth as to his sister; but it is honoured in her, and laughed at in him, which accounts for the difference between them when they have respectively attained manhood and womanhood. That it does not belong to womanhood as such, is but too sadly proved by the testimony of travellers to the customs and manners of savage or semi-barbarous nations where the men are indifferent to it. Where, on the other hand, the men are jealously sensitive to the purity of the women of their families, it ranks highest among feminine virtues, until—as throughout the Western world—the terms “virtuous” or “honest” applied to a woman, bear no other meaning. But where the barrier has been once broken down, or has never existed, there is

but too much evidence to prove that women have no inherent safeguard against impurity in any even of its basest forms.

Again, tenderness and its outcome, pity, are as inseparable from true manliness as true womanliness. Quickness and delicacy of perception are developed by the constant exercise of observation on details, and where exceptional conditions in a man's life force this exercise upon him, as the normal conditions of women's lives do upon them, it will be found to produce the same results. Self-devotion is but a form of generosity; the generosity of those who give themselves, having nothing more and nothing better to give, and, thank heaven, belongs equally to the nobler nature of both sexes. With regard to religion, it can scarcely be claimed for women that they have, as a sex, more genius for religion than men, seeing that all the founders of religions have been men, and that wherever religion has been held in honour, men have rather monopolised than abandoned it to women. That the latter should cling longer to a form of religion which is falling into decay and contempt, is the natural result of their comparative seclusion from the great intellectual movements of the world, which force the human mind to throw off, in its process of growth, the old vesture of faith become too narrow for it, and to weave for itself a new one fitted to its new needs. Christianity, with its assurance of Divine love, its hope of an eternal life where sin, and pain, and sorrow shall cease, naturally has the strongest hold on the hearts and imaginations of the weak and oppressed, the weary and heavy-laden, of whom the larger number are women; and the passionate religious feeling which prevailed among the slave population of the Southern States in America, men and women alike, is an instance in point. It may be added that in the dull, narrow, prosaic lives of the women of the lower-middle and working classes, religion is the only outlet into a larger and brighter sphere; the only window, as it were, through which their souls can look, or breathe some breath of the life that is not fed by bread alone. Alas, that the very conditions which make this window so vitally necessary, make it also but too often so narrow, so dust-stained, that neither pure light nor pure air can reach them through it!

The result of this comparison of the moral and intellectual powers of men and women seems to be that human nature is substantially the same in both, and that the common expression: *How like a man! How like a woman!* should be translated into: *How like what men and women generally have been made by conditions of life, education, and inherited aptitudes, from generation to generation, causing certain qualities to be more or less developed in each sex taken as a whole.*

The individual variations from this average type are, however, too great and too frequent to permit us to regard the type as a fixed one; still less to make it a justification for dividing the sexes into a

superior and inferior caste, the one governing, the other governed. There remains, however, to be considered the one permanent and unchangeable difference between them, the physical one of function, imposed by the law of nature, which assigns to women motherhood and all that this entails. The woman must bear and rear the children, the man must protect and provide for her and them. Her duties as a mother confine her to the home, and to him must be left all that lies outside of it. Moreover, he naturally governs the household he provides for.

Accordingly we see that the problem of the relative rights and duties of the sexes has never arisen where the subjection of women following from this primitive organization of the human family has been consistently carried out, and the women have been regarded simply as females, to be disposed of and provided for without any regard to their wants or wishes as moral and intellectual agents. The practice in the old aristocratic societies on the Continent of making the acceptance of the husband chosen for them or a convent the inevitable destiny of the daughters of noble families was but another way of attaining the end which female infanticide and polygamy secured in the non-Christian world, *i.e.*, to prevent the number of women at large in society exceeding the men's demand for them. The enormous importance attached everywhere to the marriage of daughters, and the superior dignity of the married over the unmarried woman, are outcomes of the same feeling, that the women who are not wanted by men are superfluous. But under the present constitution of society all women cannot marry, and many, among whom we must reckon some of the noblest of their sex, will not marry when they can; and so has grown up, in this country especially, an increasing number of women, who have to live their lives, in many cases to find food for their bodies, in all cases to find it for their minds and souls, outside the position of wife and mother. To these must be added the numbers who have married and found in marriage neither protection nor provision,—widows having to bear the burdens and assume the duties of both father and mother, master and mistress of the family; wives more unhappy than widows, who strive vainly, under the iniquity of the laws of marriage, to protect themselves and their children against the extravagance, the vices, or the brutality of him who ought to be their defender and helper. In the face of such facts as these it is clear that the old theory of protection and provision for the one sex by the other, in return for which women should surrender all claims to independence, and remain perpetual minors under the guardianship of men, will not hold water, and the question has necessarily arisen, why these women, on whom are thrown all the burdens of independence, should, simply because they are women, be debarred from its privileges?

We have seen that the physical, intellectual, and moral inferiority of women, so far as they are proved to exist, afford no justification for such exclusion. We have now to examine the arguments in support of it from custom, prescription, and sentiment, which are far more difficult to meet, as resting not on facts or logic, but on the ideal and emotional elements of our nature, both the best and the worst, which are the real governing forces of human life. Let us again look at both sides and try, at least, to ascertain what weight should be fairly given to them in determining the questions at issue.

First there is the argument from custom and prescription, in which all agree, however they may differ in other points. Women always have been dependent and subordinate; to give them freedom and equality is to reverse the order of nature and revolutionise society. To this it may be answered that the order of nature may safely be left to take care of itself; and that the progress of society has actually consisted in the continual change of old customs for new, as new circumstances required them. In these days when old authority and prescription are everywhere called in question, and required to show a reason why they should subsist, it seems hard that the prescriptive rights of men over women should form the sole exception to the rule. Then comes the *chival de bataille* of the opponents of women's claims: to grant them, they say, would be to desecrate their womanhood, which is too sweet, too delicate, too sacred a thing to be soiled in the coarse contest with the world; that the bloom would be brushed off its beauty, all the charm and poetry of the intercourse between the sexes destroyed, and for the chivalrous homage of the strong to the weak would be substituted a rude rivalry in which women must go to the wall.

But is it not evident that those who put forward this argument are thinking not of the sex in general, but only of that small minority of it whom they meet in their own drawing-rooms, the women who sit at home at ease, protected and cherished so that the winds of heaven visit not their cheek too roughly? How can it apply to the immense majority of the sex who, far from any such privileged immunity from the wear and tear of life, have to take their full share of it, and who are only sure of one thing, that in the division of labour—unless they go upon the stage—the worst paid and least honoured will be theirs? Will you tell the millions of women now earning their bread and that of the families dependent upon them, that they have desecrated their womanhood by entering into the battle of life which they had no power to escape, and are forced to fight at the immense disadvantage imposed upon them by legal disabilities, in addition to the natural disabilities of sex? Would it not be better to surrender an

ideal of womanhood so irreconcilable with the facts of life, and admit and thank God for what those facts daily prove, that womanly modesty, purity, tenderness, and sweetness, are not of such delicate constitution that they can only be grown under glass? After all it is more than a question whether their worst dangers are to be found in the free highways of life, and in the pursuit of serious avocations; and the writer confesses to listening with amazement to the men who expatiate on the perils of the class and the lecture room, the hospital ward, or the polling booth, while exposing young wives and daughters without a fear to the licence of our modern Saturnalia, a London season.

To turn now to the opposite, and, alas, far commoner, feeling, which regards women as an inferior order of beings, created for the use and convenience of men, and which, therefore, resents all attempts to place them on an equality as attacks on the privileges of the higher caste and an infringement of its proprietary rights over the lower. This feeling is the natural result of the hereditary subjection of women. It pervades all classes of society; it is reflected alike in the higher literature and in the popular proverbs of all nations, and is so habitual as to make the expression of it quite unconscious. It would be amusing but for the sting it conveys, to hear the *naiveté* with which it is expressed to women themselves by men incapable of intending a deliberate insult. The poet and the novelist, the theologian and the philosopher join with the men of the world to swell the chorus in which women themselves, from honest humility, or from the desire to flatter their masters, too often take a part. Leopardi savagely accuses women of despising the poet if the man is awkward or deformed, and Schopenhauer's comment is, "What can you expect from women? Their hair is long and their mind short."¹ There is something comical, by the way, in finding this neglect of genius in an unattractive person attributed to the narrow-souledness of women by men who would not pick Sappho herself out of the gutter unless she were young and handsome; nay, rather would consider her genius an additional reason for leaving her there.

This habit of regarding women as an inferior caste has, of course, intensified the trades-union opposition to their admission to the higher professions on a footing of equality, by adding to it a sense of indignity, of positive degradation to the man from such equality. The imputation of trades-unionism as the motive of the opposition is, indeed, angrily denied, but it is difficult to detect any difference between the feeling which makes watchmakers prohibit the employment of women in a trade for which they are so fitted by delicacy of

(1) Not an original reflection of Schopenhauer's, but a Russian Proverb. See Wallace's *Russia*.

touch, or china-painters stipulate that women shall be deprived of the painting-stick, without which they cannot do the finer, and, therefore, best paid, kinds of work; and that which prompts doctors to resist *à outrance* the claims of duly qualified women to be admitted to practise as physicians among their own sex while eagerly encouraging them to become nurses in the hospitals for both sexes. The preservation of feminine modesty and delicacy can scarcely be believed in as their sole motive, since it is as notorious that the duties of the physician involve far less that is revolting to the senses and feelings than the nurse's, as that her pay and position are hopelessly inferior to his.

But the most fatal bar to any fair consideration of the claims of women is the deep-rooted, though often unconscious, belief that the sole purpose of women's lives is to minister to the uses of men, and that they can have no rights apart from this. It is the surviving form amongst Western nations of that absolute proprietorship in their women, which is characteristic of savage and semi-barbarous peoples, and which is perpetuated by religious and social customs everywhere outside the pale of Christianity. It has dictated our marriage laws, of which Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Campbell, and Lord Coleridge have agreed in declaring that they cannot be vindicated upon any principle of justice, or mercy, or common honesty.¹ And although some mitigation of them has been effected by recent legislation, more than one trial of late has shown how inadequate the remedy still is—how a wife may still be robbed of her property and her children, and the promises on the faith of which she married broken with the sanction of the law, which refuses to her the protection it would grant to her husband's mistress.

And while the law is a whip of scorpions in the hands of a tyrannical and brutal husband, it is powerless to protect the good and generous from the ruin which can be wrought by an unscrupulous or vicious wife. The writer feels that it is almost like preaching in the desert to urge these things, yet surely a time will come, at last, when it will be recognised that the honour and happiness of married life are not of the things which can be made or preserved by law, and that all that law can do for them is to hold the balance even between the strong and the weak, and compel the bad husband to do what the good one does of his own accord.

But there is a darker side to this proprietary feeling of men in women, which must be touched upon, difficult and dangerous though the ground is felt to be. It is not possible in these pages to enter into the subject of the hideous sore of our social system, unnameable to ears polite which cannot bear the mention of hell, however com-

(1) See Speech of Lord Coleridge in the House of Lords on the Married Women's Property Bill, June 24, 1877.

placently acquiescing in its existence, and still less to examine the character and efficacy of the legislation intended to minimise the evil. But, at any cost, it must be pointed out that its main source and strength lies in the disastrous belief that women are made for the use of men, and that any number of women may, and must, be sacrificed body and soul, and deprived of all their rights as human beings, to secure to men the safe indulgence of their passions. Nothing will stay this plague or save society from its fatal effects, except such a revolution in the feeling of men about women as shall place the latter in a position of perfect equality as human beings, no more made for men than men for women, and the consequent revolution in the moral training of boyhood and youth, which shall give to self-control the place of honour now given in the male sex implicitly, if not explicitly, to self-indulgence.

There seems but one conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing considerations, *i.e.* that the slight natural inferiority of women, which, coupled with their function of motherhood, has secured to men the leadership of the race, is neither in kind or degree such as to justify their exclusion from any place in the social polity they can prove themselves by fair competition fit to occupy, or the denial to them of any of the rights which belong to men in virtue of their humanity. It may fairly be asked, what are the practical results to women themselves and to society in general which might be looked for if this conclusion were generally accepted and acted upon to the ultimate sweeping away of all disabilities laid upon women by law or custom, leaving only those which nature herself has imposed? In answering this question, we must distinguish between immediate and ultimate results. A change so sweeping, and affecting all the relations of life, social, political, and domestic, could not be completely effected under several, probably many, generations. Plato could not conceive a society without slavery, and we cannot form any clear conception of one in which women should stand the equals of men, so far as human legislation was concerned. But we may feel sure that in time the new relations would adjust themselves by the free action of natural laws, and the new state of society be so much sounder and safer than the old, as it would rest on natural instead of arbitrary distinctions.

There are, however, some results which might be looked for immediately. The admission of women to the suffrage, which would be the first step taken, would insure, as already hinted, the speedy redress of their special grievances, for we all know the difference between represented and unrepresented interests, in the attention bestowed upon them in Parliament. Their admission within the educational and professional barriers, hitherto closed against them, will secure the free exercise of whatever abilities they possess. To

the large and daily increasing number of women of the "genteel" class, who must work to support themselves and others, or submit to genteel slavery or genteel starvation, it will open up better paid and more honourable employments, and set them free from the heavy shackles their sex has hitherto imposed upon them. It will save them also from the degrading temptation to marry for a provision, while very probably increasing the opportunities of marriage according to inclination. Many a poor professional man who cannot dream of marrying because a girl of his own class would bring to the common stock only her wants and her helplessness, with the prospective wants and helplessness of her children, could prudently marry one who brought with her the means of independence in a profession, and, what would be equally valuable, the habits of self-reliance and of methodical industry trained in professional work.

It cannot be doubted that society generally must be the gainer from having the undivided stock of energy and ability possessed by each generation placed at its disposal, and that its work will be best done when the free competition of all secures that the best will get it to do. The question is whether this gain may not be paid for too dearly. Much alarm—some real, some affected—is expressed lest the political emancipation of women should lead to the sexes being arrayed in opposite political camps, the numerical superiority of the women giving them a predominance only to be overcome by the physical force of the men. It is feared, too, that their professional competition will destroy the natural attraction of the sexes for each other, and cause marriage to be less honoured and less desired; lest the women, who can obtain independence and social position without it, should refuse to submit to its burdens. It is even hinted that moral equality between the sexes may be reached, not by raising men to the level now required of women, but by sinking women to that now condoned in men. But these fears may be dismissed as equally groundless and unworthy. So long as human nature remains what it is, its strongest impulses, moral as well as physical, will draw the sexes together, and prevent their ever standing in permanent opposition or hostile rivalry. Even on these very "women's questions," as they are called, we find as many men as women on the women's side, and many, if not more, women on the men's side than on their own. Nor is it to be supposed that free-trade in labour will lead to a permanent scramble between the sexes for the same employments. A natural division of labour between them will succeed the artificial one hitherto maintained, and as the new order of things becomes settled it will be found that men and women will naturally gravitate towards the kinds of labour for which they are naturally best fitted, and we may expect that the real differences inherent in sex will, under this system of free development, become more

instead of less clearly marked in practical life. Those who oppose it on the ground that they do not, as they express it, "want women to be turned into men," may set their minds at rest concerning any such awful metamorphosis, and feel assured that Dame Nature, if left to herself, will, like other dames, take very good care to have her own way.

Again, marriage in the sense of the permanent union of the man and the woman under special social sanctions, which is the basis of the family, as the family is the basis of civilised society, is as distinctively human as articulate speech, and will endure as long as society itself. The truer the civilisation, the purer and holier will be these family ties, and the more will society condemn these illicit connections which tend to disorganize it, and reduce human beings to the level of the brutes. If some artificial inducements to marriage are lessened or removed by the changes we are foreshadowing, its greatest drawback, the subjection of the wife and her children to the absolute and irresponsible power of the husband, and the merging of her civil existence in his, will be removed also. And it may be hoped that its happiness will not be less, but more secure, when the man and woman who choose each other out of the whole world to live together as man and wife, enter into it as an equal partnership, neither partner surrendering more than the other, and both surrendering all that is incompatible with the perfect union of interests, honour, and affection, which is the essence of true marriage.

That the new liberty granted to women may lead, at first, to some licence; that the faults and weaknesses fostered by centuries of artificial and unjust restraint will not instantly disappear, but have to be eradicated by the natural process of suffering and punishment; that many cherished habits of thought and feeling, linked with some of our earliest and dearest associations, will have to be rooted up more or less painfully, is only what must follow any large and deep-reaching change in human affairs; that which has followed every great step in the progress of the race. But the evil will be transitory, and the good permanent. It is the writer's profound conviction that when men and women stand thus equal helpmates in the work of life, equal sharers in its rights and duties; when the false standards of morality, resting on distinctions of sex, are exchanged for the true standards resting on the moral law obligatory on all human beings, and virtue and honour have but one meaning for man and woman alike; then, and then only, may we hope to see the moral cesspools of society cleansed away, and the human family advancing with steady step and even front to the final conquest of civilisation over barbarism, of the man over the brute, of that which is divine and immortal in human life over that which perishes in the using.

MARIA G. GREY.

MATTHEW ARNOLD'S SELECTIONS FROM WORDSWORTH.¹

It is both interesting and instructive to hear what masters of a craft may choose to say upon the subject of their art. The interest is rather increased than diminished by the limitation of the imperfection of their view, inseparable from personal inclination, idiosyncrasy of genius, or absorbing previous course of study. When Heinrich exclaims, "There's no lust like to poetry;" when Goethe asserts, "Die kunst ist nur Gestaltung;" when Shelley writes, "Poetry is the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds," we feel in each of these utterances—too partial to express an universal truth, too profound to be regarded as a merely casual remark—the dominating bias and instinctive leanings of a lifetime. If, then, we remember that Mr. Matthew Arnold is equally eminent as a critic and a poet, we shall not be too much surprised to read the following account of poetry given in the preface to his *Selections from Wordsworth*: "It is important, therefore, to hold fast to this: that poetry is at bottom a criticism of life; that the greatness of a poet lies in his powerful and beautiful application of ideas to life—to the question: How to live."

At first sight this definition will strike most people as a paradox. It would be scarcely less startling to hear, as indeed we might perhaps hear from a new school of writers upon art, that "Criticism is at bottom the poetry of things," inasmuch as it is the critic's function to select the quintessential element of all he touches, and to present that only in choice form to the public he professes to instruct. Yet, when we return to Mr. Arnold, and compare the passage above quoted with the fuller expression of the same view upon a preceding page, the apparent paradox is reduced to the proportions of a sound and valuable generalization: "Long ago, in speaking of Homer, I said that the noble and profound application of ideas to life is the most essential part of poetic greatness. I said that a great poet receives his distinctive character of superiority from his application, under the conditions immutably fixed by the laws of poetic beauty and poetic truth, from his application, I say, whatever it may be, of the ideas—

On man, on nature, and on human life,

which he has acquired for himself." An important element in this description of poetic greatness is the further determination of the

(1) *Poems of Wordsworth*. Chosen and Edited by Matthew Arnold. Golden Treasury Series. Macmillan, 1879.

ideas in question as moral: "It is said that to call these ideas *moral* ideas is to introduce a strong and injurious limitation. I answer that it is to do nothing of the kind, because moral ideas are really so main a part of human life. The question, *how to live*, is itself a moral idea; and it is the question which most interests every man, and with which, in some way or other, he is perpetually occupied."

With the substance of these passages there are few who, after mature reflection on the nature of poetry, will not agree. That the weight of Mr. Arnold's authority should be unhesitatingly given against what he calls the poetry of revolt and the poetry of indifference to morals, is a matter for rejoicing to all who think the dissemination of sound views on literature important. It is good to be reminded at the present moment that Omar Kayam failed of true greatness because he was a reactionary, and that Théophile Gautier took up his abode in what can never be more than a wayside halting-place. From time to time critics arise who attempt to persuade us that it does not so much matter what a poet says as how he says it, and that the highest poetical achievements are those which combine a certain vagueness of meaning with sensuous melody and colour of verbal composition. Yet, if one thing is proved with certainty by the whole history of literature to our time, it is that the self-preservative instinct of humanity rejects such art as does not contribute to its intellectual nutrition and moral sustenance. It cannot afford to continue long in contact with ideas that run counter to the principles of its own progress. It cannot bestow more than passing notice upon trifles, however exquisitely finished. Poetry will not, indeed, live without style or its equivalent. But style alone will never confer enduring and cosmopolitan fame upon a poet. He must have placed himself in accord with the permanent emotions, the conservative forces of the race; he must have uttered what contributes to the building up of vital structure in the social organism, in order to gain more than a temporary or a partial hearing. Though style is an indispensable condition of success in poetry, it is by matter, and not by form, that a poet has to take his final rank.

Of the two less perfect kinds of poetry, the poetry of revolt and the poetry of indifference, the latter has by far the slighter chance of survival. Powerful negation implies that which it rebels against. The energy of the rebellious spirit is itself a kind of moral greatness. We are braced and hardened by contact with impassioned revolutionaries, with Lucretius, Voltaire, Leopardi. Something necessary to the onward progress of humanity—the vigour of antagonism, the operative force of the antithesis—is communicated by them. They are in a high sense ethical by the exhibition of hardihood, self-reliance, hatred of hypocrisy. Even Omar's secession from the

mosque to the tavern symbolizes a necessary and recurring moment of experience. It is, moreover, dignified by the pathos of the poet's view of life. Meleager's sensuality is condoned by the delicacy of his sentiment. Tone counts for much in this poetry of revolt against morals. It is only the Stratons, the Beccadellis, the Baudelaires, who, in spite of their consummate form, are consigned to poetical perdition by vulgarity, perversity, obliquity of vision. But the carving of cherry-stones in verse, the turning of triolets and rondeaux, the seeking after sound or colour without heed for sense, is all foredoomed to final failure. The absolute neglect which has fallen on the melodious Italian sonnet-writers of the sixteenth century is due to their cult of art for art's sake, and their indifference to the realities of life. If we ask why Machiavelli's *Mandragora* is inferior to Shakspeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, in spite of its profound knowledge of human nature, its brilliant wit, its irresistible humour, its biting satire, and its incomparably closer workmanship, we can only answer that Shakspeare's conception of life was healthy, natural, exhilarating, while Machiavelli's, without displaying the earnestness of revolt, was artificial, morbid, and depressing. The sympathies which every great work of art stimulates tend in the case of Shakspeare's play to foster, in the case of Machiavelli's to stunt, the all-essential elements of social happiness and vigour. In point of form, the *Mandragora* has better right to be a classic comedy than the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. But the application of ideas to life in it is so unsound and so perverse that common sense rejects it: we tire of living in so false a world.

Without multiplying instances, it can be affirmed, with no dread of opposition, that all art, to be truly great art, to be permanent and fresh and satisfying through a hundred generations, to yield the bread and wine of daily sustenance to men and women in successive ages, must be moralised—must be in harmony with those principles of conduct, that tone of feeling, which it is the self-preservative instinct of civilised humanity to strengthen. This does not mean that the artist should be consciously didactic or obtrusively ethical. The objects of ethics and of art are distinct. The one analyses and instructs; the other embodies and delights. But since all the arts give form to thought and feeling, it follows that the greatest art is that which includes in its synthesis the fullest complex of thoughts and feelings. The more complete the poet's grasp of human nature as a whole, the more complete his presentation of life in organized complexity, the greater he will be. Now the whole struggle of the human race from barbarism to civilisation is one continuous effort to maintain and to extend its moral dignity. It is by the conservation and aliméntation of moral qualities that we advance. The organization of our faculties into a perfect whole is moral harmony. There-

fore artists who aspire to greatness can neither be adverse nor indifferent to ethics. In each case they proclaim their own inadequacy to the subject-matter of their art, humanity. In each case they present a maimed and partial portrait of their hero, man. In each case they must submit, however exquisite their style, however acute their insight, to be excluded from the supreme company of the immortals. We need do no more than name the chiefs of European poetry—Homer, Pindar, Æschylus, Sophocles, Virgil, Horace, Dante, Shakspero, Molière—in order to recognise the fact that they owe their superiority to the completeness of their representation, to their firm grasp upon the harmony of human faculties in large morality. It is this which makes *classical* and *humane* literature convertible terms. It is this which has led all classes and ages of men back and back to these great poets as to their familiar friends and teachers, “the everlasting solace of mankind.”

While substantially agreeing with Mr. Arnold, it may be possible to take exception to the form of his definition. He lays too great stress, perhaps, on the phrases, *application* of ideas, and *criticism*. The first might be qualified as misleading, because it seems to attribute an ulterior purpose to the poet; the second as tending to confound two separate faculties, the creative and the judicial. Plato's conception of poetry as an inspiration, a divine instinct, may be nearer to the truth. The application of ideas should not be too conscious, else the poet sinks into the preacher. The criticism of life should not be too much his object, else the poet might as well have written essays. What is wanted is that, however spontaneous his utterance may be, however he may aim at only beauty in his work, or “sing but as the linnet sings,” his message should be adequate to healthy and mature humanity. His intelligence of what is noble and enduring, his expression of a full harmonious personality, is enough to moralise his work. It is even better that he should not turn aside to comment. That is the function of the homilist. We must learn how to live from him less by his precepts, than by his examples and by being in his company. It would no doubt be misunderstanding Mr. Arnold to suppose that he estimates poetry by the gnomic sentences conveyed in it, or that he intends to say that the greatest poets have deliberately used their art as the vehicle of moral teaching. Yet there is a double danger in the wording of his definitions. On the one hand, if we accept them too literally, we run the risk of encouraging that false view of poetry which led the Byzantines to prefer Euripides to Sophocles, because he contained a greater number of quotable maxims; which brought the humanists of the sixteenth century to the incomprehensible conclusion that Seneca had improved upon the Greek drama by infusing greater gravity into his speeches; which caused Tasso to invent an *ex post facto* allegory for the *Gerusalemme*, and

Spenser to describe Ariosto's mad Orlando, the triumphant climax of that poet's irony, as "a good governor and a virtuous man." On the other hand, there is the peril of forgetting that the prime aim of all art is at bottom only presentation. That, and that alone, distinguishes the arts, including poetry, from every other operation of the intellect, and justifies Hegel's general definition of Art as "Die sinnliche Erscheinung der Idee." Poetry is not so much a criticism of life as a revelation of life, a presentment of life according to the poet's capacity for observing and displaying it in forms that reproduce it for his readers. The poet is less a judge than a seer and reporter. If he judges, it is as light, falling upon an object, showing its inequalities, discovering its loveliness, may be said to judge. The greatest poet is not the poet who has said the best things about life, but he whose work most fully and faithfully reflects life in its breadth and largeness, eliminating what is accidental, trivial, temporary, local, or rendering insignificant details the mirror of the universal by his treatment. He teaches less by what he inculcates than by what he shows; and the truth of Plato's above-mentioned theory is that he may himself be unaware of the far-reaching lessons he communicates. From Shakspeare we could better afford to lose the profound remarks on life in *Timon* or *Troilus and Cressida*, than the delineation of Othello's passion. The speeches of Nestor in the *Iliad* are less valuable than the portrait of Achilles; and what Achilles says about fame, heroism, death, and friendship could be sooner spared than the presentment of his action.

The main thing to keep in mind is this, that the world will very willingly let die in poetry what does not contribute to its intellectual strength and moral vigour. In the long run, therefore, poetry full of matter and moralised wins the day. But it must, before all else, be poetry. The application of the soundest moral ideas, the finest criticism of life, will not save it from oblivion, if it fails in the essential qualities that constitute a work of art. Imagination, or the power to see clearly and to project forcibly; fancy, or the power to flash new light on things familiar, and by their combination to delight the mind with novelty; creative genius, or the power of giving form and substance, life and beauty to the figments of the brain; style, or the power to sustain a flawless and unwavering distinction of utterance; dramatic energy, or the power to make men and women move before us with self-evident reality in fiction; passion, sympathy, enthusiasm, or the power of feeling and communicating feeling, of understanding and arousing emotion; lyrical inspiration, or the power of spontaneous singing;—these are among the many elements that go to make up poetry. These, no doubt, are alluded to by Mr. Arnold in the clause referring to "poetic beauty and poetic truth." But

it is needful to insist upon them, after having dwelt so long upon the matter and the moral tone of poetry. No sane critic can deny that the possession of one or more of these qualities in any very eminent degree will save a poet from the neglect to which moral revolt or indifference might otherwise condemn him. Ariosto's vulgarity of feeling, Shelley's crude and discordant opinions, Leopardi's overwhelming pessimism, Heine's morbid sentimentality, Byron's superficiality and cynicism, sink to nothing beneath the saving virtues of imagination, lyrical inspiration, poetic style, humour, intensity and sweep of passion. The very greatest poets of the world have combined all these qualities, together with that grand humanity which confers upon them immortal freshness. Of Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, Æschylus, Dante, Virgil, Shakspere, Molière, Goethe, it is only possible to say that one or other element of poetic achievement has been displayed more eminently than the rest, that one or other has been held more obviously in abeyance, when we come to distinguish each great master from his peers. But lesser men may rest their claims to immortality upon slighter merits; and among these merits it will be found impossible to exclude what we call form, style, and the several poetic qualities above enumerated. To borrow a burlesque metaphor from the Oxford schools, a poet may win his second-class on his moral philosophy papers, if the others do not drag him down below the level of recognition; or he may win upon his taste papers, if he has not been plucked in divinity. It is only the supreme few whom we expect to be equally good all round. Shelley and Leopardi have, perhaps, the same prospect of survival on their artistic merits, as Wordsworth on the strength of his moral ideas.

It will be seen that we have now arrived at Mr. Arnold's attempt to place Wordsworth among the European poets of the last two centuries. Omitting Goethe and living men, it seems, to Mr. Arnold, indubitable that to Wordsworth belongs the palm. This distinction of being the second greatest modern poet since the death of Molière is awarded to Wordsworth on his moral philosophy paper. "Where, then, is Wordsworth's superiority? It is here: he deals with more of *life* than they do; he deals with *life*, as a whole, more powerfully." There is some occult fascination in the game of marking competitors for glory, and publishing class-lists of poets, artists, and other eminent persons. For myself, I confess that it seems about as reasonable to enter Wordsworth, Dryden, Voltaire, Leopardi, Klopstock, and the rest of them for the stakes of poetical primacy, and to announce with a flourish of critical trumpets that Wordsworth is the winner, as to run the moss-rose against the jessamine, carnation, clematis, crown imperial, double daisy, and other favourites of the flower garden. Lovers of poets and of flowers will have their par-

tialities; and those who have best cultivated powers of reflection and expression will most plausibly support their preference with arguments. There the matter ends; for, both in the case of the poets and the flowers, the qualities which stimulate our several admirations are too various in kind to be compared. Mr. Arnold has undoubtedly given excellent reasons for the place he assigns to Wordsworth. But it is dangerous for Wordsworth's advocate to prove too much. He has already gained a firm, a permanent, an honourable place upon the muster-roll of English poets. Why undertake the task of proving him the greatest? Parnassus is a sort of heaven, and we know what answer was given to the sons of Zebedee.

The final test of greatness in a poet is his adequacy to human nature at its best; his feeling for the balance of sense, emotion, will, intellect in moral harmony; his faculty for regarding the whole of life, and representing it in all its largeness. If this be true, dramatic and epical poetry must be the most enduring, the most instructive monuments of creative genius in verse. These forms bring into quickest play and present in fullest activity the many-sided motives of our life on earth. Yet the lyrist has a sphere scarcely second in importance to that of the epic and dramatic poets. The thought and feeling he expresses may, if his nature be adequate, embrace the whole gamut of humanity; and if his expression be sufficient, he may give the form of universality to his experience, creating magic mirrors wherein all men shall see their own hearts reflected and glorified without violation of reality or truth. Wordsworth's fame will rest upon his lyrics, if we extend the term to include his odes, sonnets, and some narrative poems in stanzas—on these, and on a few of his meditative pieces in blank verse. His long philosophical experiments—the *Prelude*, the *Excursion*—will be read for the light they cast upon the poet's mind, and for occasional passages of authentic inspiration. Taken as a whole, they are too unequal in execution, too imperfectly penetrated with the vital spirit of true poetry, to stand the test of time or wake the enthusiasm of centuries of students. Those, then, who love and reverence Wordsworth, for whom from earliest boyhood he has been a name of worship, will thank the delicate and sympathetic critic who has here collected Wordsworth's masterpieces in the compass of three hundred pages. They will also thank him for the preface in which he has pointed out the sterling qualities of Wordsworth's poetry. After speaking of Wordsworth's debt to Burns, who first in a century of false taste used "a style of perfect plainness, relying for effect solely on the weight and force of that which with entire fidelity it utters," Mr. Arnold introduces the following paragraph as to Wordsworth's handling of that style:—

"Still Wordsworth's use of it has something unique and unmatched. Nature herself seems, I say, to take the pen out of his hand, and to write for him with her own bare, sheer, penetrating power. This arises from two causes: from the profound sincerity with which Wordsworth feels his subject, and also from the profoundly sincere and natural character of his subject itself. He can and will treat such a subject with nothing but the most plain, first-hand, almost austere naturalness. His expression may often be called bald, as, for instance, in the poem of *Resolution and Independence*; but it is bald as the bare mountain tops are bald, with a baldness which is full of grandeur."

This is assuredly the truest and finest description which has yet been written of Wordsworth's manner at its best; and the account rendered of the secret of his charm is no less to the point: "Wordsworth's poetry is great because of the extraordinary power with which Wordsworth feels the joy offered to us in nature, the joy offered to us in the simple elementary affections and duties, and because of the extraordinary power with which, in case after case, he shows us this joy, and renders it so as to make us share it." At the same time Mr. Arnold recognises the poet's inequalities, and the critical importance of his essay consists mainly in the broad and clear distinction he has made between what is more and less valuable in his work. "In Wordsworth's case, the accident, for so it may almost be called, of inspiration is of peculiar importance. No poet, perhaps, is so evidently filled with a new and sacred energy when the inspiration is upon him; no poet, when it fails him, is so left 'weak as is a breaking wave.'" The object, therefore, of Mr. Arnold is "to disengage the poems which show his power, and to present them to the English-speaking public and to the world." He thinks that the volume "contains everything, or nearly everything, which may best serve him with the majority of lovers of poetry, nothing which may disserve him." Tastes will differ considerably about both clauses of this sentence; for while Wordsworthians may complain that too much has been omitted, others, who are anxious that our great and beloved poet should appear before the world with only his best singing robes around him, may desire an even stricter censorship than Mr. Arnold's. In the second lyric, *To a Butterfly*, we find this stanza—

"Float near me; do not yet depart!
Dead times revive in thee:
Thou bring'st, gay creature as thou art,
A solemn image to my heart,
My father's family!"

No excellence of moral sentiment can redeem the banality of these lines. The last verse, sincerely felt as it may be, respectable as is the emotion it expresses, is from the point of view of art a bathos. A really fine narrative, the *Brothers*, contains abundance of writing which, were it not Wordsworth's, might be described, in the favourite

phrase of "tenth-rate critics" as prose cut into lengths of ten syllables :—

" And now, at last
From perils manifold, with some small wealth
Acquired by traffic 'mid the Indian isles,
To his paternal home he is returned,
With a determined purpose to resume
The life he had lived there."

This is bald; but it is not "bald as the bare mountain-tops are bald." It is bald as a letter of introduction is bald, bald as the baldest passages of Crabbe. Can we expect Italians, accustomed to the grandly simple manner of Leopardi's country poems, to accept this? Or choose another example from a ballad called the *Power of Music*—

" An Orpheus! An Orpheus!—yes, Faith may grow bold,
And take to herself all the wonders of old ;—
Near the stately Pantheon you'll meet with the same
In the street that from Oxford hath borrowed its name."

This is neither bald nor yet genuine; it begins with a conceit, and the epithet applied to the Pantheon is uncouth in its falseness. Can we expect our American cousins to tolerate the style of this opening stanza for the sake of the noble democratic spirit which breathes through the poem? The *Character of the Happy Warrior* is both conceived and written in the poet's stateliest mood; yet it halts at intervals on lines like these—

" But makes his moral being his prime care
By objects, which might force the soul to abate
Her feeling, rendered more compassionate."

Will Frenchmen, habituated to look for sustained evenness of style in composition, recognise the *Happy Warrior* as a classic? These examples introduce a grave matter for consideration. No lover of Wordsworth could desire the exclusion of the *Brothers*, or the *Power of Music*, or the *Happy Warrior*, from a selection of his poetry, however willingly they might leave the *Butterfly* alone. Yet the failure of perfect art in these three fine poems must prove an obstacle to their final acceptance by readers who make no national, or what Mr. Arnold would call provincial, allowance for Wordsworth. No such allowances are demanded by the work of Keats or Shelley, when subjected to such an equally rigorous process of sifting, as that applied to Wordsworth in this volume.

Still if, after study of the greatest literatures of Europe, we feel convinced that Wordsworth is a classic, it does not greatly signify what other nations now think about him. As nothing can confer world-wide celebrity on an inferior poet, however popular at home, so nothing can prevent a classic from attaining his right place in the

long run. There is something slightly ridiculous in waiting upon French opinion, and expressing gratitude to M. Henry Cochin or any other foreign critic for a sensible remark upon Shakspeare. Still, as the question has been started whether Wordsworth is likely to become a poet of cosmopolitan fame, it is worth while to consider what these chances are. Mr. Arnold, comparing him with the acknowledged masters of the art in Europe, comes to the conclusion that he has "left a body of poetical work superior in power, in interest, in the qualities which give enduring freshness, to that which any of the others has left." What these qualities are we have already seen. It is the superior depth, genuineness, sincerity, and truth of Wordsworth's humanity, the solid and abiding vigour of his grasp upon the realities of life, upon the joys that cannot be taken from us, upon the goods of life which suffer no deduction by chance and change, and are independent of all accidents of fortune, that render Wordsworth's poems indestructible. He is always found upon the side of that which stimulates the stored-up forces of humanity. If I remember rightly, he says that he meant his works "to console the afflicted, to add sunshine to daylight, by making the happy happier, to teach the young and the gracious of every age to see, to think, and feel, and therefore to become more actively and securely virtuous." This promise he has kept. When he touches the antique, it is to draw from classic myth or history a lesson weighty with wisdom applicable to our present life. *Laodamia* has no magic to compete with the *Bride of Corinth*; but we rise from its perusal with passions purified by terror and compassion. *Dion* closes on this note—

"Him only pleasure leads, and peace attends,
Him, only him, the shield of Jove defends,
Whose means are fair and spotless as his ends."

When he writes a poem on a flower, it is to draw forth thoughts of joy, or strength, or consolation. His *Daffodils* have not the pathos which belongs to Herrick's, nor has he composed anything in this style to match the sublimity of Leopardi's *Ginestra*. But Leopardi crushes the soul of hope out of us by the abyss of dreadful contemplation into which the broom upon the lava of Vesuvius plunges him. Wordsworth never does this. The worst that can be said of him is that, as Mr. Swinburne said in a preface to Byron, he shreds Nature's vegetables into a domestic saucepan for daily service. Still the homely *pot au feu* of the moralist has no less right to exist than a wizard's cauldron of sublimity, and probably will be found to last and wear longer. Wordsworth has said nothing so exquisite as Poliziano upon the fragility of rose-leaves, nor has he used the rose, like Ariosto, for similitudes of youthful beauty. But the moralising of these Italian amourists softens and relaxes.

Wordsworth's poems on the Celandine brace and invigorate. His enthusiasms are sober and solid. Excepting the ode on Immortality, where much that cannot be proved is taken for granted, and excepting an occasional exaggeration of some favourite tenet, as in this famous stanza—

“ One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil, and of good,
Than all the sages can ”—

his impulsive utterances are based on a sound foundation, and will bear the test both of experience and analysis. In this respect he differs from Shelley, whose far more fiery and magnetic enthusiasms do not convince us of their absolute sincerity, and are often at variance with probability. In the case of Shelley we must be contented with the noble and audacious ardour he communicates. The further satisfaction of feeling that his judgments are as right as his aspirations are generous, is too frequently denied. Wordsworth does not soar so high, nor on so powerful a pinion, but he is a safer guide. His own comparison between the nightingale and the stock-dove might be used as an allegory of the two poets. Their several addresses to the skylark give some measure of their different qualities.

The tone of a poet, the mood he communicates, the atmosphere he surrounds us with, is more important even than what he says. This tone is the best or the worst we get from him ; it makes it good or bad to be with him. Now it is always good to be with Wordsworth. His personality is like a climate at once sedative and stimulative. I feel inclined to compare it to the influence of the high Alps, austere but kindly, demanding some effort of renunciation, but yielding in return a constant sustenance, and soothing the tired nerves that need a respite from the passions and the fever of the world. The landscape in these regions, far above the plains and cities where we strive, is grave and sober. It has none of the allurements of the south—no waving forests, or dancing waves, or fret-work of sun and shadow cast by olive branches on the flowers. But it has also no deception, and no languor, and no decay. In autumn the bald hillsides assume their robes of orange and of crimson, faintly, delicately spread upon the barren rocks. The air is singularly clear and lucid, suffering no illusion, but satisfying the sense of vision with a marvellous sincerity. And when winter comes, the world for months together is clad in flawless purity of blue and white, with shy, rare, unexpected beauty shed upon the scene from colours of sunrise or sunset. On first acquaintance this Alpine landscape is repellent and severe. We think it too ascetic to be lived in. But familiarity convinces us that it is good and wholesome to abide in it. We learn to love its reserve even more than the prodigality of beauty showered on fortunate

islands where the orange and the myrtle flower in never-ending summer. Something of the sort is experienced by those who have yielded themselves to Wordsworth's influence. The luxuriance of Keats, the splendour of Shelley, the oriental glow of Coleridge, the torrid energy of Byron, though good in themselves and infinitely precious, are felt to be less permanent, less uniformly satisfying, less continuously bracing, than the sober simplicity of the poet from whose ruggedness at first we shrank.

It is a pity that Wordsworth could not rest satisfied in leaving this tone to its natural operation on his readers "in a wise passiveness." He passes too readily over from the poet to the moraliser, clenching lessons which need no enforcement by precepts that remind us of the preacher. This leads to a not unnatural movement of revolt in his audience, and often spoils the severe beauty of his art. We do not care to have a somewhat dull but instructive episode from ordinary village life interrupted by a stanza of admonition like the following :—

"O Reader! had you in your mind
Such stores as silent thought can bring,
O gentle Reader! you would find
A tale in everything.
What more I have to say is short,
And you must kindly take it:
It is no tale; but, should you *think*,
Perhaps a tale you'll make it."

After this the real pathos of *Simon Lee* cannot fail to fall somewhat flat. And yet it is not seldom that Wordsworth's didactic reflections contain the pith of his sublimest poetry. Beautiful as the tale of the *White Doe* is æsthetically, it can bear the closing stanzas of precept :—

"Grey-headed Shepherd, thou hast spoken well;
Small difference lies between thy creed and mine:
This Beast not unobserved by Nature fell;
His death was mourned by sympathy divine.

The Being, that is in the clouds and air,
That is in the green leaves among the groves,
Maintains a deep and reverential care
For the unoffending creatures whom he loves.

The Pleasure-house is dust:—behind, before,
There is no common waste, no common gloom;
But Nature, in due course of time, once more
Shall here put on her beauty and her bloom.

She leaves these objects to a slow decay,
That what we are, and have been, may be known;
But, at the coming of the milder day,
These monuments shall all be overgrown."

Up to this point the application of moral ideas has been made

with perfect success. The artistic charm has not been broken. But the last stanza falls into the sermonizing style, as though the poet's inspiration failed him, and a pedagogue, with no clear conception of the unalterable order of the material universe, had taken his place:—

“ One lesson, Shepherd, let us two divide,
Taught both by what she shows, and what conceals,
Never to blend our pleasure or our pride
With sorrow of the meanest thing that feels.”

The tone I have attempted to describe, as of some clear upland climate, at once soothing and invigorating, austere but gifted with rare charms for those who have submitted to its influence, this tone, unique in poetry, outside the range, perhaps, of Scandinavian literature, will secure for Wordsworth, in England at any rate, an immortality of love and fame. He is, moreover, the poet of man's dependence upon Nature. More deeply, because more calmly, than Shelley, with the passionate enthusiasms of youth subdued to the firm convictions of maturity, he expressed for modern men that creed which, for want of a better word, we designate as Pantheism, but which might be described as the inner soul of Science, the bloom of feeling and enthusiasm destined to ennoble and to poetize our knowledge of the world and of ourselves. In proportion as the sciences make us more intimately acquainted with man's relation to the universe, while the sources of life and thought remain still inscrutable, Wordsworth must take stronger and firmer hold on minds which recognise a mystery in Nature far beyond our ken. What Science is not called on to supply, the fervour and the piety that humanize her truths, and bring them into harmony with permanent emotions of the soul, may be found in all that Wordsworth wrote:—

“ For I have learned
To look on nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth ; but hearing oftentimes
The still, sad music of humanity,
Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power
To chasten and subdue. And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts : a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man :
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.”

The time might come, indeed may not be distant, when lines like these should be sung in hours of worship by congregations for whom the “ cosmic emotion ” is a reality and a religion.

Wordsworth, again, is the poet of the simple and the permanent in social life. He has shown that average human nature may be made to yield the motives of the noblest poems, instinct with passion, glowing with beauty, needing only the insight and the touch of the artist to disengage them from the coarse material of commonplace.

"The moving accident is not my trade :
To freeze the blood I have no ready arts :
'Tis my delight, alone in summer shade,
To pipe a simple song for thinking hearts."

Should the day arrive when society shall be remodelled upon principles of true democracy, when "plain living and high thinking" shall become the rule, when the vulgarity of manners inseparable from decaying feudalism shall have disappeared, when equality shall be rightly apprehended and refinement be the common mark of humble and wealthy homes—should this golden age of a grander civilisation dawn upon the nations, then Wordsworth will be recognised as the prophet and apostle of the world's rejuvenescence. He, too, has something to give, a quiet dignity, a nobleness and loftiness of feeling joined to primitive simplicity, the tranquillity of self-respect, the calm of self-assured uprightness, which it would be very desirable for the advocates of fraternity and equality to assimilate. Of science and democracy Wordsworth in his lifetime was suspicious. It is almost a paradox to proclaim him the poet of democracy and science. Yet there is that in his work which renders it congenial to the mood of men powerfully influenced by scientific ideas, and expecting from democracy the regeneration of society at no incalculably distant future.

After all, Wordsworth is essentially an English poet. He has the limitations no less than the noble qualities of the English character powerfully impressed upon him. I had occasion recently to say that Shelley brought into English literature a new ideality, a new element of freedom and expansion. Mazzini greeted Byron with enthusiastic panegyric as the poet of emancipation. Wordsworth moves in a very different region from that of either Byron or Shelley. He remains a stiff, consistent, immitigable Englishman; and it may be questioned whether his stubborn English temperament, his tough insular and local personality, no less than a certain homeliness in his expression, may not prove an obstacle to his acceptance as a cosmopolitan poet. I find a curious note on British literature in the *Democratic Vistas* of a transatlantic writer, a portion of which, though it is long, may here be not unprofitably cited:—

"I add that, while England is among the greatest of lands in political freedom, or the idea of it, and in stalwart personal character, &c., the spirit of

English literature is not great—at least, is not greatest—and its products are no models for us. With the exception of Shakespeare, there is no first-class genius, or approaching to first-class, in that literature which, with a truly vast amount of value and of artificial beauty (largely from the classics), is almost always material, sensual, not spiritual—almost always congests, makes plethoric, not frees, expands, dilates—is cold, anti-democratic, loves to be sluggish and stately, and shows much of that characteristic of vulgar persons, the dread of saying or doing something not at all improper in itself, but unconventional, and that may be laughed at. In its best, the sombre pervades it—it is moody, melancholy, and, to give it its due, expresses in characters and plots these qualities in an unrivalled manner. Yet not as the black thunderstorms, and in great normal, crashing passions, as of the Greek dramatists—clearing the air, refreshing afterward, bracing with power; but as in *Hamlet*, moping, sick, uncertain, and leaving ever after a secret taste for the blues, the morbid fascination, the luxury of woe.”

This is a severe verdict to be spoken by one whose main interest in life appears to be the building up of American personality by means of great literature. To the Americans, destined to be by far the most numerous of “the English-speaking public,” our poetry cannot remain a matter of indifference, nor can their criticism of it be passed over by us with neglect. They are in the unique position of possessing our language as their mother-tongue, and at the same time of contemplating our literature from a point of view that is the opposite of insular. Comparing English poetry with the spirit of the American people, whom he knows undoubtedly far better than the refined students of Boston, Walt Whitman comes to the conclusion that there is but little in it that will suit their needs or help them forward on the path of their development. Yet I cannot but think that, had he read Wordsworth, he would have made at least a qualified exception in his favour.¹ Wordsworth is not “sombre, moody, melancholy,” is certainly not afraid of the “unconventional,” does not borrow “artificial beauty” from the classics or elsewhere. In fact the faults here found with English poetry in general are contradicted in an eminent degree by his best poetry. But, though this seems clear enough, it remains true that in Wordsworth we find a ponderosity, a personal and patriotic egoism, a pompousness, a self-importance in dwelling upon details that have value chiefly for the poet himself or for the neighbourhood he lives in, which may not unnaturally appear impertinent or irksome to readers of a different nationality. Will the essential greatness of Wordsworth, whereof so much has been already said, his humanity, his wisdom, his healthiness, his bracing tone, his adequacy to the finer inner spirit of a scientific and democratic age—will these solid and imperishable qualities overcome the occasionally defective utterance, the want of humour and lightness, the obstinate insularity of character, the

(1) This I gather from the modification of the above passage in favour of “the cheerful” name of Walter Scott.

somewhat repellent intensity of local interest, which cannot but be found in him ?

This is no essay upon Wordsworth, but only a series of discursive notes suggested by Mr. Arnold's admirable preface. If I have seemed to say aught inconsistent with the reverence due to one of England's noblest singers, I can but answer that Wordsworth compels sincerity. That is one of his highest distinctions. It is impossible to be otherwise than plain-speaking in his presence. For the rest, it is enough to recite, by way of confession of Wordsworthian faith, a bede-roll of his masterpieces. *Lucy Gray*, *Ruth*, the *White Doe*, *Resolution and Independence*, *Michael*, the *Daffodils*, the *Lyrics on Lucy*, the *Solitary Reaper*, *Yarrow*, *Laodamia*, the *Ode to Duty*, the *Ode on Immortality*, *Tintern Abbey*, the *Simplon Pass*, with at least twenty of the finest sonnets that have been written in any language. I mention only those poems which take rank in my memory with the perfect of all ages and all nations. In this little volume there are some one hundred and sixty separate poems. A different selection from this number might be made by a score of students, loving and honouring Wordsworth alike, and each selection would have an equal right to confer the title of Wordsworthian on its maker. So comprehensive is the poet's range. So ample, as Mr Arnold puts it, is the body of his powerful work.

J. A. SYMONDS.

AN INDO-MEDITERRANEAN RAILWAY: FICTION AND FACT.

A FEW weeks ago, at the meeting of the British Association at Sheffield, Captain Cameron, the distinguished African traveller, challenged public attention to the subject of railway communication with India. He began by reading a paper in which he described some portion of a route he had been recently surveying through Northern Mesopotamia in the direction of Mosul and Bagdad, and went on to expound the scheme which he had formed of connecting the Mediterranean port of Lattakia with Bushire and the Persian Gulf. The object of this, he stated, was the opening of a new commercial and military route to India. I need hardly say that paper and speech were well received, for Captain Cameron is an able writer and an able speaker; and the audience seemed quite willing to agree with its conclusion that such a scheme was not only a political necessity to England, but a promising financial enterprise. The subject, however, appears to have attracted little notice outside the walls of the association, and might well be allowed to die a natural death by disbelievers in the railway, but for the suspicion which not unnaturally occurs that its exponent is in a certain way the representative of official views. I would not for a moment hint that Captain Cameron, whom I know and esteem, is not sincerely philanthropic in his idea of benefitting trade or independently convinced in his political creed; but it is impossible to overlook the fact that he is still an officer in her Majesty's service, or to forget that, at the time when he started last year on his survey, there was undoubtedly question of a Government guarantee being granted to the line. Quite recently, too, I have heard it whispered that this idea of a guarantee is rather postponed than abandoned altogether.

Now, in the present state of commercial depression, there is probably little likelihood of our capitalists embarking unprotected on so very doubtful a speculation as this new overland route. The Euphrates Valley and Palmyra Desert railway schemes, its predecessors, of which we heard some years ago, seem now pretty well abandoned even by the most obstinate hunters of the chimæra; and a Mesopotamian railway, though far less financially impossible, would have small prospect to-day of getting into life, were it not for the hopes to which I have been just alluding. Still our commercial depression, as we all trust, is not to be for ever; and railway gambling, though checked, is not dead. With a more buoyant market we may expect to see the prudence which has come of burnt fingers forgotten, and the warmer half of valour reappear. Then, with the

first glimpse of sunshine, and clothed in a semi-official coat, the Indo-Mediterranean Railway scheme will venture out, like a last year's butterfly in May, and proceed to disport itself, as its kindred did of yore, in the waste places of the earth. Even now a Government, anxious as all Governments are to have its fling while it may, and without such vulgar motives for restraint as influence individuals, may find it at any moment advisable to push on the speculation. It is unquestionable that a railway uniting the Mediterranean with the Persian Gulf is a great, a noble work in the interests of progress, and one which should bring its promoters no inconsiderable share of renown in future years, no matter what its financial issue. Lord Beaconsfield, I am sure, would be readily pardoned by his admirers for a glorious error in this direction; while, with the purchase of the Suez Canal shares and the leasing of Cyprus so recently condoned, mere taxpayers would hardly have the right to protest very strongly against a new financial surprise. I do not think, then, that I shall be accused of speaking prematurely if I point out the political ends to be gained by a Mesopotamian railway, and those which it will only seem to gain; nor of exaggerating my duty when I insist with those ignorant of the countries to be opened up (even Captain Cameron has seen but a portion of them) on their little real capacity for supporting such an enterprise. That I have the knowledge necessary to do this with some authority will, I hope, be acknowledged when I explain that I have spent a considerable part of the last two winters in travelling in Mesopotamia, that I know the Euphrates and the Tigris Valleys as well as the Palmyra route, and that I have ridden the whole of the distance between the Mediterranean at Alexandretta and the Persian Gulf at Bushire. I will add that I have no interest whatsoever to serve by what I have to say, being neither a surveyor, nor a capitalist, nor a party-politician, and having travelled simply for my amusement as a curious tourist seeking information.

To begin, then, with the political aspect of the proposed railway, which I consider more important just now than the commercial. Captain Cameron has avowed as its principal if not its sole political object the defence of India. But if that is really all its merit, I fear he will have to wait many years before he gets Government support for his scheme. I will show presently how little India would be affected by the existence of such a railway, and how small is her connection naturally or politically with Mesopotamia. Mesopotamia may in present circumstances need her, but she in no way needs Mesopotamia. This the Government certainly knows, whatever it may find convenient to say. Now, I am one of those who give Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury the credit of having a comprehensive policy in Asia; and I believe that, having made the Berlin treaty and guaranteed the Eastern possessions of the Sultan, they have a

serious thought of fulfilling their engagements. They have promised to protect Asia Minor, and I cannot think but that some strategical plan of defence has already been adopted by them. A railway, such as Captain Cameron is advocating, would beyond question be the first step in such a plan, for if Turkey is to be supported in Asia, it must be by Indian troops. Our own English army is at the present moment, and probably for some years will be, incapable of seriously taking the field; and our Asiatic soldiers will have to bear the brunt of every Asiatic war. That they will do this creditably no one who knows them can doubt; and do it they must, if it is to be done at all. I affirm, then, with confidence that a railway communicating directly between the Persian Gulf and the confines of Armenia is the real political necessity which our Government see in an Indo-Mediterranean railway.

I will explain it more fully. The weakness of the present Turkish position in Asia Minor, as any map will show, is this. An invading army from the north-east, which should have occupied Armenia and seized some station on the Upper Tigris such as Diarbekr or Sert, would have all the Sultan's dominions south of that point completely at its mercy. The empire, indeed, would at once be cut in two. And for this reason. The Tigris is a shallow rapid river, incapable of navigation by steamers higher than Samara, but excellently adapted for the rafts which are its ordinary mode of transport, in common with most Asiatic rivers. By means of these an army, occupying Diarbekr, could advance in a few days to Mosul, and thence in a few days more to Bagdad, with all its baggage, ammunition and supplies, while troops sent northwards to oppose it would have to march painfully for as many weeks by road. A railway from Bagdad to Mosul would neutralise this disadvantage; and Bagdad is already in steam communication by river with the Gulf. It requires no great knowledge of strategy to understand this, nor to see that the establishment of a base of operations at Mosul or Diarbekr, with railway communication on the one side with Alexandretta and Cyprus, and on the other with Bushire or Bagdad and India, is of too great importance to Asia Minor to have been overlooked either at the Foreign or the War Office. I think, then, that I may fairly assume such a consideration to have had its full weight in any determination which may have been, or may yet be, come to of assisting a Mesopotamian railway. This railway would have its Mediterranean port at Lattakia or Alexandretta, and would serve Aleppo, Bir, Orfa (for Diarbekr), Martini, and Mosul, making the chain of defence complete for southern Armenia and guarding the issues of the two great rivers. Its south-eastern terminus would at first be Bagdad, with a prospective extension to Bassorah, or better still Bushire; and this again would complete the railway defence of Southern Turkey. Such a line would

present probably fewer engineering difficulties than a Euphrates Valley line, and would be strategically of far greater importance.

In politics, however, as we all know, the real reason is not invariably the one avowed; and it may very well happen that, when the time comes for Government to declare its intentions, the defence of Asia Minor will not appear as the sole, or even the principal, plea to Parliament and the public. On the contrary, it may be expected that this point will be kept comparatively in the background, and that another, more likely to coincide with general opinion, will take its place. I need hardly say what that secondary plea will be. We have already received semi-official hints of it, and are being perhaps already, without knowing it, educated to the importance of what has been called the "alternative route" to India. To prevent any misconception on this point, and to deprecate the great injustice of India being asked to share the expense as well as the glory of such a project *in her own interests*, has indeed been my main reason for coming forward in the matter at all.

When I was in India last summer I made acquaintance with a great number of British officials, and I was at pains to learn from them their views on this "alternative route." I will not say that their answers to my questions were invariably the same, but I think I am making no mistake in affirming that the consensus of intelligent opinion among them is wholly adverse to the notion. "The Euphrates route," say they (for as such it is known in India) "would be of exceedingly little use to us. The mails, to be sure, would go that way, and we should get our letters from England three or four days sooner; but, politically speaking, this is a matter of less consequence than it was. Nowadays all official work of real importance is transacted by telegraph, and when the mails come in afterwards, their interest has been forestalled. It would matter little at Simla or Calcutta whether they had taken three weeks or a fortnight on the road. Trade would certainly benefit somewhat in this way, but Government very little. As regards the sending of troops overland, there could be no question of it as long as the Suez route was open; and if England cannot keep the Suez route open, she had better give up India at once. No Secretary at War would be so ill-advised as to send troops, with the risk of cholera and over-fatigue, by the land journey as long as they could be marched on board at Plymouth, and landed fresh at Bombay." "Not even in case of a new mutiny?" I asked. "Not even in a mutiny. People in England have no idea of the meaning of a thousand-mile railway journey in desert countries. For six months in the year no passengers would go that way, except, maybe, an occasional officer on a three months' furlough. We should not take our wives and children there at any time. The extra trouble and expense have prevented

most of us from making use of the Brindisi line, which really saves us a week and avoids the Bay of Biscay; so we certainly should not face the Persian Gulf for the sake of four days. The Persian Gulf is hotter than the Red Sea."¹ I asked about trade, and was generally told that Himalaya tea would be sent overland, but nothing else. The cost and risk of trans-shipment would be an effectual bar to general merchandise. Lastly, as to the strategical importance of the Euphrates and Tigris districts to India, I found that these were considered, even by the extremest advocates of conquest, quite out of our line of march for many years to come. The veriest Russophobe could not be made to believe that a modern army would attempt a march through any passes in Asia Minor, or down any Euphrates valley, on India. The general opinion among Indians, politically and commercially, is that India has as little to do with Mesopotamia as with Monmouth or Macedon.

But enough of politics. Let us look at Captain Cameron's route commercially. If the line be kept strictly outside the desert and along the edge of cultivated land, which begins, roughly speaking, at the caravan road between Aleppo, Bagdad, and Mosul, traced on all maps, and if it avoids all corner-cutting by way of the desert, it may, perhaps, pay its working expenses. It will certainly not pay more. Desert routes, including the Euphrates Valley and Tigris Valley, must be worked at a dead loss, because the population is so excessively scanty and so excessively poor that it can supply no local traffic. Indeed, I much question whether the running of a line of railway down the Euphrates would not at once complete the ruin of the few villages which still survive there, living on as they do by their traditional carrying trade. Of all the mistakes made about Eastern Turkey, there is none greater than to suppose that these valleys were dependent for their wealth in former times on agriculture. The existence of Rakka, Karkesia, and Tekrit, to say nothing of Palmyra and El Haddr, was essentially a commercial one, maintained by the caravans which passed continually through them from Babylon, or, in later years, from Otesiphon and Bagdad. They were never important agriculturally. Neither of these valleys can compare as corn-growing districts with their neighbours, the uplands of Syria, or the Taurus, or Kurdistan. They lie out of the reach of the regular winter rains, which cling to the hills, and for this reason are almost

(1) I have heard people say, as one of the merits of the Euphrates Valley route, that the heat of the Red Sea would thereby be avoided. This reminds me of a story told many years ago against the promoters of the new coach-road to Brighton. They advertised that the new road would avoid "all the hills on the old one." *Apròpos* of the Persian Gulf, I may mention that, in calculating the time saved that way, allowance will have to be made for the fact that, partly owing to coral reefs, partly to the haze which continually hangs over the Gulf—amounting, as I have myself seen, almost to fog—an average of more than eight knots cannot be counted on by steamers.

entirely dependent on irrigation for their fertility. At best the Euphrates and the Tigris Valleys are inconsiderable strips of good land hemmed in closely by a barren desert, and incapable of lateral extension or development. They are isolated, and have long ceased to lie on the track of commerce. At the present day they contain no towns of importance, and hardly a dozen villages. They are subject, moreover, to the caprices of their great unmanageable rivers, which at flood time wreck half the valleys. The Euphrates, for many miles of its course, passes, without alluvial belt of any kind, through a quite inhospitable desert. But it is not within the scope of my present paper to show how utterly worthless these desert routes are. Captain Cameron's scheme avoids, I believe, all portions of the desert proper; and in so far I agree with him that his route is a more promising one than any we have yet seen suggested. If it were possible to travel the whole way from Lattakia to Bushire through inhabited country, I could even believe in his scheme as commercially possible. But this is very far indeed from being the case. In his paper Captain Cameron, probably from want of space, dealt principally with the first few miles of road; and these, if they could be taken as a fair sample of the whole, would perhaps justify the conclusions he arrived at. But Captain Cameron travelled no further than Bagdad, and described no further than Aleppo or Orfa. And what have the first hundred or two hundred miles to do with the whole financial prospects of a line more than one thousand two hundred miles long in all? As far as Mosul an agricultural district would be served, and it is just possible, as I have before said, that a railway there might pay its expenses. But from Mosul to Bagdad there are two hundred and thirty miles, with only two small towns and no villages. Neither is there any cultivation on this part of the Tigris, except in a few small patches. There are no engineering difficulties, it is true, but what local traffic could there be? It is idle to pretend that the existing traffic of Bagdad could supply sufficient occupation for a railway to balance the dearth elsewhere. Bagdad is a decaying city of about eighty thousand inhabitants, without manufactures, without foreign commerce, and living on mainly as a market for the Bedouins, and a station for the Persian pilgrims who pass through it to Kerbela. It stands in an absolute waste, uncultivated and pastureless, and it is seriously threatened at the present moment with destruction from the Euphrates, which is hemming it in with a pestilential marsh. As the terminus of a railway it might to some extent revive, but if merely a station on the line it would gradually perish. Foreign trade would not stop within its walls, and it has no trade of its own.

Beyond Bagdad, however, I can conceive no sufficient interest served, not even a political one, to make a railway necessary. It

certainly could not be profitable. Bagdad is already in regular steam connection with the Persian Gulf and through it with all parts of the world. Lower Mesopotamia, or Irak, as the Arabs call it, is too miserably populated to contribute much local traffic; for such cultivation as it possesses lies close to the river, and it can send its produce by boat to market. The immediate neighbourhood of Bagdad produces nothing, not even that desert herbage the Bedouins love for their flocks. To the south vast morasses occupy the space between the two rivers, and would form a considerable obstacle to railway engineering. The banks of the Tigris below Bagdad, though possessed of a few insignificant villages, are scarcely at all cultivated. The land on its left bank, alluvial soil as it is, is strongly impregnated with saltpetre, supposed by some to be the result of ancient irrigation from the river, which holds it in solution. It is scarcely inhabited, and is unfit for habitation. The only flourishing district south of Bagdad is that watered by the Hindieh Canal leading to Kerbela and the Sea of Nejef, and further south the Montefyk country round Suk-esh-Shiokh, nearly opposite the junction of the rivers. The latter has easy river access to Bussorah, and the former sends away its produce by canal. If Bagdad and Bussorah are to be connected by railway, it can hardly be by any other route than the right bank of the Euphrates, sufficiently far from the river to avoid its marshes, and following the edge of the desert, which is here fairly level ground; but no railway is or can for many years be wanted.

In all these plans of railway communication in Turkish Arabia, the great mistake is made of supposing that it is possible to reclaim the ancient kingdom of Babylonia to fertility. It is forgotten that its undoubted wealth in early times was a purely artificial thing, depending upon a gigantic system of irrigation which has no parallel in anything now found in the world. When these vast works were begun is not known; but it must have been in an age of mankind when Asia was densely peopled and human labour cheap. Indeed, we may feel sure that only compulsory labour could have carried them out at all. They would have ruined any treasury at any rate of wages. Now how can all this be done again? What captive nations are to be impressed into the work? What treasury is to provide the funds? We see India, with its really great population and its comparatively great wealth, sinking under the burden of irrigation works; and are the miserable Arabs of Irak to square their shoulders and carry this far greater load? With all our knowledge, too, of engineering, there would still be some risk of failure; for the Euphrates and the Tigris are not rivers to be trifled with, as Midhat Pasha found to his cost. I think it more than probable that in the day of Babylonian greatness the flooding of both rivers was more regular and less subject to disasters of drought and

excess than now. The denudation of Armenia accounts, perhaps, for the destruction of Irak. In any case it is certain that at the present moment the full energies of the existing population are required to preserve their footing, not to make new conquests on the rivers. Now, as I am writing, Lower Mesopotamia is expecting famine from the failure of the Tigris, for not an acre of wheat can be grown without its flooding. Last year all hands were at work damming out the Euphrates. These matters are worth considering.

The remainder of Captain Cameron's route, though it concerns India only, I cannot quite omit. I surveyed it roughly myself last spring, and suffered no little in its cause, and, if I believed in railway communication with India, I should say a word in its favour. There is little doubt that, as far as India is concerned, Bushire is the best port for a railway terminus on the Gulf. Bussorah and Mohamrah are hemmed in with marshes, and have the disadvantage of being river, not sea, ports, unsuited for vessels of large tonnage. Queyt is a *cul-de-sac*, with no other merit than a good anchorage; whereas Bushire is a really important commercial port, a healthy town with plenty of elbow room, and the most flourishing place I have seen in Western Asia. A railroad connecting it with Bagdad and the Mediterranean would bring land communication with India to the furthest point it is likely to reach through Mesopotamia, and would make the scheme as complete as is in the nature of things. The distance is about five hundred and seventy miles as compared with four hundred miles from Bagdad to Bussorah, or four hundred and sixty miles from Bagdad to Queyt, and there is no serious impediment on the whole route in the way of broken ground. Indeed, nearly the whole of it might be traced along on absolute flat. It is well watered, and the soil is excellent; but more than this I cannot in conscience say. With the exception of Dizful and Shustar, with their really important surrounding agricultural population and their connection with the rich pastoral tribes of the Bactiari Mountains, the railway would pass through no towns possessed of trade. The greater part of the country, though lying close to the hills, and, consequently, within the area of periodical rains, and capable of growing excellent crops without irrigation, is almost uninhabited. The Persian system of government, which burlesques all that we most complain of in Turkey, has succeeded in turning lands, well occupied only a few years since, into an absolute waste. I travelled for days through fields quite recently deserted, where the wheat and barley, self-sown year after year, were just ripening for a harvest which there was none to gather. Even the nomadic tribes had fled; and not so much as a camel was there to grow fat on the standing corn. I was unable to learn the history of this wholesale destruction beyond the fact that, to put an end to the quarrels between Arabs and Kurds, who here come

in contact, a recent governor had burned down the villages. Population thus destroyed in Asia never returns; and I look upon the condition of Arabistan, with its fertile soil run waste and even its nomades gone, as a type prefiguring the end of all Western Asia. The end has not yet quite come elsewhere, but is coming surely as its semi-destruction came to Irak. Western Asia is suffering from a disease which will soon prove mortal, in spite of all we may do with canals and railways to save it. Its people are dying out.

And this brings me to the last point which I shall treat here, the possible future of the lands we have just travelled over. I am not, as may be surmised, a believer in the possibility of reforms in Turkey, either by the initiative of a high-minded sultan or by the introduction of parliamentary government, or, least of all, by European administration. There are causes of decay far too deeply seated in the constitution of the empire to be capable of cure; and I could point out, if space permitted, how little chance there is of even quack remedies being seriously attempted. Turkey is too far gone on the road to death for heroic treatment to be ventured on without a certainty of killing the patient; and the example of our failure in India should warn us against experimentalising on the Oriental constitution with purely Western methods. Asia Minor could not even for six months support an Indian administration, and if it is to live at all must remain for many years to come without such luxuries of healthier nations as equal justice and a "Roman peace." Western Asia, indeed, does not ask for these, only to be allowed to live, or, if needs must, to die in peace. This, if I may say it without a paradox, is their best chance of life. To endow them with railways and canals, except as a pure gift, without cost or burden to them in construction or maintenance, could only hasten the end. They have not the strength for such remedies.

But is there no other chance for the ancient cradle of the world than to be left cold and tenantless, its occupants dying, and its glory dead? Is there no possibility of bringing life back, if not to the old possessor of the place at least to some more healthy lodger, one who will multiply where the other has decreased, one who will plough where the other has left unploughed, one who will grow rich where the other starves? I confess I see little prospect even of this.

To understand the present position of Mesopotamia and its adjacent lands we must consider the history of their ruin. In the days of ancient Rome not only the shores of the Mediterranean, African as well as European, but also all Western Asia, were a densely peopled empire. Even the lands beyond Roman jurisdiction were full of great cities, from Armenia, through the central plateau of Asia, to the edge of China. Land was everywhere taken up and everywhere of value, while a great surplus population was constantly being

pushed out into poorer and still poorer districts by the struggle of life, until hardly a habitable corner of the old world remained unoccupied.

It is not surprising, then, that, with such a necessity for elbow room, the Euphrates and Tigris Valleys were early seized upon, and that at a later date even poorer regions of the desert were conquered from sterility and forced into the work of producing food. As long as Babylonia, and the kingdoms which succeeded it, maintained Irak in its fertility, these valleys lay on the highway between it and Asia Minor. Even so lately as the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, found numerous large towns still flourishing in Upper Mesopotamia. Palmyra, at that day, was still a commercial city containing with other inhabitants a population of two thousand Jews. On the Upper Euphrates he mentions five towns, and on the Tigris two or three. It must not, however, for a moment be supposed that these cities owed their wealth in any but a very small measure to agriculture. Palmyra and El Haddr, the two most important, never could have had more than a few cultivated acres attached to them, while the towns on the rivers, though making full use of the alluvial valleys, were essentially commercial. The high road between Aleppo and Bagdad then passed down the Euphrates as far as Kerkesia (Deyr?), whence striking across Mesopotamia to El Haddr, it joined the Tigris at Tekrit. Along this line cities were found at intervals, much as the posting-houses used to be found upon our own highways, and with the same reason for their existence. They gradually died, as these died, with the diversion of traffic from their route. Palmyra and El Haddr, which (to continue the posting-house metaphor) had no paddocks attached to them, were the first to disappear; and then one by one the river towns, which for a time had still struggled on with the aid of their fields, died too. In the thirteenth and again in the sixteenth centuries, the terrible scourges of Mongul and Ottoman conquest passed over Asia, and swept the regions surrounding Mesopotamia clear of inhabitants. All Western Asia was at this time ruined; and the first result was the abandonment of outlying settlements, which only the stress of over-population elsewhere had ever brought into existence. The Tigris and Euphrates were gradually abandoned, and only the richest districts of Armenia, Kurdistan, and Syria retained. The Ottoman system of misgovernment has done the rest; and now at the present day there is no surplus population eastwards nearer than China which could supply the deficiency. Until Persia and Armenia are fully occupied, it is idle to expect the comparatively waste lands of Mesopotamia and the river banks to invite immigration. Russia may some day assimilate Asia Minor, and Asia Minor may some day again become populous, but until that is done Mesopotamia must wait.

On the other hand, Europe is as little likely to send emigrants to

the banks of the Euphrates. With such large tracts of good land on the southern shores of the Mediterranean and in Syria unoccupied, what is to tempt agriculturists to poorer lands so far away? Mesopotamia has hardly a climate suited to northern Europeans, while Italians and Maltese (the only southern nations with a surplus population) find openings nearer home. It is equally idle to talk of coolies from India or coolies from China. These only emigrate on the prospect of immediate high wages in countries where labour commands its full price, and capital is there to employ it. As mere emigrants in search of land they will not come.

No. The best chance that I see for Asia is to let her alone. I believe that even yet, if central government, taxation on land, and conscription could be suspended in Turkish Arabia, and the wretched subjects of the Porte be left for a few years to work out their own salvation in their own way, the country would rise from its grave. I have seen how admirably Arabs can govern themselves in Central Arabia; and I believe that they want no control or hindrance from without to make them happy. Their sheykhs would quarrel for some years at first, and then the strongest would become master, and, in the face of that public opinion which is the real law of every Arab community, give rough but equal and ready justice and secure enjoyment of their property to all his world. I know that in Nejd there is not an acre of irrigable land untilled, and that life and property are as secure within the territories of the Emir as in any European country; that the Government, though severe, is popular, and that the taxation in Jebel Shammar is lighter than in the most lightly taxed district of Bengal. And why not at Bagdad and in Irak? Why? Because in an age of progress it is never permitted to go back, even to the rule of an Haroun al Rashid, and Arabian Califates are things of the past which cannot again be, or, if they could, would be incompatible with railway schemes to India.

NOTE.—I append for convenience sake a list, in tabular form, of the different routes which have been proposed between the Mediterranean and Bagdad, with an epitome of their advantages and disadvantages, based for the most part on personal survey.

1. <i>The Palmyra Route</i> , 555 miles.		Miles.
Tripoli to Homs, partial cultivation		70
Homs to Palmyra, pastoral desert		120
Palmyra to Hitt, uninhabited desert		250
Hitt to Seglawieh, partial cultivation		65
Seglawieh to Bagdad, alluvial plain uncultivated, for the most part uninhabited		50
Total under partial cultivation		135
„ desert and pastoral		420
Total		555

This route has nothing to recommend it except its shortness. It would pass through but one considerable town, Homs; it would serve no important agricultural district, and could count upon no local traffic. The greater part of its course is without water, fuel, inhabitants, or possibility of development. It would require considerable cutting and bridging (for ravines), and would have little strategical value.

2. <i>The Euphrates Valley Route</i> , 625 miles.		Miles.
Lattakia or Alexandretta to Aleppo, cultivation		100
Aleppo to Deyr, pastoral		210
Deyr to Abu Camal, pastoral, partly cultivated		70
Abu Camal to Hitt, desert with palm oases		130
Hitt to Seglawieh, partial cultivation.		65
Seglawieh to Bagdad, alluvial plain, uncultivated and mostly } uninhabited }		50
Total cultivated and partly cultivated		235
,, desert or pastoral.		390
Total		625

This line passes through one town of eighty thousand inhabitants, Aleppo, and two small towns, Deyr and Ana, besides a few villages. It could count on very little local traffic; Deyr might export a little corn, Ana a few dates. Except in the northern portion it is not a sheep district. It has the advantages of water and fuel, but these would be to a certain extent neutralised if, as is probable, the line should have to pass along the desert above instead of in the valley. In either case the construction would not be without expense, the river with its inundations causing constant obstruction below; while the desert above is much broken with ravines. It could hardly pay the whole of its working expenses. Its principal advantage is that in case of its being continued from Seglawieh to Bussorah some miles would be saved, or a branch line might be made to Kerbela. The Euphrates line is strategically of advantage to Turkey mainly as a check on the Bedouin tribes.

3. *The Mesopotamian or Tigris Valley Route* (Captain Cameron's), 700 miles. *

	Miles
Alexandretta or Lattakia to Aleppo, cultivation	100
Aleppo to Orfa, cultivation	120
Orfa to Mosul, by Mardin, partial cultivation	250
Mosul to Bagdad by the right bank of the Tigris, pastoral	230
<hr/>	
Total cultivated	470
„ pastoral	230
<hr/>	
Total	700

This line has the advantage of passing through no absolutely desert district. It would be well watered throughout, and in the Tigris Valley would have a supply of fuel. It would, as far as Mosul, serve four large towns with an aggregate population of two hundred thousand inhabitants, besides numerous villages, and a nearly continuous agricultural population. Its stations would serve as depôts for the produce of Upper Syria, Armenia and Kurdistan from the north, and of a fairly prosperous pastoral district from the south. Below Mosul, however, there would be but two small towns, Samara and Tekrit, and hardly a village. The engineering difficulties of this route, in spite of several small rivers besides the Euphrates (which all three lines would have to cross), would probably be less than in these. Upper Mesopotamia is a more even plain than the Syrian Desert, and southwards is but little intersected with ravines. This route is strategically of immense importance to Turkey, and is perhaps the best. I would, however, suggest that commercially a better line would be from Mosul by Kerkuk to Bagdad. This would continue through cultivated lands, and is the route recommended by the very intelligent Polish engineer who surveyed it some years ago.

Beyond Bagdad the routes to the Persian Gulf would be—

	Miles.
1. Bagdad to Queyt by right bank of Euphrates, serving Kerkuk, Meshhed Ali, and the district of Suk-esh-Shiokh . . .	460
Or to Bussorah	400

This could be continued from Seglawieh, thereby saving fifty miles. It would serve two fairly flourishing agricultural districts, and should pass along the edge of the desert where the ground is nearly level. Queyt is a good port as to anchorage, but has no commercial importance. Bussorah is a river port much circumscribed by marshes.

	Miles.
2. Bagdad to Mohamra by the left bank of the Tigris	320

This would be a difficult line to make, on account of the marshes, and would pass through a nearly uninhabited country. It has no advantage but its shortness.

	Miles.
3. Bagdad to Bushire, along the edge of the Hamrin Hills to Dizful, then by Shustar, Ram Hormuz, and Dilam . . .	570

This line would be an expensive one on account of the six large rivers it would have to cross, but it presents no other engineering difficulties. It should keep close under the Hamrin Hills to avoid marshy ground nearer the river. It is uninhabited as far as Dizful, though the soil is good and well watered. Dizful and Shustar are important commercial towns, being the principal markets of South Western Persia; the district between them is well cultivated.

Beyond Shustar to Dilam there is but one inhabited place, Ram Hormuz (or Ramuz). There are a few villages along the shore of the Persian Gulf to Bushire, but very little cultivation. This route might be shortened by taking a direct line from Ali Gherbi on the Tigris to Dilam, but it would then pass wholly through uninhabited country, swampy in places. On the whole I prefer the Dizful-Shustar route, as having better commercial prospects. These towns would supply no little traffic. Bushire is an important place, and would make the best terminus for a railway on the Gulf. I cannot, however, recommend any of these lines south of Bagdad as commercially promising for a railway.

WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT.

THE CONFLICT OF LAWS ANALYTICALLY CONSIDERED.

HAVING traced (in a previous article)¹ the development of Private International Law, we will proceed to consider the limits, sources, and definition of this branch of jurisprudence. The extreme diversity of names that have been applied to it, points to a very remarkable elasticity in the way in which its function and field have been conceived. The Conflict, Concourse, Collision, Diversity, Contrariety of laws have been adopted as terms as well as Private International Law, the Personality of statutes, Mixed questions, Limitations upon law arising from questions of *Place*, and many others.

Private International Law is in many ways a very unsatisfactory name. It suggests the wholly erroneous idea that it is a sub-department of International Law. International Law treats of the public relations of states; Private International Law of the decisions of local tribunals. International Law is one for the whole civilised world; it is a system of rules common, or supposed to be common, to the society of nations. Private International Law, on the other hand, takes into account a great diversity of practices on the same matters adopted by different friendly nations. There is very far from being any common code or common law. Private International Law is the *Conflict of Laws*. Public International Law is the *Concordance of Customs*. International Law has no reference to tribunals at all. Private International Law is solely concerned with the practice of tribunals. International Law has no sanction in Austin's sense of the word; or its sanction is war, public opinion, or loss of national character. It is (in Austin's sense) not *law*. Private International Law has the same sanction that any other part of the Municipal Law has; and is, *stricto sensu*, *law*. Austin has pointed out the vagueness of the terms *private* and *public* law, the diversity of senses in which they have been used, and the fallacy of opposing private to public law. In the civil law sense, private law is civil law as opposed to *constitutional* law and to *criminal* law. Yet questions of criminal law—such as extradition, the applicability of the penal law, the arrest, trial, and punishment of persons not citizens of the state, or in respect of offences committed outside the country trying the prisoner—these are questions of public law, and yet they are usually included, and ought properly to be included, in Private International Law. The same may be said of questions of allegiance, naturalisation, and expatriation. These are certainly questions of

(1) *Fortnightly Review* for October, 1879.

public law in whatever sense we use the word *Public* law; and yet they are usually included, and properly included, in Private International Law. Such questions are also very rightly and properly included in treatises on Public International Law. Hence result these anomalies:—(1) Private International Law is not International Law at all; (2) The term *Privato* Law is always loose, and unscientific; (3) Private International Law embraces large portions of what is certainly Public Law, and some things which are actually determined by Public International Treaty. The nomenclature in fact rests on a series of false analogies and cross divisions. Lastly, *Privato* International Law is an exceedingly cumbrous and troublesome phrase.

There is a sense in which *Privato* International Law has close relations with International Law. All questions of citizenship, reciprocity of civil rights for the citizens of different states, extradition, criminal justice where offender or offence have been, or are, outside the territory of the *forum*—the entire question of *comity* or reciprocity—are all closely related to International Law. But the relation is not that of opposition or contrast. There is no possible bisection of the field between Public and Private International Law. We cannot contrast them as we do—Civil and Criminal Law. There is not one class of rights or legal relations within the field of Public, another class within the field of Private, International Law. They sometimes deal with the same class of legal relations, as in the case of extradition or expatriation, but they treat them from different points of view for different purposes. A Scotch divorce of an English marriage forms a typical example of Private International Law. What has that to do with International Law? The only quality of Public International Law it has, is in the relations of two communities under different Municipal Law and under one sovereign. That is to say, Public and Private International Law sometimes treat the same class of legal relations from totally different points of view; the one as it strikes governments and diplomatists, the other as it strikes judges and the officials of tribunals. Sometimes the two have no common field at all, and no point of contact, except in that both are concerned with relations, not between two states, but between two municipal systems. There might be, and in fact we may say there is, a complete system of Private International Law in the federal states of America *inter se*; just as there was in the seventeenth century, in Huber's time, in the Dutch communities, or as there was in the French provinces in the time of Bouhier, Boullenois, and Pothier. But there was but one national sovereignty for all of these communities taken as a group; and therefore there can be properly speaking no international questions between them. Strictly speaking, if a man dies intestate holding real estate in several counties, part of

which is gavelkind or borough English in tenure, the succession to his lands is determined by a set of considerations which are really Private International Law, though obviously there is nothing *international* about them.

On the other hand, the terms *Conflict of Laws*, *Collision*, *Contrariety* and the like, are equally unsatisfactory. It has often been pointed out that there is no conflict. The law of England adopts the law as to the forms of a marriage contracted in France, or as to the forms of a will made by an Englishman domiciled in France, not because English law is worsted in a conflict or collision with the French law, but because it is the law of England that the forms of the will shall be valid, when it is made in accordance with the law of the testator's domicile, or those of a marriage in accordance with the law where it is celebrated. There is no conflict and never was. This is simply the law of England. Where is there in English law any provision as to the way in which marriages shall be celebrated in France by French officials? There is no provision at all, and by the fundamental principles of International Law there can be none; and clearly there is nothing with which the rules as to French marriages established by French law can be brought into collision. The only question is—whether an English tribunal will try a cause having regard to these French rules. But what rule English judges will follow in trying a case before them is a pure question of English law. The real question here is, not whether French or English laws are to prevail, but whether this case is one to which the English law was ever intended to apply. If the judge finds that the English law has been extended to the case before him, he decides it so, and ends the matter, as in the case of the Royal Marriage Act, or the case of marriage within the prohibited degrees. If he finds that the *prima facie* or apparent rule of English law does not cover it, then he ascertains what the English law directs to be done, and he may find that it directs him to go to some other set of rules.

This case is precisely the same as the case of local custom, or special practice. Suppose that a contract is being tried in an English court. In the course of trial it appears that the matter is properly referrible to the custom of merchants or some local practice. The judge, who may now for the first time hear of the existence of the custom or practice, adopts the rule, and decides the case by it. There is here no conflict or collision of any kind. The common law of England is not overcome in the contest with the custom of the Exchange, or the practice of auctioneers. It simply defines certain cases in which it is open to proof that the legal relation of the parties is subject to, and the appropriate rule to which it must be referred is, the custom or practice. There is no more any conflict or collision here than there is in a case where it is held that the law relating to

murder does not apply to a state of facts amounting to accidental homicide. Evidence shows that the rule of common law or the statute as to murder does not apply to a legal liability originating in the circumstances of the case under trial. Just so, the court finds that the forms imposed by the English Marriage Act do not apply to a legal status originating in a celebration by a French mayor. In neither case is there any conflict.

At the utmost there is not *Conflict of Laws*, but ambiguity arising from the fact that more than one set of *co-ordinate* laws apparently apply to the case. The phrase of Savigny is strictly exact: Private International Law marks the limitation of legal rules in respect of *place*. Rules of law are intended to apply to states of fact in certain periods and in certain localities. Private International Law determines the limits of *place*. But then this description of the subject does not point to the rule which does decide the case; it does not embrace the *mutuality*, or interchangeability, of the law. In many ways the old French term, *mixed questions*, is a very good description. It points emphatically to a class of cases that can only be determined by resorting to more than one system of law. The *Lex fori* always must establish a jurisdiction in some way, and in Private International Law it determines cases by reference to some other rules than its own. This combination of jurisdiction, this interchange of one law system with another, this reference to more than one law as applying a case, is the essence of the idea.

There is a strong temptation to venture on the hazardous experiment of submitting a new term to describe this branch of law. Obvious objections may be made against attempts to give new names to old subjects. But in this case the terms in the field are confessed to be inadequate. There are a great many terms in constant use, very different in themselves, and all very defective. Private International Law is a cumbrous term; it is quite misleading, because it uses words in a non-natural sense, and words which bear a constantly shifting sense. The "Conflict of Law" is a metaphor, and a very misleading metaphor. Now I take the leading fact that Private International Law is a substantive part of *Municipal Law*. I take the other leading feature, that it is really the interchange of *Municipal Law*; and I propose to name this branch of law *Intermunicipal Law*.

The advantages of this term I take to be these. *Intermunicipal Law* will be rightly contrasted with *International Law*. *International Law* will be the so-called law which has grown up to regulate the intercourse of states with each other. *Intermunicipal Law* will be that part of *Municipal Law* which is determined by reference to more than one municipal system, that part of every municipal code which defines its relations to other municipal codes. *Municipal Law*

is always contrasted with International Law to mean the internal law administered by tribunals, not the customs observed by sovereigns or ministers *inter se*. And this is exactly the true character of Private International Law; it has nothing *national* or of public law about it. *Private International Law* is a confusion of terms, because *national* is equivalent to *public*, which is like saying private public law. Now municipal law is a correct term, whilst private is not; and, of course, it embraces *criminal* law, which, in the language of the civil law, *private* law does not. When one says *intermunicipal* law one points to the fact that we are looking to the interchangeable part of Municipal Law, which is exactly the distinctive point of view. Lastly, Intermunicipal Law is a much less cumbrous phrase than Private International Law. It is certainly not more cumbrous than International Law, and quite as correctly formed. The one relates to the rules followed in the intercourse of *nations*, the other to the rules followed in the intercourse, as it were, of *tribunals*. I confidently recommend this new word, *Intermunicipal Law*, as at once accurate and convenient where inaccurate and inconvenient terms are in use, unless, indeed, any man prefers the precise terms, *Interforensic* or *Interjural* Law.

Let us now attempt to define Private International Law, that is *Intermunicipal* Law, and to determine its exact field.

The exact description of it is as follows: *The law of compound jurisdiction*. It is at once a rule of all Public Law, of International Law, and of every municipal system, that each sovereign state has exclusive jurisdiction over all persons, acts, and things within its local limits, and consequently over all causes arising within those limits. So far the basis of Private International Law rests on a general principle of Public International Law—viz. the exclusive territorial sovereignty of states. But as sovereign states have common dealings which lead to international relations, rights, and duties towards each other, so the individual citizens of sovereign states have common dealings which lead to intermunicipal relations, rights, and duties towards each other. To a certain degree the persons, acts, and things within one territorial jurisdiction, are related to, or connected with, a like series of persons, acts, or things in another territorial jurisdiction. A complicated series of facts, or acts, lead to what, in Savigny's language, may be called a legal relation between two persons, or between a person and a thing. But it may happen that in this series of facts, or acts, there are found some which arise, or are found, within some other territorial jurisdiction. What in this case is the local law or local court to do? Is it to treat these external acts and facts strictly by its own rules? In that case it will be violating its own first principles in extending its rules beyond its own territorial jurisdiction. Is it to treat these

acts and facts as null and void? This will work practical injustice, not only to foreign citizens but also to its own. Now so far Public Law, *i.e.* International Law, goes. It is an axiom of International Law that no state can refuse all rights to foreigners within its jurisdiction, nor can it treat with injustice or simply ignore their rights and legal position. No state can treat foreigners as *outlaws*, or decline to recognise all rights of theirs founded on facts or acts passing out of its territorial limits. To do so would be a ground for reprisals, international redress, and ultimately war. Thus International Law forces states to take *some* recognition of legal relations arising out of facts and acts beyond the territory. And it is thus, as it were, the parent of Private International Law.

There, however, it stops. It does not in any way determine *how* or by what system Municipal Law shall recognise these extra-territorial facts. It is accustomed to say that it leaves that to *comity*. So long as the Municipal Law of a country is not palpably unfair, or wantonly blind in dealing with persons or rights which are only temporarily or partially within its local jurisdiction, Public Law has nothing to say. Accordingly, Intermunicipal Law is in no sense a part of or a deduction from International Law. The utmost we can say is that International Law requires that there shall be *some* Intermunicipal Law. There are large sections of Intermunicipal Law, such as those relating to Criminal Law, Allegiance, Expatriation, all sections (and they are increasing) relating to treaties, which are closely associated with International Law: and accordingly justify the practice of writers such as Wheaton, Phillimore, Halleck, and others, who devote a substantive part of their works on International Law to the consideration of Intermunicipal Law.

But, strictly speaking, Intermunicipal Law is a substantive part of Municipal Law. Take a simple test. An estate is being distributed by the court under the terms of a will of A B in ordinary course. By the will a bequest is made to the child of C D. If is found that the alleged child of C D was born and is living in France, where it is legally the child of C D, testing the facts of its birth and parentage by the rules of French law. Testing the same facts by the rules of English law it is not the lawful child of C D. The question arises as to which class of rules are properly applicable to this state of facts. The determination of this question is, of course, tried by the same judge in exactly the same way, and in the course of the administration as an ordinary part of the case, the rules of French Law being proved in evidence just like the facts of birth, &c. The trial, judgment, and execution of the whole case forms one single, homogeneous act of jurisdiction, and the point of Intermunicipal Law arising in the midst of it is a mere incidental matter of inquiry, like the admissibility of a document, or whether

the terms of the bequest apply to real or personal estate. Here is a characteristic question of Intermunicipal Law; and it is found to be triable exclusively by the Municipal Law of this country, which treats the foreign law as a fact determining certain other facts.

Hence we may get as our definition this: Intermunicipal Law is that portion of every system of Municipal Law which determines the conditions on which it will found legal relations on the rules of some other system of Municipal Law. We cannot say that Intermunicipal Law is a system of rules common to all systems of Municipal Law, because it does not form a single set of rules acknowledged by all civilised nations at all. The rules, for instance, as to divorce of a marriage contracted within their own territory differ extremely in European and American states, and there is no prospect whatever of their being assimilated in any reasonable future. Nor would it serve to say that Intermunicipal Law is that portion of every system of Municipal Law which is borrowed from the law of any other system of Municipal Law. For instance, when the law of England recognises the marriage of English persons in Scotland without ceremony by any priest or registrar, provided such marriage be valid by the law of Scotland, the law of England does not adopt or borrow the marriage law of Scotland and incorporate it as part of its system, either permanently or temporarily. What takes place is this. The law of England, subject to definite exceptions, recognises as valid any marriage celebrated according to the form lawful in the place of celebration. But this is a rule not of Scotch law, but of English law. It is not even a rule of Private International Law, for the French Code has an analogous rule, somewhat different in form. Nor could any general rule be stated on the subject, such as would apply to all civilised states.

There is no real conflict between the English and the Foreign law. The English *Corpus iuris* (so to speak) contains rules as to the conditions on which rules of Foreign Law may be read with, and correlated with its own. But the rules of other systems do not become part of our own *Corpus iuris*. Neither do the rules of any general system of Private International Law outside our own law.

The jurists of earlier ages abroad have been greatly exercised as to the *authority* for these rules of Intermunicipal Law, i.e. as to what it was that made them binding on the municipal tribunals and the citizens of a state at home. It has for ages been a hopeless dilemma to them, one on which they have exhausted vast learning and ingenious labours. Indeed, the continental jurists have ever struggled, and struggled in vain, to find some *authority* for the law which they administered or obeyed. Englishmen have had no such difficulty. As a nation we have for centuries been perfectly

content to rest on the fact that the Common Law or Equity as interpreted by the judges, or the Statute Law as passed by Parliament, was in itself binding. If the Lord Chancellor or the Lord Chief Justice had ever been asked in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries *why* the law was binding, he would have treated it, perhaps, as contempt of court, or would have answered, like a famous Speaker, who was pressed on a point of order, "God in heaven only knows!" In any case Englishmen, whether lawyers or laymen, officials or simple citizens, never asked farther than *what was* the law. If any man had asked why was the law law, they would only answer *because it was*—the judge said so, or Parliament so enacted it. Theoretically, the readers of Hobbes, Bentham, and Austin simply started with the *Sovereign* as the source of law, above all law, and outside all law. But this practical or theoretical acceptance of law *as law*, apart from any sanction for itself, has always been regarded on the Continent as something terribly low and degrading. They said that this is reducing law from what *ought to be* to what *is*, and is making it a matter not of right but of practical convenience. At this reproach we can only wonder and smile. I suppose Gaius, if asked *why* the *ius honorarium* was law, would only have answered that the Prætor for some ages had always so enforced it; or that the Emperor had given it judicial sanction by implied adoption emanating from his supreme authority. That is very much the position of our own law, so far as it is not embodied in statutes.

I imagine that in the whole history of Jurisprudence there is no more interesting problem than this—What has led to the great difference between the way in which Englishmen and English lawyers look at the *authority* of law, and that in which all continental jurists look at it? Abroad, the first question is, not what is the rule of law, but whence does the rule of law derive its binding authority? A foreign jurist is never satisfied to deduce a clear and cogent principle from a series of dicta, or decisions, or doctrines. He is never easy till he can get back to some ultimate reason which seems to him to make it a primitive act of duty in all men to submit to the rule. Just as Grotius labours to show that the practice of civilised warfare is consistent with Scripture, the classical historians, or the most distinguished moralists and philosophers, and is not content to rest the practice on the manifest convenience of nations and the progress of civilisation, just so in Private International Law the continental jurists are never satisfied until they can discover some paramount right which seems to impose on all tribunals and judges the duty to decide by this or that principle.

I believe the ultimate ground of this difference is this, that whilst in foreign countries governed by the civil law and the ideas deduced from it, the elaboration of legal doctrines is detached from the

executive force which compels them to be obeyed, in England the elaboration of legal doctrines is almost exclusively and uniformly annexed to the executive force. That is to say, in England the *judges* develop the law in the very act of giving it effect under the process of the court. Elsewhere unofficial jurists develop the law, and they call upon *judges* to recognise and follow their dicta. Naturally the judges, feeling themselves the representatives of the sovereign, ask for some *authority*, such as can claim their acceptance of the doctrines of jurists. The jurists, on their part, have no authority from the sovereign at all, and for want of it they are driven to all sorts of expedients to devise some moral authority to compensate them for their total absence of *official* authority. Hence a continental jurist is perpetually troubled with the question, What gives this doctrine any *binding* authority? In Austin's language, What is its *sanction*?

Now in England, the real jurists are, and for five centuries have ever been, the superior judges, having a direct and visible authority from the sovereign, being in fact the mouthpiece, organs, and representatives of the monarchy. The judge's order is the Queen's writ: the Court is the Court of Queen's Bench; the trial is (in theory) heard by the sovereign, sitting in Westminster. "Our Sovereign lady the Queen" is everywhere present in every part of the trial, and the keeper of the Queen's conscience, or his deputies, decide a matter in equity. If the greatest literary jurist be cited to one of the Queen's judges in support of an argument, the judge will probably ask if there be any authority for that proposition: meaning—is there any *official sanction* for the doctrine?

That is tantamount to saying, that in England *juristic* authority and *official* authority are in one and the same hands, and are exercised in one and the same act, viz., the judgment pronounced by a competent tribunal. The *iuris periti* here, to use Roman language, are clothed with full *imperium*. Elsewhere those who have the *imperium* are not in the highest sense those *quibus permissum est ius condere*; they are not at all the most authoritative of the *iuris periti*.

It is notorious and undeniable that the judges, under the continental system, do not hold anything like the high position that has been held for centuries by the historic magistracy of our country. The continental theory of arbitrary government has required a greater docility, and withheld that independence which is so characteristic of our own system. Here the highest aim of a jurist is the magistracy: elsewhere the magistracy is recognised as an inferior position. I remember a young and promising lawyer of Prussia telling me that he was doing so well in his profession, that, "being now a judge, he was in hopes, in a few years, of being promoted to the bar." The salaries of the continental judges rarely approach the fees of any advocate with a good practice. The great jurists are

very rarely judges; but are almost invariably professors, advocates, or writers. In short, the position of inferiority to which a dependent condition, a close corporation, and small salaries have reduced foreign judges have reacted in such a way as to prevent their becoming the true intellectual sources of the law, so as to be its exponents and developers.

The result has been that everywhere, under this system, the *scientific* authority of the law is divorced from its *official* authority. The official judges, who can compel obedience to their decrees, have not the *scientific* authority which compels an intellectual assent to their arguments. On the other hand, those who have the scientific weight on their side to support their doctrines, have no executive force which can compel submission to them. In the absence of this executive force they are compelled to invent reasons for their rulings which may seem to command paramount obedience.

From this state of things—a state of things in which endless ingenuity is exhausted in the search for authority—we are saved by our political and social system, which makes the authoritative declarations of the law by an English judge at once an expression of the best juristic intelligence and learning, and also the decree of a Government official armed with the Sword of the State. An Englishman takes without question the judgment of the court as being not only the true view of the law, but the order of a magistrate who will lock him up if he disobeys.

In searching for the authority for Intermunicipal Law the dilemma was this. As the notion of exclusive territorial sovereignty and national independence grew more distinct (and this was the foundation of International Law and of the European state system, and the sort of gospel of the jurists), the idea grew more fixed that no courts of law could admit any derogation of their territorial jurisdiction by accepting foreign law. But then came the dilemma. Courts of law of all states were continually finding within their local jurisdictions, appealing to their jurisdiction, or brought before it, persons whose general legal relations must be referred to other local jurisdictions inasmuch as they owed allegiance to some other sovereign, or usually resided within those limits. A plaintiff or a defendant in court was alleged to have a wife. Was the woman his wife? The marriage had taken place years ago in another country, whilst the pair were settled within another local jurisdiction, and were living under forms not known to the court trying the case. To refuse to look into any rules but its own was to work manifest and flagrant injustice—an injustice that would end in reprisals and international difficulties. The courts accordingly tried the fact of marriage by the rules of the foreign state. By what authority did these rules of a foreign state operate out of its jurisdiction?

This exercised the great jurists continually, especially the Dutch jurists of the seventeenth century. It led to the invention of the theory of *Comity*, or consideration and courtesy as between nations. Vehement battles have been fought as to whether Intermunicipal Law really rested on *comity* or not. Some contended that since each sovereign state had exclusive jurisdiction within its own territories, foreign law could only be admitted by *courtesy*. Others replied by the equally cogent rejoinder that municipal courts decided cases by positive law, not by any sense of international courtesy, and that the recognition of these rules was not a matter of favour, or option, but of right and of settled Municipal Law, and hence that *comity* was not an adequate foundation for Intermunicipal Law. It is clear that we have nothing to do with this barren and interminable controversy.

It rested, we can now see, on a confusion of two distinct ideas. From the point of view of sovereign state independence, *i.e.* of International Law, states might very fairly proclaim that if they admitted foreign laws at all, it was not because the foreign state had any jurisdiction within their borders, or right to claim it, but simply out of grace and consideration. But from the point of view of the municipal lawyer, for the ordinary jurist, the conditions under which foreign rules of law are admissible to establish legal relations in the courts of his own country, were entirely matters within the four corners of his own *corpus iuris*. These rested, not on *comity* at all; they rested on the same authority, and were established by the same sovereign authority, and with the same view to public convenience as any other part of the law. Therefore, to the ordinary jurist, this talk about *comity* is idle and beside his purpose. In International Law it is a rational explanation of an apparent anomaly. But in Intermunicipal it tells us nothing, and only suggests an erroneous notion. It is preposterous to offer it as a basis for Intermunicipal Law, which rests on the same basis as the rest of the law—the will of the sovereign with a view to public convenience.

The continental jurists of this century do not talk so much about *comity*, but they have a still more interminable puzzle which exercises their ingenuity. It is this. What are the juristic theories from which Intermunicipal Law can be deduced? And they have sought to establish a few plain canons as a basis for the whole range of Intermunicipal Law. A succession of great jurists have sought to lay down general tests to mark the conditions where one municipal system will be right in resorting to another system, and for what purposes. It is a long and most difficult discussion. Ingenious as these theories are, they are all confessedly defective. They have done much to clear up the ground in this very difficult problem of public law; they have done little to make the rules of Intermunicipal Law

more available in practice. Where Savigny has confessedly failed we may acquiesce in the belief that the attempt, if decidedly heroic, has not got the conditions of success. The discussion has been almost exclusively German and Italian. The English and American lawyers, as was natural, have hardly noticed it. The French, and now the recent Germans, incline towards our more practical view. We do not seek for high generalisations from which the rules of law can be deduced. We content ourselves with classifying and stating the rules of law as they are developed in practice.

What is the source of this error? It flows, I think we must admit, from the continental habit of assuming that there is some substantive body of truth known as *right* or justice, antecedent to the positive law, and to which positive law has to conform. Accordingly there is a continual tendency to treat positive law as capable of being deductively found from principles of this *right*. In England and in America people are entirely free from the temptation to get at any *deductive* knowledge of law. We think it idle and practically impossible for a theorist to declare *a priori* any general principle which will be found in practice to secure the greatest amount of public convenience under infinitely varying circumstances and combinations of legal relation and fact. Our historical plan has been to leave it to the instinctive sagacity of a trained judge to strike out the most consistent doctrine he could, *pro re natâ*, by the analogy of the doctrines in other cases with which he has been long saturated. And then, having a multitude of these doctrines before us, all pronounced in actual cases of great variety, our scientific lawyer tries to generalise them and cast them in a more abstract form, so that for the future the doctrine may have greater distinctness and accuracy of limit, and the judge hereafter may gradually get rid of inconsistent decisions.

Why, in the department of Intermunicipal Law, are we to seek for a deductive method which we never think of applying in our ordinary municipal system? Intermunicipal questions are simply part of every municipal system, tried in the same courts, by the same judges, under the same practice; and there is no reason why we should put on a totally different basis the law, we may say, which is to decide the validity of a marriage celebrated in France and that of a marriage celebrated in England. The doctrines applicable to the latter have been established partly by a long course of practical experience as conducing to the public welfare, partly by positive decision of sovereign authority. Why should the doctrines applicable to the former (or the French marriage) be established by deduction from a general abstract rule?

It would follow, if these trains of argument are sound, (1) that there is really no ground at all for the attempt to form one common body of rules for the civilised world in Intermunicipal Law, such as

there has been formed for the public intercourse of states in International Law; (2) that it is chimerical to found any science of Intermunicipal Law by *deductive* reasoning from a few canons of an abstract kind.

To speak of each of these in turn :—

(1.) The law of a nation is the result of a vast congeries of political, social, and intellectual forces; it is the product of its history, and is closely inwoven in its national character. Accordingly the law of civilised nations does differ, and will continue to differ, in many important features. But, if these questions of mixed law, or Intermunicipal Law, are still part of the Municipal Law, it is idle to expect that they can have the same solution for all nations. It might be a good thing (if it were not a Utopian fancy) that succession to property on death should be governed by the same rules in every state of the civilised world. But since succession is actually governed by very widely different rules, it is superfluous to ask that it should be governed by the same rules in cases where the title to succeed may depend on some legal relation rising outside the jurisdiction of the state that tries the question. It may suit the history, genius, and legal theories of one state to admit succession under conditions which another state would judge quite inadmissible. And it would be as irrational to expect states to conform themselves to a common standard in these incidental cases of compound jurisdiction, as it would be to call on them to accept a common law of succession.

Accordingly, we cannot advance far on the path advocated by many continental schools, which treat Intermunicipal Law as a distinct international science, almost as if it were antecedent to, or independent of, Municipal Law. There are German and Italian writers who seem to think that this science can be evolved *a priori* by reasoning from principles of jurisprudence or from a lofty moral sense of right and equity. This is part of the price which a system of jurisprudence pays for the privilege of giving jurists the precedence over judges. It is now, I think, little less than a misfortune that Intermunicipal Law is still popularly supposed to be a branch of International Law. It is, in fact, much older in date, for Bartolus and Argentræus laid down the lines of it long before International Law sprang full-blown, like a new Athene, from the brain of Hugo Grotius in 1625. The connection, which is not historically great (for Intermunicipal Law has been almost exclusively created by judges), has stimulated erroneous ways of treating Intermunicipal Law as if it were in some sort a *Jus Gentium*, or common law of the civilised world, and as such stood on a footing of authority and rationality apart from the practice and decisions of courts, apart from the positive law embodied in codes and statutes, and apart from the idiosyncrasies and varying practical needs of different nations.

(2.) With regard to the second point, it is clear, I think, that the only solid mode of promoting this branch of law is to found it upon the actual practice and decisions of different states, and to look to the comparison and gradual systematization of current rules, to positive laws and practical convenience, rather than to deduction from speculations, however profound. To pursue laws by the methods appropriate to morals and general philosophy, is indeed a singular fallacy. The moralist or the philosopher have only to arrive at the truest analysis of man's moral nature or the most abstract canons of human thought. But in law, as in politics generally, it would be perfectly idle to lay down the best and loftiest principles of justice or social convenience, if societies of men are not found in practice conforming to these rules. A jurist might reduce to system the judicial practice of the King of Dahomey or Zululand; and there is no doubt a kind of Intermunicipal Law recognised amongst tribes of Red Indians. For these reasons, I think that Intermunicipal Law must always keep close to Positive Law, of which it is in fact part; and in many ways it is best studied and promoted from the point of view not of general and abstract jurisprudence, but of some particular municipal system. Intermunicipal Law has owed much more to judges than to professors. D'Argentré, D'Aguesscau, Bouhier, Boullenois, Huber, Rodenburg, Savigny, Story, Phillimore, were all practitioners and judges. In many modern nations formal rules for Intermunicipal cases are now being inserted in their codes or their statute books. These are of course quite different, and yet they have the highest and most permanent character of Positive Law. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that these will be revised. But whilst they stand, Intermunicipal Law can only accept their divergencies and register them.

But on the other hand, is it right to infer from all this that Intermunicipal questions cannot be studied at all in a general way, and that all we can do is to learn the practice of each particular system? Far from it. On the contrary, although there was neither international nor moral obligation to compel them so to do, civilised nations have as a fact very largely followed common principles and an identical practice. In a department of law which so largely depended on mutuality, or reciprocal recognition of each other's rights, they have naturally adopted to a great extent common rules. The authors who have written systematically on this very difficult branch of law have been few, and they naturally wrote to a great extent from a general point of view. Apart from this, ordinary motives of convenience and experienced practical judgments have, as a fact, led to a very large amount of actual agreement. The same set of authorities and the same authors have been appealed to for one or two centuries in the civil courts of the whole civilised world, and

the consequence has been that whilst judges stubbornly refused to have any common or binding law thrust on them, they have in fact worked out a striking degree of practical unanimity. Although it has been proved perfectly idle to *deduce* a binding Intermunicipal Law from abstract principles of jurisprudence, these rules have proved of the highest value in giving meaning to and in reconciling the recorded decisions of local courts. Now no intermunicipal rules whatever, much less any set of such rules, stand *merely* as a part of the ordinary Municipal Law. No case is ever decided, even in English courts, much less in any other municipal courts, entirely without reference to the classics of Intermunicipal Law. The weight of this body of doctrine is so permanent that even if a case be accidentally decided by a local judge ignoring entirely the general Intermunicipal Law, the case speedily loses any authority and drops out of sight. On this account not even the ruling of purely English tribunals can be understood or turned to account without a thorough study of the general theory of Intermunicipal Law.

I am very far from wishing to disparage the careful reading of the great theoretical jurists in this complicated subject. They are indispensable to the student, the practitioner, and the judge. If it be true that the principles of this branch of law cannot possibly be reduced to a few general doctrines, still no order will ever be achieved in the mass of conflicting decisions and practices except by the light of these general doctrines and consistent theory. With Intermunicipal Law as with the whole body of Municipal Law it is impossible to *begin* by forming deductively a symmetrical code; but *without* a symmetrical conception of doctrines, it will be impossible to arrange the decisions in a final code. Theory cannot precede Law; but without theory law would ever remain a chaos, having neither fixity nor authority. If it be, as I think, idle to dream of an Intermunicipal Code common to all civilised nations, even such an one as we might fairly anticipate for International Law, still the tendency of municipal systems to converge on this ground common to them all is very largely seen as a fact, and may be indefinitely increased. No one can study the anomalies produced even by the different rules of marriage in England and Scotland, the different rules as to legitimacy in England and in France, without desiring some mode of terminating so disastrous an incongruity. Complete unanimity is perhaps not desirable, and is certainly impracticable. Sufficient unanimity to avoid wanton inconvenience is most essential. And it is only by a careful study of theory that any unanimity at all can be hoped for. Theory will never itself establish a uniform practice; but *without* theory a uniform practice is entirely impossible. Every one knows the extreme inconveniences that are caused by the decision of an English or American court in complete ignorance of, or in defiance

of, the common practice of civilised nations and the general doctrines of the theoretic jurists. One such decision destroys the labour of generations, and adjourns indefinitely the day when any rule can be evolved out of discordant practices.

But as in England and in America it is certain that courts will often decide on technical grounds of purely Municipal law, in defiance both of theoretic jurisprudence and the practice of their neighbours, and since on the continent the theories are still divergent on many first principles, it is clear we must look for some solution of the ambiguities and difficulties to some stronger power. Such a power, I believe, can only be found in direct Legislative authority, direct International agreement, and ultimately in Treaties between States. Great progress towards a direct agreement has already been made, and to that only can we look in the future. But that agreement will be fruitful and beneficial only as it is based on sound theory and scientific analysis of the common axioms of law.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

ASSURANCE INVESTMENTS.

PARLIAMENT has not been wanting in solicitude for the encouragement of habits of thrift. The laws which have been devised for this purpose—some of them repealed, and some of them in full or in partial operation—bear their ample share in the cumbrous tortuosity of our statute books. The public reports and returns dealing with the same matter form in themselves a considerable literature. The methods upon which action has been based have depended, not upon the analogous application of any single principle, but upon several principles having little or no relation one to another. This action has been directed mainly either to savings' banks, with which the present article is not concerned, or to those other facilities for provident investments which have for their end the securing of a certain medium efficiency to savings, whether the object of him who makes them be the provision of a fund or allowance for his own benefit during his life, or for his family's benefit after his death, or some other kindred aim.

The private organizations engaging in the supply of these wants have been placed on different footings in accordance as they are designed to meet the requirements of the poorer or of the middle and upper classes of the community. The Assurance Companies which are concerned chiefly with the needs of the latter, in so far as they have been brought under State control at all, are subject in the main to compulsory enactments. The direct connection of Government with Friendly Societies constituted for the use of the former, is permissive. But over and above this limited supervision of independent enterprise, the State has itself undertaken, through the agency of the Post Office, the conduct of this business in some of its simpler forms.

The legislation affecting the management of Assurance Companies is unambitious. Parliament has been contented with very little more than a direction that they shall furnish accounts of income and expenditure, and of assets and liabilities. This provision is certainly valuable, but it may be doubted whether the unofficial readers of the Statements and Abstracts of Reports deposited with the Board of Trade under the Life Assurance Companies Act, 1870, which are printed yearly, should be counted by hundreds or even by dozens. The mere fact, moreover, that a return has been made to a Government department is apt to convey the impression to some minds that the return is satisfactory. There is reason to believe that this kind of misapprehension is largely traded on by some offices. Certainly

no security is afforded by the regulations now in force against the undertaking of contracts during a considerable number of years by a company which can never be in a position to carry out all its engagements. To say that the legislation affecting Assurance Companies has failed would be an inexact criticism. Success has not been attempted.

The old Acts, which held out to Friendly Societies various special privileges dependent upon Government registration as an inducement to them to satisfy certain conditions, were singularly ill-adapted to the end which was in view. The privileges are some of them of such a kind that the possibility of their being privileges at all is a stain upon the history of our laws, belonging as they do to that class of primary civil rights the exercise of which is of no very important value to their possessor, however beneficial it may be to the public as a check upon the basest of all frauds. Others of them could be, and constantly were, dispensed with, either by an evasion of the law or by arrangements rendering its aid unnecessary. On the other hand, the conditions to be satisfied before registration could be allowed, seem to have combined in a remarkable degree a minimum of usefulness with a maximum of inconvenience. They did not in any way secure even proximate solvency, while they entailed upon the management an observance of harassing and frivolous formalities. It is, therefore, some testimony to the sound sense of the working classes that in 1874 no less than ten thousand Friendly Societies remained unregistered. The whole subject of organized providence among those classes was thoroughly investigated by a Royal Commission, which ended its labours in the same year. The evidence which they collected, the conclusions at which they arrived, and the recommendations which they made, must always form a leading text-book for those who desire to make themselves acquainted with the several aspects of the matters with which they deal. In 1875 a new Act was passed, founded upon the report of this commission. It is much to be regretted that so short an interval should have elapsed between the completion of the commissioners' report and the action of Parliament. The facts and suggestions contained in their report could not have been, and were not, thoroughly appreciated. As it is, the new Act, although introducing manifold variations upon the detail, does not avoid the radical defects of its predecessors, while the complexity of the law is increased, in so far as societies registered before 1876 may continue under the provisions of the former Acts. All are pervaded and tainted by the assumption that it is possible for a central authority to frame rules which shall satisfy the requirements of a great number of societies without much regard being had to the special circumstances of each. No legislation, whether permissive or compulsory, however carefully planned, and

however wide or limited its scope, will ever approach entire success which attempts to throw upon private persons such duties of routine as should properly be performed by public officers. The formality which is a saving of labour to the latter may be, and in the case of Friendly Societies almost always is, a source of bewilderment and annoyance to the former. A central authority there must certainly be, but its function should consist rather, so far as supervision of the societies is concerned, in the delegation of competent agents, if possible not immediately dependent upon itself, but in whose uncontrolled discretion entire confidence could be placed, and who should not only advise with the management upon methods of working, but should themselves draw up all such financial and other returns and statements as might be required. The system of registration as formerly and as now carried on, is not without its advantages, especially in so far as facilities are already afforded for extending the benefits of wise counsels to those willing to make use of them; but it may be doubted whether its advantages are not more than counterbalanced by the appearance of Government approval which it is apt to carry with it. Continuous improvement there has undoubtedly been in the position of these societies, but it is sufficiently accounted for by the growing intelligence of the working classes themselves; and whoever takes the trouble to study the report above referred to will scarcely avoid the conclusion that up to its date legislation had been a failure. It is too early to judge decisively of the practical effect of the new Act, but the reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies certainly do not warrant a very favourable prognosis. There is urgent need for some process of clear distinction to be brought home to the working classes themselves between solvent and insolvent institutions in all cases.

The Post Office commenced its business as an assurance agency in 1865. The amount received on account of premiums on life policies in 1878 was about ten thousand pounds. The total sum received by all offices in the United Kingdom upon the same account reaches twelve million pounds yearly. It is at least open to doubt whether it is worth while that the State should continue to carry on a business in which during thirteen years it has only succeeded in attracting to itself one twelve-hundredth part of these assurance investments. Its success with respect to annuities is more respectable, the receipts upon this account having amounted to one hundred and thirty thousand pounds in the same year. Annuities are a far less popular subject of assurance investment than the payment of a sum at death; and, regard being had to this consideration, so large an aggregate of transactions is at least as much as could reasonably have been expected. It will hereafter be shown that the apparently prosperous result here is by no means a ground for unmixed satisfaction.

Such are the principal conditions of subsisting Government relation to assurances upon lives, this term being used in its widest sense. These conditions are most unsatisfactory. The instability of very many Friendly Societies, the possible insolvency of some Assurance Companies, the unrestrained undertaking by both of contracts which they may not, and often cannot, be in a position to fulfil, the ill-success of the Post Office enterprise, and, as will appear farther on, the pecuniary loss which it is incurring, are all of them matters calling for prompt and comprehensive changes in respect to legislative and executive control. The discouragement thrown upon the formation of habits of thrift by the State's neglect to provide reasonable machinery for the protection of savings, is subject for the deepest national concern.

The purpose of this article is, in part, to inquire in what way the two primary elements of healthy assurance business, exclusively of correct appreciation of averages, may best be secured and combined. One of these primary elements is the solvency of the assurer; the other is profit, the interest payable to the assured in some form upon his investment. Assurances would seldom be chosen as a subject for investment if such choice involved a sacrifice of interest upon money. It is unnecessary to refer to all the numerous special forms satisfying particular needs, which may be imposed at will upon assurances and annuities. The simplest type of either is respectively: that wherein the assurer, in consideration of sums paid to him at regular intervals by the assured during his life, undertakes to pay to the representatives of the latter at his death a certain capital sum; and that wherein the assurer, in consideration of a single payment of a capital sum by the assured, undertakes to pay to the latter during his life certain sums at regular intervals. The advantage gained by the assured who thus invests his savings is the certainty that these savings will suffice to produce a fixed capital amount at his death whenever it happens, or a fixed annual income during his life, however long he may live. All other forms of provident assurance primarily involve the same principle—the equalised efficiency of savings. All of them, moreover, necessitate the contemplation of a possibly long subsistence of the contract between assurer and assured, so that the probable value of the interest which ought to be allowed by the former upon the moneys confided to his care, is a large and often predominating factor in determining the amount of the sum which he ought to charge as an equivalent for the advantages he promises. It is this element of interest which forms the most essential difference between the business of assurance upon lives and the business of insurance against mishaps. In the latter, as the contracts entered into need not ever subsist for any considerable period; the question of interest may be entirely ex-

cluded. The jingling and verbally inapposite distinction between the two words assurance and insurance is most inconvenient, and is very ill-observed ; but in default of some less conventional nomenclature, and in presence of a real difference of circumstance, the two words must be retained. The one primary element of healthy insurance business is the solvency of the insurer. It is a matter of detail whether the assurer or insurer be a confederation of the assured or insured themselves, or some extraneous person or organization.

As the collective outcome of a number of separate transactions the granting of policies upon lives, or in other words, the undertaking to pay certain accumulated sums upon the deaths of the assured persons in consideration of payments, or of series of payments, to be made during their lives, is, on the part of the assurer, the borrowing from the assured of several series of instalments, or of several single sums as the case may be, for various terms of years, upon the condition that they shall be paid back again in one capital sum after the terms of years are expired, with interest and compound interest. As the collective outcome of a number of separate transactions, the granting of annuities for lives, or in other words, the undertaking to pay certain annual sums during the remainder, or some part of the remainder, of their lives to the persons so assured, in consideration of present payments made by them, is, on the part of the grantor, the borrowing from the assured of several sums of money for various terms of years upon the condition that they shall be paid back again by instalments as the agreed dates of repayment arrive, with interest and compound interest. The proportionate excess of ultimate repayments by the assurer over original payments by the assured which the assurer is in a position to offer, and if he aim at making a profit the proportion of his own profit, must depend entirely upon the measure of interest which he himself is able to get for, or to allow upon, the sums so borrowed. These sums he may either re-lend, or, if he himself has a use for them, he may employ them for his own purposes. If he re-lend he must, out of the interest paid to him, provide expenses of management, and if he wishes for profit, his own profit, and also the excess of ultimate repayment over original payments promised to the assured. If he employ for his own purposes he can afford to allow such a rate of interest as he would have to give for loans of the like amounts in the ordinary way, and out of this interest he must make the same provision as before.

If Government as representing the community could in carrying on the business of assurance upon lives re-lend at the market rate of interest the moneys placed from time to time in its hands in the course of that business, there can be no doubt that as well from the better or fancied better security which it might offer to the assured

on their side, as from the opportunities which it would possess on its side for the reduction of individual chances to aggregate certainty, and indeed for many other reasons, competition on the part of private enterprise would be nearly hopeless. Though that enterprise would not at once cease, it would speedily be discouraged, and would finally disappear as different classes of the community should become alive to the true nature of assurance transactions. There would remain nothing to counterbalance the advantages of the perfect and ascertained security of a contract entered into by the State. But according to received and well-authenticated opinion the interference of Government in private trade, and the rivalry of Government with private enterprise, should either be altogether avoided, or if ever good cause be shown for a special exception, should be confined within the narrowest limits compatible with the attainment of the single object. Common sense is little likely to entertain a scheme for constituting the State Government as the largest money-lending firm in the country upon ordinary mercantile principles.

The alternative is that Government should employ the moneys confided to its care by assured persons for its own purposes. This is the course now pursued with respect to the assurances already undertaken by Government through the agency of the Post Office. It is therefore possible to examine the actual working of this arrangement in a particular existing instance. Before doing so it is more convenient to state the general grounds upon which any such arrangement must be condemned.

That Government has a use for borrowed money is sufficiently apparent from the existence of the National Debt. That it can offer to lenders the best of all securities is equally obvious. There remains the question, what is the rate of interest which Government has to pay for loans made to it in the ordinary way? The average price of a hundred pounds of consols, or the sum for which Government can get rid of its liability to pay three pounds yearly, is not less than ninety-five pounds in cash; and the average annual rate of interest which Government pays upon its permanent loans is therefore not more than three and one-sixth per cent. It is hardly necessary to say that loans such as those made to Government by assured persons requiring constantly recurring repayments are not nearly so favourable to the borrower as permanent loans, the principal of which need never be repaid at all. But even if this consideration be left out of account, and if there be allowed for expenses of management only such fraction of interest over and above three per cent. as is paid by Government upon its permanent loans (and it is not supposed that Government desires to make any profit out of its assurance transactions), the utmost excess of ultimate repayments over original receipts which Government can afford without actual loss to promise

to assured persons, must be calculated at about the annual rate of three per cent. upon the moneys from time to time placed in its hands.

It is certainly an understatement of the truth to say that it is always possible to obtain four per cent. for money annually by advancing it upon certain private or semi-public securities without running appreciable risk of losing either interest or capital. Even if there be any difference of degree between the safety which characterizes consols, and the safety afforded by the properly conducted mortgage of real estate, this difference of degree does not amount to one ten-thousandth part of the difference between the thirty-one pounds and the twenty-five pounds which are the capital sums respectively paid for one pound yearly when consols are bought at only ninety-three, and when money is lent at four per cent. The preferential price of consols depends mainly upon two circumstances. On the one hand their security is as it were of a superlative and manifold perfectness, which not only satisfies all possible requirements of practical wisdom, but meets as well all the suggestions of an extravagant and fidgety apprehension. Possessed of every element of theoretical safety they fulfil many times over all necessary conditions demanded by active prudence; and this excess of resources above and beyond needs has for many people a strong fascination, especially if they lack opportunity or capacity for freely exercising a discriminative choice. On the other hand the ready facility afforded by consols for exchange and purchase in large or small amounts, while it renders them a peculiarly convenient subject of investment to persons of narrow means, enables those engaged in the mighty transactions of modern finance to make use of them as a little varying and always available representative of value at least equal to gold in compact indestructibility of worth, and better than gold as bringing in a modicum of interest. In addition to these real or supposed special advantages it must not be forgotten that the existing quantity of the supply is limited, and upon the whole is being gradually diminished by the holder of the monopoly for its production, very largely diminished in proportion to the growth of the demand.

Associations for the conduct of assurance business have no need to incur this preferential expense or loss of profit by investment in consols. If, as they should be, their money-lending transactions are large and their machinery of management is adequate, investments upon carefully chosen mortgages of real property, municipal securities, railway debentures, and the like will be sufficiently convenient for their purposes; and even though they were to confine their operations to these, they would be able, after all incidental charges were met, to allow a very considerably better rate of interest to those

who deal with them than the three per cent. which it is; perhaps, possible for Government to offer without incurring loss. But the holder of large capital occupies in many other respects a very much better position for procuring a comparatively high rate of interest with safety than the possessor of any ordinary private fortune. The latter in proportion to his prudence, and in proportion to the relative gravity of the consequences which would be entailed upon him by a loss, will be loath to embark his all, or an important share of his all, upon a venture attended with less or more hazard. This avoiding of even infinitesimal risks which is or ought to be practised by most of the investing public, directly tends to set upon all opportunities for safely lending money, as upon consols, a certain premium price which far more than equals the inverse value of those risks. The master, on the contrary, of millions may put out with but little real danger of loss in each case, a thousand different sums in a thousand different directions, very many of them not open at all to ordinary lenders, receiving in return not four only, but five or six per cent. upon them severally. It is true that the chance of losing the principal sum in each transaction in any one year may be one in a thousand, or one in five hundred; but even if the actual loss be four in a thousand, and if he be receiving upon the average five per cent. for his money instead of four per cent., his whole average gain in each year, after allowance for particular losses of capital and particular losses of interest, will be more than half of the difference between the two rates of interest. The multiplicity of his lendings enables him to extend the benefits of insurance to his own business by striking an average. Government, therefore, in undertaking assurances upon lives must either voluntarily expose itself to certain loss, or can only offer to the assured advantages very greatly inferior to those which may reasonably be expected from private combinations. It will now be convenient to consider the actual working of this business as carried on by the Post Office.

Upon the terms offered the balance of chance is against the Government upon every separate purchase of an immediate life annuity. When the annuitants are young the proportion of probable loss is very large. Strangely enough females are treated with less liberality than males. They are credited with a greater relative excess of longevity than that which experience proves them to possess.¹

(1) For instance, a woman of thirty-two is charged as much for an annuity of the same amount as a man of twenty-one. Yet the difference in average further duration of life between the two sexes is less than one year at the earlier age, and little more than one year at the later age. To put it in another way, the average further duration of a man's life when he is twenty-one is nearly forty years, of a woman's life when she is thirty-two is less than thirty-three years. Of course the value of annuities upon lives is not estimated in the same way as that of annuities for terms of years; but a properly conducted calculation does not justify so large a discrepancy. American offices from

But if adequate provision be made for expenses, and if interest be calculated at a rate proportioned to the average price of consols, the chances of loss preponderate largely over the chances of gain in respect to both sexes. If the value of life be estimated upon the most recent and most approved vital statistics, the annuitant receives upon the average an annuity which, in respect of its whole probable cost to the State, is now worth at the time of purchase at least fifteen per cent. more than the price he pays for it.

From the rules observed in constructing the *Tables of Premiums to be charged* (reprinted 1878), and from the *Postal Guide*, it appears that to the premiums fixed for immediate annuities payable half yearly, no addition has been made for costs and charges. In the accounts of the National Debt Office for 1878, the rate of interest allowed is mentioned as being three and a quarter per cent. in the case of annuities generally. An examination of the premiums themselves shows also upon the whole that such have been the bases of reckoning. Upon an aggregate of transactions the loss involved in undertaking contracts on these terms is represented by the difference between three and a quarter, and, with consols at ninety-five, three and a sixth per cent. in respect of the interest allowed, over and above all expenses. So large an allowance as three and a quarter per cent. has not been justified by the average price of consols in any one of the last twelve years. And even in 1865 and in 1866, when the price of consols was exceptionally low, the marginal profit in respect of interest was never sufficiently large to cover one-third of the very smallest amount at which these expenses could reasonably be estimated. It seemed so astonishing that Government should have undertaken these burdensome engagements, that I made inquiry in an official quarter as to the rate of interest allowed. This precaution was the more necessary as the writer of Appendix 1 to the Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies was evidently under the impression that this rate is only three per cent. In reply to my question, however, it was again stated at three and a quarter per cent., and reference was made to 27 and 28 Vic., cap. 43, as being the Act under which this rate is granted. I had before read and re-read that Act in my endeavour to ascertain the exact legal and actual bases of calculation, and indeed it was mainly because the consideration sums charged for immediate life annuities do not agree with the provisions of that Act, that I was induced to make so careful an investigation.

By the sixth section the Treasury Commissioners are directed to

whose methods there is much to be learned usually make no distinction between their charges to males and to females; and it may be doubted whether it is worth while to maintain the distinction in England. At all events if it is maintained, a corresponding reduction should be made to females in respect to life policies.

have tables constructed "*in accordance with the principles above recited,*" on which annuities or payments on death shall be contracted for "*under the said Act and this Act.*" The section begins with a short extract from 16 and 17 Vic. cap. 45, sec. 16 ("*the said Act*"), whereby the Treasury Commissioners were empowered to direct the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to use such tables as should from time to time be authorised by the Treasury Commissioners for similar purposes. Clearly this is not a principle but a method of procedure. The same section of 27 and 28 Vic. cap. 43, next recites that it is expedient that the fund to be formed by the receipt of sums on account of all such contracts effected under the said Act and this Act, shall be adequate to meet all claims accruing and to accrue thereon, so as to render certain the fulfilment of all engagements under such contracts without entailing any charge in respect thereof or in respect of costs and expenses on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom. This, which is a very important principle indeed, has no connection with the earlier Act; and it is clear that the precise rate of interest to be allowed could never have been intended to form one of those principles, but a detail to be dependent upon them. The effect of the provisions and recitals already mentioned is to limit the full discretion of the Commissioners by introducing the condition that the rates charged shall be at least equivalent to the whole value and cost of all contracts. But at the end of the section, as it would appear by an after-thought, this discretion is still further restricted. Instead of its being left entirely to the Commissioners to judge of the adequacy of the charges to be made, it is expressly directed that, in respect of payments on death the tables are to be calculated, so far as interest of money is concerned, at three per centum per annum. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that this fixed rate was meant to apply also to annuities, and that by some blunder the words "*Annuities or*" have been omitted. The writer of the Appendix above referred to seems to have taken this view, and to have assumed further that the intention of the framers was also the effect of the Act. This, of course, is not the case. One of the chief objects of the sixth section, however, is to provide that no contracts of any kind shall be undertaken upon terms inadequate to their full cost and value, and that tables of premiums shall be framed including in the premiums themselves both value and cost. These conditions have not been satisfied. It appears, therefore, that all immediate annuity contracts undertaken by the Post Office, though not invalid, have failed to satisfy the provisions of the Act by which they should be governed. Their validity depends merely upon a supplementary direction, in accordance with which the tables were laid before both Houses of Parliament, and upon their acquiescence became legalised.

in themselves until they should be rescinded. A fee of one shilling is charged in addition to the premium for each pound of annuity purchased ; but not only does this fee not meet the exigencies of the case either in form or in amount, but it is at least doubtful whether upon the terms of the Act it can legally be demanded at all.

The officials responsible for the construction of the tables appear to have supposed that these annuity contracts do not come within the provisions and restrictions of 27 and 28 Vic. cap. 43. In the rules above mentioned the second recital of the sixth section is misquoted. The words "*under the Act*" and "*such contracts*" have been substituted respectively for "*under the said Act and this Act*" and for "*all such contracts.*" But even if this had been the right reading, the words used in describing the contracts for which tables are to be constructed in accordance with the recited principles, include all assurance and annuity contracts undertaken by the Post Office. The same mistake has been made with respect to Deferred Annuities, with what precise results it is needless to inquire, as the general bearing of the matter has already been sufficiently illustrated. It seems scarcely credible, but in the same rules it is expressly stated, that the vital statistics upon which the tables for Deferred Annuities and Deferred Monthly Allowances have been framed, were printed in 1829.

In the case of policies upon lives, it seems upon the whole that the premiums charged with compound interest calculated at a rate proportioned to the average price of consols, do suffice to pay the sums assured when actual events correspond with statistical averages. Indeed, upon actual life probabilities, the aged meet with some hardship, not even the whole of the small amount of interest which they might expect to get being allowed on such sums as they may invest in assurances on their lives. There may even be a small gain upon the aggregate of the contracts if, as is commonly supposed, the value of life in England is a progressively increasing value ; though in view of possible wars and possible epidemics it would be exceedingly rash to discount this progression, however surely confirmed. The gain upon life policies, however, if any gain there be, certainly does not make good any appreciable fraction of the loss upon annuities, regard being had to the extent in which they are respectively undertaken. Unfortunately it is not in any one's power to speak upon this point with definite preciseness of degree. The relative proportion of expenses of assurance management to assurance receipts in a mixed business such as that of the Post Office, cannot be accurately determined ;¹ while in its case the difficulty of arriving even at proximate truth is still further increased by there

(1) Is there need to point out that *annual* receipts and payments have little to do with the financial position of any assuring agency ?

being involved in the inquiry certain other Government departments, upon whom some duties connected with the assurances are thrown, and by whom, consequently, some charges must be borne. There is much reason for suspecting that there exists a somewhat tiresome and costly overlapping as well of bureaucratic control as of clerical detail. Indeed, apart from other evidence, this conclusion is forced upon the mind by a mere perusal of the legislation in accordance with which the machinery is constructed and worked. If stress be laid on the comparative minuteness of the transactions severally as well as collectively, these expenses must be estimated at a somewhat high rate. If each receipt on account of life policies costs the Post Office only as much as each deposit with or withdrawal from its savings' banks, or rather more than eightpence, this item alone forms a considerable percentage upon the whole amount received. In 1878 this amount was £10,605, and was paid in 15,833 different sums, averaging, therefore, thirteen shillings and fourpence each. But from one point of view it would not be quite fair to dwell on these extraordinary elements of expensiveness, for they might disappear were the Post Office, with the help of Parliament, on the one hand, to reform its methods of procedure in some particulars, and on the other hand, largely to extend its operations by undertaking assurances as well for greater amounts as in greater numbers. In some respects also the Post Office possesses unusual facilities for carrying on the business of assurance cheaply, especially in so far as it can make use for mechanical and routine work of the services of persons whom it must at all events employ for its other and primary purposes, and in so far as it dispenses with advertising and with agents. It is somewhat astonishing to find that the Royal Commissioners on Friendly Societies (final Report, 1874, p. cxcviii.) would be content to sacrifice these advantages *in esse* or *in posse*, for they appear to contemplate a lowering of the minimum amounts for which policies may be granted, and also the employment of house to house collectors. The Act under which policies upon lives are granted by the Post Office directs, as before mentioned, that so far as interest is concerned, the tables shall be calculated at three per cent. (27 and 28 Vic. cap. 43, sec. 6) ; and it appears from the tables themselves, and from the rules in accordance with which they are constructed, that over and above the margin which this rate leaves, a sufficient allowance has been made for all charges, sufficient at all events if the scale of operations were less insignificant. In the case of private offices the proportion of commission and expenses to premium receipts varies from about four to about eighty (!) per cent. The collective aggregates in 1876 of these items of income and expenditure in the case of one hundred and fourteen English offices, give an average of sixteen and a quarter per cent. In the case

of forty-nine offices known to be well managed the average is ten and a half per cent.

It is a speculation which seems like truth that, among those classes which are most likely to avail themselves of the opportunities afforded by the Post Office for small assurance investments, the value of life for those persons who actually make use of them may be somewhat greater than that for the rest of the population. The business has not been carried on for a sufficiently long period, nor on a sufficiently extensive scale, for ascertaining the justness of this surmise. The vigorous inclination to thrift which induces an artisan to go out of his way thus to effect and invest savings, is extremely likely to coexist with generally estimable and healthful habits. If this speculation be correct, the amount of actual loss upon annuities will be somewhat greater, while the chances of gain upon life policies will be correspondingly increased.

Upon the whole, then, it appears certain that the Post Office, and through it the community collectively, is carrying on a trade in the matter of assurances which, if actual events correspond with known averages, will ultimately result in a balance of loss. It might be rash to assert positively, but there is ample room for the suspicion, that this balance of loss may be, or at all events might become, of serious moment even to the public exchequer of a rich nation. It may be said without any hesitation that the advantages offered by the Post Office in the same matter to the community individually are upon the whole far less considerable, apart from the superlative excellence of the security to which reference will hereafter be made, than those which may be obtained from private offices in best and well-deserved-repute.

I have now before me a table showing the yearly premiums charged at various ages for life policies by some fifty private offices, most of which at least are untainted by any suspicion of unsoundness. At the first glance this table seems to set the rates charged by the Post Office in a somewhat favourable light. They are rather less than the mean rates. But there is this important difference. The representatives of the person assured with the Post Office get, at his death, exactly the sum assured and no more. All the private offices add to the sum so assured either a part or the whole of whatever extra profits they may be able to make over and above the rate of interest necessary for the accumulation of this fixed amount; a part of these extra profits when the business is undertaken by the assurers for their own separate gain, and the whole of these extra profits when the business is undertaken by the assured themselves in co-operation. The real fact is, that by way of abundant caution, these private associations reckon the accumulated interest at a very much lower rate than they may in all reasonable probability expect

to obtain, so as to be doubly sure of being always able to pay at least the precise sums assured. To the lower rates charged when the assured are not to participate in the extra profits, though they would at first sight better my case, I have not referred for reasons which will hereafter appear. For the purposes of assurance with participation most of the offices reckon this accumulated interest so far as the fixed sums are concerned at a little more than three per cent. per annum, or about the rate allowed by Government. Even the most wary earn from four to four and a half per cent. upon their whole aggregate of investments, and several offices which cannot be reproached with speculative rashness receive an even higher percentage. The actual result of these additions is upon the whole to leave the representatives of persons who have assured payments at death with fairly good private offices in a position better than the representatives of persons assured with the Post Office by certainly not less than an average of one quarter or one-third as much again as the nominal amounts assured. In other words, the benefits not distinctly promised but eventually afforded by private enterprise to assured persons are at least some five-and-twenty per cent. greater than those promised and eventually afforded by the Post Office for the same present considerations; and the omission of the latter to call the attention of its customers to this notable difference is in some sort an unintended injustice to the ignorant. In the case of a national organization the interest of the assurer and of the assured should be one and the same.

I stated that I should again refer to the superlative excellence of the security which is possessed by persons assured with the Post Office. There is no reason to suppose that the safety and soundness of many private assurance societies is practically at all inferior. But it is out of the power of the public generally, and especially of the poorer classes, to distinguish with accurate certainty between the safe and the unsafe. It matters little to the assured whose assurance turns out to have been no assurance, whether his loss is to be ascribed to a wilful and calculating dishonesty—and such dishonesty is probably rare—or rather to an absence on the part of the management of adequate knowledge, or of adequate capacity to apply that knowledge. To those who have competent means of judging it is well and widely known, upon unbiassed and authentic evidence of facts and figures, that it is possible to prognosticate, within defined limits of time and degree, the inevitable disaster which must ultimately overtake some of these existing societies as now carried on; and this is far more frequently the case in that other class of organization which affects to satisfy the special requirements of those on whom such a disaster is likely to entail its least mitigated affliction. It can scarcely be needful to point out how nearly interested is the nation

at large in the prevention of results like these, and in the security of every man's provision against his own or his family's destitution.

There may, therefore, be some justification, upon a continuance of present circumstances, for there being kept open by Government, even at some loss and at some sacrifice of economic principle, one way at least in which this provision may be made absolutely safe beyond all possibility of mistake. It would be a thankless service to emphasise the drawbacks necessarily attendant upon an arrangement perhaps salutary in the main, and for which no substitute could be found; except in so far as it may be useful to draw attention to considerations which make it appear not convenient that Government should extend further, or at all events much further, its direct undertaking of assurance business. Either the charges made must remain the same as now, or must even be reduced, in which case the burden thrown upon the tax-payers would be too heavy, or the charges made must be increased, in which case none would be willing to pay them. There is more to tempt diligence in an endeavour to show that the benefits, and more than the benefits, which would undoubtedly follow upon such an extension if it were reasonably practicable, may be conveniently obtained indirectly, not only without loss but with some gain to the national exchequer.

The problem presented for solution is the devising of some means by which the certainly recognisable as well as certainly existing security afforded by Government in the matter of assurance investments may be combined with the larger pecuniary advantages afforded by private organizations of certainly existing, but, to the ordinary public, not certainly recognisable soundness.

If to a private individual there belonged a monopoly of some commodity, and if he had far more of this commodity than he could find use for himself, he would be accounted unwise should he refuse to sell some part of his superfluity to those who were ready to buy. If, besides getting some advantage himself by selling, he could supply in this way their urgent need, another word would take the place of unwisdom. To the Government of this country there belongs a monopoly of current and inviolable security for lent money unqualified by even the most remote chance of fraud, or error, or delay. All other safety is at least as much inferior in actual usefulness as are the unstamped bars of gold to coined and sterling money. Of this security Government possesses an almost unbounded surplus, over and above its own wants; and for it there exists a clamorous and eager demand.

The demand might be satisfied with large benefit to all parties, if Government should sell its guarantee to certain solvent purchasers, under fit restrictions, when such sale would be of advantage not

merely to the purchasers, but to the community: and herein to associations dealing in assurances upon lives. It would be entirely ridiculous to imagine that what are now unsound among them should be suddenly rehabilitated by a word from Parliament, and at large resulting cost to the tax-paying community. That Government should offer to give a public acknowledgment of soundness when it exists, and to back that acknowledgment by itself becoming surety for its truth, is a more modest proposal. The companies, on their part, would be called upon to pay in return, if they accepted the offer, a small percentage upon their annual premium receipts, and upon the first price of their annuities. The Government, on its part, by thorough investigation in each case, before granting the guarantee, might reduce its own whole aggregate of conceivable risk to an infinitesimal fraction of its whole certain gain. The investigation would be private; and when it ended in a negative result, it need never be known to the outside world that it had taken place at all: while, if conducted by independent and competent actuaries, it could impose upon Ministers little or no new responsibility. In practice a negative result would rarely ensue; only those confident of ability to endure would choose to undergo the test. The actuaries would be chosen by lot from a rota; they would be, to a limited extent, subject to challenge by the companies: and they would be sworn under penalties to secrecy.

It is indeed likely that, with the possible exception of some dozen or half-dozen of the best trusted offices, the non-possession of the Government guarantee would prove to be inversely a damaging stigma. It is just this stigma which, as it appears to me, would constitute a particularly valuable feature in any scheme of Government suretyship. It is surely better that the peril should be foreseen where it exists, even though some few salaried attendants, however honestly intentioned, should lose their fees, than that warning should wait upon the crash of already precipitated disaster.

However impolitic it may be for Parliament to cramp trade by an officious and active interference, neither the same principle nor the same rule can apply to a purely passive accordance of direction to those who seek it in matters wherein, from their extreme complexity, it is not always practicable for private citizens to judge aright. If, as in the case of assurances, they are matters of the first national and personal moment, and if Parliament can afford facility for such direction, without entering upon any meddlesome invasion of territories lying outside its proper sphere of usefulness, it is no masterly inactivity which would put off longer than necessary the devising of some means or other to this end, if any means be within reach. Happily there is good reason for believing that this difficult subject

is engaging the careful and experienced attention of those within whose province of initiation it naturally falls.

Whether the means here suggested be the right means is another question. The suggestion is tentative; and it will be enough to sketch merely the more prominent outlines of the central idea, and to leave it to others, if they think it worth while, to fill in the details. There are, however, two or three necessary features in its treatment which seem to deserve especial notice.

The greatest practical obstacle in the way of extending a Government guarantee to private assurance societies is the possibility that, after the extension of that guarantee, and when a number of contracts clothed with it were already in force, some one assurance society might become unsound. Once given, in the case of each policy or annuity, that guarantee could not be withdrawn, unless the holder, by his own act or neglect, should himself have helped to produce the unsound condition;¹ from the association it, of course, would be withdrawn; and the means might also be provided for transferring the guaranteed assurances, Government paying to the transferee their value at the time, and reimbursing itself out of the property of the association from which they were transferred. With an annual inspection of assets and calculation of liabilities, over and above a mere audit; with an annual impartial criticism of methods of working; and with the eyes of the directorate open to the consequences of what would practically amount to a public certificate of unsoundness; such an event is extremely unlikely ever to happen, especially if, as might reasonably be required, Government were permanently but indirectly represented on the management. Certainly within the last half century no assuring association has failed to meet its engagements, without its having appeared either that there existed some radical defect in its original constitution, or that some insane departure had been made in directions of speculation and impertinent enterprise, or of absurd outbidding of rivals by the undertaking of assurance obligations at impossible rates. Against the presence or occurrence of these conditions adequate provision might readily be made. It is, nevertheless, useless to ignore the just possible contingency that a guaranteed company should become insolvent. But surely this is the one risk against which Government, after first helping them to choose a good office, would under-

(1) At first sight it might seem that conditions of actual or probable insolvency in the case of co-operative associations could only occur by the act or neglect of the members as a body. In practice, however, the constitution of public companies affords little or no opportunity for the exercise of an efficient control over the managers by those interested, even if the latter should be competent to avail themselves of such safeguard. Recent instances of sufficient notoriety fully bear out this statement. In Assurance Societies quite as much as in Joint-Stock Banks the necessary technical knowledge is a very rare exception, and the trust reposed in the directorate almost unlimited.

take to guard the assured ; and the smallest rate which it could reasonably be expected to charge, and might reasonably expect to get, would many times exceed the relative proportion of the total chances to the actual danger.

There are some circumstances which seem to reduce this danger almost to vanishing point. The very moderate estimate of accumulated increment upon which, as before mentioned, the comparative relation of the nominal sums assured to premium payments is determined by all the principal private offices is one of these circumstances. It was for this reason that, in comparing the advantages extended to the assured by private offices with those offered by the Post Office, reference was made only to such rates as are charged by the former when extra profits are to be added. The system of minimum nominal sums assured with participation besides in actual profits seems to be at once the fairest and the safest. In the case of co-operative associations, at all events, the alternative system must be either unsafe or unfair.

Government would, of course, only become surety for the minimum sums, and not for the varying extra profits added. Again, as one condition of Government undertaking the responsibility, the payment of the guaranteed assurances would naturally be made a first charge upon all property of the association, so that a total loss, or even a loss of any considerable fraction, scarcely comes within bounds of possibility. And further the amount of the Government charge might be so arranged as to vary in proportion as certain rules, considered desirable but not essential, should be satisfied. A like variation might be made use of, in order to induce some offices to favour the convenience of certain classes of the community. In this way authoritative interference with the free working of private enterprise might be wholly avoided without sacrificing its advantages.

It would be unnecessary no less than premature to inquire what this Government charge should be. That it would ultimately have to be paid otherwise than by the assured, it would be an economical fallacy to suppose. At all events they would not be compelled to pay it, as none of them need choose a guaranteed office. But there is good ground for hope that this additional item might be much more than saved by a concurrent diminution upon some other items of expense. Probably few of those who effect assurances upon their lives are aware, that when they effect their assurances through an agent, whether by his inducement or not, the latter receives, in nearly all cases, from the society a commission of 10 per cent. upon the first premium, and of 5 per cent. upon each subsequent premium paid through him. The cost of advertising is also enormous. That agency and advertisements could be entirely dispensed with, save under very

unusual conditions, is not to be expected; and those who employ professional advice in these matters, as in all others, must, of course, be prepared to pay for it; though it is fairer that they should pay for it themselves than that others who do not employ professional advice should share its cost. It may also be allowed that, even to co-operative associations, the introduction of new members is of important and direct value as broadening the basis of average, and as spreading over a larger field some fixed charges. But, in nearly all societies, a very large saving could certainly be effected under these heads, especially if Government should grant to the guaranteed companies, in addition to the other advantages sold, the right of using the post-offices for these purposes, so far as such use would not interfere with the ordinary business of the latter. Many assurance societies would gladly curtail these wasteful expenses now, but for the fear of being outstripped by their less shrewd or less scrupulous rivals. But even the most powerful associations can seldom effect a revolution even though only in a trade custom.

One remark ought to be made with respect to the division of extra profits among the assured. When one reads of two or even three thousand pounds being paid at death upon a policy for one thousand pounds, one's second, if not one's first reflection must be that such a system of lottery is entirely foreign to the whole principle of assurances. To secure an equalised division of the extra profits in all cases would not be possible; but much might be done in this direction by issuing a kind of certificate to the representatives of the assured entitling them or their transferees to a proportionate share of these profits for a given number of years after the date of death. Such a certificate would be invested with a marketable value in nearly the same way as any ordinary railway or other share, or, with closer analogy, as any terminable interest subject to fluctuation of profit but free of burdens. The application of surplus funds to the gradual reduction or extinction of premiums has much to recommend it. It is somewhat unjust that annuitants should not be allowed to participate in any of these benefits.

In the establishment of some such arrangement, which can only be carried out by the State, for extending to private associations the advantages of inviolable and unquestionable safety, it should always be remembered that any inflexible code of rules as to investments, management, estimates, and the like, issuing from a central authority, would be entirely fatal to its usefulness. What is needed is a thorough investigation conducted as far as possible by independent and responsible persons, in whose judgment the central authority can confide, and who would be allowed the fullest liberty and discretion in adapting all requirements to the special circumstances of each case.

It is scarcely necessary to point out how important a stimulus the granting of a Government guarantee would give to assurance business, or how beneficial to the community this increased activity would prove both in arresting waste of wealth generally, and in the avoiding of destitution and consequent dependence upon the rate-payers in particular instances.

It is too early to consider the practical features which would distinguish the introduction of a similar system in respect to Friendly Societies. All, or nearly all of them, make it a chief object to provide what is called sick pay for their members. The averages of sickness obtaining in different districts and in different occupations are not yet sufficiently determined. It is a reproach to modern governments that not only has this work not been done, but no systematized action has yet been taken to this end. There has been ample knowledge of the momentous and multitudinous interests involved. Some private persons and, as a duty rather of love than of necessity, some public officials have made valuable advances in this direction; but without any fault of their own the data at their disposal have not been adequate. Though these provisions against sickness partake in some respects of the nature of insurances against mishap, the calculation of their values must be based in the main upon the same principles as ordinary assurances. The conditions which prompt the suspicion that the value of life among the persons assured with the Post Office is in excess of that for the population generally, do not exist in the same degree in the case of Friendly Societies. Fellow-feeling has much to do with the inducement to join the latter. It may be, however, that the tendencies which are undoubtedly at work in the direction of increased healthfulness, may suffice to balance assets with liabilities in the case of some of them not presently solvent, as bearing on the demands likely to be made in respect of sick pay.

It can scarcely have escaped attention that I have applied to the question of Government relation to assurance investments, the distinction which exists between insurances into which the element of interest does not enter, and insurances in which it is a principal factor. Apart from details of method the main outcome of my argument has been to conclude that the latter cannot be conveniently undertaken by Government directly, because there appertains to them as one primary element of their essential nature the provision of cumulative interest, a provision which Government is not in a position to make upon terms favourable to the assured without loss to itself. On the other hand it has been suggested that the element of interest may for the purposes of an indirect reinsurance be entirely eliminated, and that then the balance of convenience is much in favour of this indirect reinsurance being undertaken by Government. If other circumstances were the same, it would follow upon this that

where the element of interest is absent, as in the case of insurances against mishap, the State Government might properly and so far undertake such or kindred businesses directly. Other circumstances are not the same. With respect to assurances a concession of principle is involved in the existing procedure of the Post Office; and upon this concession alone, and without resort to extraneous and theoretical reasonings, there is nothing illogical in endeavouring to show that the immediate object of the concession is not, and could not be, effectually carried out in the manner now adopted, but could be effectually carried out in some other manner. This concession depends upon a consideration of the paramount importance to the community and to individuals of these assurances, and is itself an exception to a wider principle in accordance with which it is held not desirable that the State should become a competitor in the affairs of private trade. In the particular instance this competition has been admitted; but so far from evincing a tendency to impugn the wisdom of the wider principle, I have suggested a method of affiliation by which such competition may be avoided even here, not only without losing sight of the end in view, but, farther, with a much better chance as I think of its successful and early attainment. I am, therefore, little likely to propose any new departure in the direction of Government rivalry in commercial enterprise.

Paternal government is a useful phrase, and what is meant thereby, if not always and uniformly hurtful, is certainly open to grievous abuse. But if a name of ill omen be applied to that the character of which it does not properly befit, though it may be a bugbear to frighten children, it will not long impose upon adult experience. To what may not inaptly be described as fraternal government, this inappropriate name has sometimes been applied. For fraternal government, that is, for a co-operative attainment of benefits which are not within reach of the members of the community severally as private citizens, there is as well every justification upon *a priori* grounds of social convenience, as manifold and varied precedent of obvious and established usage. For enlisting more largely than heretofore the services of public mutual helpfulness in the case of assurance investments, the character of the obligations which they involve presents at once peculiar facility and peculiar need. On the one hand it is more than usually difficult for a private person, and more than usually easy for organized public authority, to judge correctly of the soundness of the security. On the other hand those who make such provisions confer important and direct benefit, not only on the immediate objects of their care, but upon the State itself. These facts are so generally recognised that it would be wholly superfluous to support any proposal which should appear reasonably practicable in itself, for taking advantage of such

facility and for meeting such need, with the prospect of subsidiary profit to the national exchequer; but large profit might certainly accrue from the fairly earned charge by way of seignorage which would naturally form part of any system of Government certification of assurers' solvency and Government guarantee of assurance contracts. The duties of guarantor could only be fulfilled effectively by the indissoluble and indestructible confederacy of the whole community. *

It is sufficiently obvious that the suggestion which has been made reaches farther than the special instance which has been chosen for exemplifying its characteristics. In dealing with this instance the outline of a *prima facie* case is all that it has been possible to attempt within moderate bounds of space; and many considerations of difficulty and of advantage have necessarily been left unnoticed.

ARNOLD PAGE.

NOTE.—The following table is based mainly upon the Life Assurance Companies' Statements and Abstracts of Reports deposited with the Board of Trade, printed 1878, but referring generally to the year 1876 :—

	Invested Funds at Beginning of Year.	Percentage thereon of Interest accrued during Year. ¹	Premium Income.	Percentage thereon of Management Expenses, Commission, &c.	£1 a Year for 30 Years amounts to *	At per cent.
	£	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
114 English offices	109,010,000	4 11 0	12,298,000	16 5 0	51 18 7½	4½
49 of the 114 . . .	89,739,000	4 12 2	8,329,000	10 11 7½	55 9 0	4½
The other 65 . . .	19,271,000	4 5 11	3,969,000	28 3 1½	42 0 9½	4½
13 of the 65 . . .	5,313,000	4 0 9½	1,936,000	37 1 5	36 6 0	4
The other 52 of the 65 . . .	*13,958,000	4 6 8	2,033,000	19 14 4	46 19 9	4½
Post Office . . .		3 0 0	10,000	9 1 9½	43 5 0	3

None of the 13 companies are very small or very young, and it appears, upon an examination of reports for former years, that their expenses in 1876 did not exceed their average annual rate. Some of the 49 companies are quite young, and several of them are of very moderate dimensions. These 13 and 49 companies, therefore, may be taken as representative types of bad and of good assurance business respectively. At their several rates of expenses and accruing interest, and if thirty years be taken, for the purposes of rough illustration, as the average duration of assurance contracts, the sums paid at death to the representatives of those assured with the 49 will, upon the whole, exceed the sums paid by the 13 for the same consideration by 52½ per cent., while the accumulated increment is more than four times as large. Of course, in the case of trading companies further deductions must be made for shareholders' dividends.

There is almost as large a proportion of mutual offices among the 13 as among the 49. Of the trading companies, those among the 13 pay on the average larger dividends than those among the 49; and if allowance be made

(1) Allowance made, when known, for bad debts, loss or gain on sale of stocks, &c., in calculation of interest.

(2) Proportionate deductions made for management, commission, &c.

for these at their present rate, scarcely more than the premium receipts can be repaid to policy-holders by the 13. It is needless to say that they have contracted to pay far more. The rate of accumulation assumed in their estimate is above the average, and, apart from all prospect of extra profit, £1 a year paid to them ought to amount in thirty years to quite £45, in order that they may disburse the sums actually assured. It will amount at most to £32.

Upon the same assumed bases of reckoning the 49 companies will pay to the assured 28½ per cent. more than the Post Office. Out of this excess dividends must be paid by non-mutual offices; but, of course, shareholders' capital is invested at interest, and their whole dividend charges in excess of the interest so earned might readily be saved by halving their commission expenses.

From the 1876 reports and from other sources the following conclusions are derived:—

- (1) With scarcely half-a-dozen exceptions, the rate of interest on accumulations is higher than the mean when the proportion of expenses to premium receipts is lower, and *vice versa*.
- (2) The low proportion of payments on policies, and probably also the low proportion of accumulated funds, to premium receipts, show that life assurance business in this country is yet in its infancy.
- (3) Most assurance investments in this country are remarkably sound.
- (4) Others—and their numbers and extent are by no means inconsiderable—are certainly and dangerously unsound.

A. P.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THERE is a constant risk in the midst of the swift cut and thrust of the political debating of this month, that the spectators may lose sight of the situation as a whole. Tilting-matches between Lord Hartington and Lord Salisbury, Mr. Grant Duff and Mr. Cross, are very instructive and have much influence. But it is one of the inconveniences of instruction by public speaking of this polemical kind, that the whole case, the wide comprehensiveness of the present crisis and its issues, is hardly realised. The debater takes one or two points, and makes the best that he can of them, but he seldom has time to work them up in relation to the whole policy in dispute. We have to travel around most of the speeches of the month, whether on one side or the other, before we judge the strength of the pleas for or against the general set of principles which the nation will speedily have to ratify or to condemn.

There is an irresistible tendency among Englishmen to accept anything that has once actually been done, as on the whole the best thing that could have been done. It acquires the colour of inexorable fate, and to criticise it, as the chief men of the Opposition are now criticising the action of the government for the last three years, is silently thought by a good many politicians in all constituencies to be mere idle kicking against the pricks. People are only too ready to forget blunders at which they themselves connived, but those who lifted up their voice and cried in the wilderness when the blunders were perpetrated, ought not to be debarred from pointing to the fulfilment of their prophecies. The folly of the purchase of the Suez shares, for instance, is now patent to the first man in the street, but time was when the majority of the nation thought that absurdity a very fine stroke. Those who perceived its hollowness from the first, have a right to recall their warnings, simply because the case illustrates the unwisdom of the restless and bustling policy of which it was the earliest act. If what had been done had left no legacy of trouble and confusion, no debt to be paid and no impossible obligations to be discharged, then to forget the past might or might not be well enough. But that is by no means so. In spite of the smooth words of the Foreign Secretary at Manchester, we are beset on every side with confusion, and the government of the future, from whichever side of the House it may be composed, is loaded with burdens which ought never to have been undertaken, and for which we have had less than no equivalent.

The policy of restlessness has broken down. Those who have for

years been most untiring in preaching it day after day, in every tone from the gravest persuasion down to menace so shrill as to be really afflicting, are now loudest and angriest in proclaiming their own defeat. But they stop short at censure of the government. The result in fact lies only superficially in the government; its root is in the principles themselves. This wild policy of rushing into the fray in the South East, of clutching now at one place and now at another, of raging and gibing against the Power with which more than any other it would be sensible to keep terms, of spending six millions here, four millions there, eight or ten millions elsewhere, of breaking up useful governments—all this scheme of excitement and adventure and international immorality is now seen to be unworkable. There is something stronger than the will and passion of England, and that is the force and nature of things.

Let us consider the great land-marks of the present situation, as they are described by the statesman who is most interested in showing their importance in its most satisfactory light.

(1) Russia has been kept out of Constantinople. Quite true; but apart from the notorious certainty that she would never have been allowed to remain there by Germany and Austria,—apart from this, and from the point of view of British interests,—the exclusion of Russia from a military and temporary occupation of Constantinople is a far less important consideration in the direction of comfort, than her conquest of Kars is a consideration to our discomfort. If you insist on thinking Russia a deadly source of peril to India, and an enemy to be kept at all costs out of the Eastern empire, then cool observers may well ask whether it would not have been wiser to allow her to advance westwards than to press her eastwards. Russia, again, has been prevented, we are told, from making a Great Bulgaria, where her influence would have been paramount from Adrianople to Salonica, and from the Danube to Constantinople. This would have been no very formidable matter to us, with Austria and Germany on the flank. But if we are to go into this policy of jealous apprehension, and to accept all the practical inferences from it, then it is far less important to us to have resisted a Great Bulgaria, than it would have been to resist a Russified Armenia. What we mean is that if a resolution to keep Russia back was really an organic maxim of English policy, then for us it was far more important to keep her back in the East of Asia Minor than in the Balkan provinces.

It was said that the Anglo-Turkish Convention was the compensation for Russian acquisitions in Asia. That is to say we allowed Russia to keep the fortresses commanding the country, and then by a piece of ingenious fatuity, we proceeded to guarantee the country which the hostile fortresses commanded. But nobody now ever mentions that piece of imposture seriously. Lord Salisbury never

mentioned it at all at Manchester. On the contrary, he does not deny "that there is in the internal condition of Turkey much that we must regret." He fears that "Turkey may be entering upon a path of resolute resistance to reform which can only ultimately end in her ruin." The dispatches, published since the Manchester speech, show the same despair. There too it is plainly admitted, or even violently asserted, that the resistance of the Turkish government to reform is resolute, and must end in ruin. Just so. Everybody knows it, and everybody knew at the time of its publication that the Convention was either the rashest obligation into which any government ever entered, or else that it was a hollow farce to blind English partisans of Turkey. We now see that the latter was the right interpretation: it was a hollow farce. The recent change of Ministry at Constantinople is a sufficiently clear sign of the spirit in which the Turks mean to carry out their share of the Convention.

It comes to this then. Those who admired the government for their supposed zeal in defending the Turkish Empire, must now see that after all the Sultan has been deprived of his nominal suzerainty over Roumania and Servia, has lost Bulgaria, is left with the mere shadow of authority in Eastern Roumelia, and has been driven out of Armenia. So little have the sincere Turcophiles, the friends of the Turk by conviction, gained from the policy of the government. Those, again, who admired the government for their resolution to protect British interests, must now see Russia commanding Asia Minor, moving in Afghanistan, acquiring power at Constantinople. "When and where," asks one of the soberest of journalists (*Economist*, Oct. 4), "when and where have they resisted Russian aggression? Was it about the time of the secret agreement that if Russia would only come into Congress on the English terms, she should be allowed to make her own terms in Congress? Was it when Lord Beaconsfield insisted at Berlin on the retention by Turkey of a frontier which would have had to be evacuated as soon as a war with Russia broke out? Was it when the possession even of this nominal frontier was waived by Turkey at the suggestion of Russia? Or perhaps the resistance was merely a local one. If so, was it offered in the neighbourhood of Kars or Batoum, or anywhere in Bessarabia? If the Government elect to appeal to the country on the score of the resistance they have offered to Russian aggression, they must have but a poor opinion of the ability of Englishmen to call plain facts by plain names."

So little then has the honest Jingo gained from his friends. For us who have always believed that a new delimitation of Turkey was both desirable and unavoidable, and next, that we shall best defend India by thrifty government inside of India, by wisely husbanding our resources, and by setting the example of a spirit of justice and

a spirit of strong self-possession, for us there is nothing to regret in either of these conclusions. But that is not the view from which the ministerial policy is defended, nor can ever be defended, because in impotently trying to hinder such conclusions they have let loose a spirit of mischief in Afghanistan and elsewhere which will not very soon be chained again.

(2) The second great element in the situation is the alleged defensive alliance between Germany and Austria. This, it is said, "to all who value the peace of Europe and the independence of nations is good tidings of great joy." If the Turks are to be counted among nations, which ministers have all along somewhat boisterously insisted, then one would think that this paean on the independence of nations is not particularly appropriate for the power which has just taken a handsome slice of European Turkey. It remains to be seen, again, whether, and how long, Russia will accept the new situation which has thus been created for her. Nobody can dream that either the Treaty of Berlin or the alleged Austro-German alliance, with its aim of interposing Austria as a strong bulwark against Russia, will at once extinguish the aspirations that the Russian people has cherished for many generations. Let any one read the account in an excellent book recently published, *Russland vor und nach dem Kriege*, of the passionate thrill which went through Russia when her soldiers were in sight of St. Sophia, and then reflect whether so overwhelming a sentiment will suffer itself to be quietly stifled by a piece of parchment. No; if the agreement at Vienna be what is alleged and believed, a war between Austria and Russia is simply a question of time. Meanwhile, however that may be, and even if it be true that "in the strength and independence of Austria lie the best hopes of European stability and peace,"—a very large and disputable assertion—still England has had no more to do with the union between Austria and Germany, if the rumours of such a union in the large sense accorded to it be true, than she has had to do with Prince Bismarck's majority in his new parliament. It was and is a plain necessity of things. Everybody knew perfectly well that Germany and Austria were the natural opponents of the Russian advance. What England has been doing has been simply to pull the chestnuts out of the Russian fire for the benefit immediately of Austria, and indirectly of Germany. Perhaps when Prince Bismarck has drawn Austria into his own protective policy against English goods, people at Manchester will be less ready to cheer panegyrics on Austria. And mark the cost at which England has been made to do work that Austria would have been forced to do for herself. This brings us to the third great element in the situation.

(3) The British forces are in the Bala Hissar at Cabul. Nobody reflects with anything but the liveliest dissatisfaction on the two

wars in Afghanistan—not even those who believed that circumstances had made them inevitable. We have caught a wolf. We are left at this moment with a task of desperate perplexity, and the government themselves make no secret how prodigiously difficult it is to decide on their course, in a country where they have themselves broken up the only government which was ever in a condition to make a valid treaty with them. Besides that, the cost of this second war will be enormous. Money is flowing like water, and nobody can blame the government of India for doing its best at any price to bring the miserable struggle to a sure and swift end. How is India with its straitened finance to meet these demands? And why are we involved in war with the Afghans? Because the government supposed the Russians to be acquiring influence at Cabul. And what impelled the Russians to stir in the direction of Cabul? The fact that we had made ourselves the enemy of Russia in south-eastern Europe. The Afghan war, with all the hideous dangers that are still connected with it, is the price that we pay for the privilege of meddling, and meddling to no purpose, in south-eastern Europe.

The cardinal plea on which the defenders of such a policy as that of the last three years rely, is that it has added to the security of the British dominions. That is the base of all honest argument on the side of the advocates of the system of intervention; it has been so from the time of that silliest of all silly strokes, the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, down to the invasion of Zululand and the invasion of Afghanistan. All has been done for the security of our possessions. Now looking calmly back on the position of the various provinces and dependencies of Great Britain as they were five years ago, can any one pretend that they are as a matter of plain fact in any substantial respect whatever more secure now than they were then? We have flung four millions of money into the Suez Canal; yet even those who have all along been most ardent for English activity in Egypt, now proclaim more eagerly than anybody else that our position in Egypt is one of discomfiture, weakness, and danger. We have spent Heaven knows how many millions in South Africa, and the only result of that most iniquitous blunder is that the South African patriots who professed such dire fear of Cetewayo, and whose fears encouraged Sir Bartle Frere in his policy of Christianising and civilising, now declare that the settlement for which the English taxpayer will have to find the money is no settlement at all, but leaves Zululand as great a source of peril and terror to the British possessions as ever. Then there is the scientific frontier on the North-West of India. If we want to have a real measure of the necessity of that advance to the safety of India, we must always refer to Lord Salisbury's famous assurance of June, 1877, that is to say little more

than two years ago—an assurance that ought to be quoted and re-quoted whenever Lord Salisbury talks about our relations with Afghanistan. We must transcribe it once more. “A great deal of misapprehension,” he said, “arises from the popular use of maps on a small scale. As with such maps you are able to put a thumb on India and a finger on Russia, some persons at once think that the political situation is alarming and that India must be looked to. . . . There are between Russia and British India deserts and mountainous chains extending thousands of miles, and these are serious obstacles to any advance by Russia, however well planned such an advance might be.” And on the same day he renewed elsewhere his assurance that he was far from feeling many of the misapprehensions which he saw around him. “Is it wiser,” he asked, again with special relation to the question of the approach of Russia towards the Indian frontier, “to allow the enemy to choose his own ground, and to follow him through his deserts and impassable mountainous chains, or to wait until he comes within our own range, and where our armies will be able to deal with him with invincible effect?”

Now what had happened between this and the first invasion of Afghanistan, what has happened between then and now, to remove the deserts and impassable mountain chains which in the midsummer of 1877 were thus pronounced to be an effectual barrier between Russia and India? If anything has happened to make Russia more dangerous to India now than she was then, it is exactly because the policy of Lord Salisbury himself has both exasperated Russia against us, and what is more, has driven her eastward in the direction of India.

Nowhere, then, neither in one quarter nor another, has the system of activity strengthened the Empire. So far from securing us, it has introduced elements of insecurity, for it has destroyed the character of the English government for good faith, for justice, for the quiet strength of national self-possession. We have been seeking for a kind of security which no nation in the world has or ever had, and which we shall never have. In carrying out this requirement of a chimerical degree of security we have trampled morality and justice recklessly under foot; we have destroyed a capable ruler and a system of rudimentary order in Africa, and we have destroyed a capable ruler and a system of rudimentary order in Asia; and after all, to take the most sanguine view, the safety of our dominions is exactly where it was.

When the nation slowly awake to all this, whether before or after the next parliamentary election, they will perceive, then, that the policy of excitement and intervention has again been a bitter failure. They will learn to repeat the heated passion which carried them away,

as twenty years ago precisely the same sort of passion carried them away in the case of France, and they will again return to the wise, just, and sensible policy of vigilant non-intervention and resolute non-annexation.

Mr. Chamberlain made a speech to an immense audience in Glasgow, and he had the courage to say plainly that there were obligations and enterprises laid upon the nation by the policy of the present ministers which it would be the duty of a liberal government, if the next election should seat a liberal government in power, to abandon as soon as convenient. "We cannot," Mr. Chamberlain said, "avoid the consequences of the anxiety we have created in more than one quarter of the globe. But at least we can withdraw from the undertaking to defend Asia Minor. We can give up that useless and absurd possession of ours in Cyprus. We can abandon the notion that we need to have the permanent presence of a British envoy at Cabul, where he can learn nothing that we cannot learn equally well in another way, and where he would cost three millions a year." As for the latter proposal, we may well believe that not only all liberals, but a great many conservatives, would cheerfully embrace it. It is believed that some of the most important members of the ministry itself would be only too glad if that disastrous step could be retraced, and the costly liabilities in which it has involved us could be brought to an end. We left Cabul to a ruler of its own on the occasion of the last Afghan war, and there would be no more disgrace in retiring from a false and dangerous position now than then. If there is an intrigue between the Afghans and the Russians, the British officer will probably be the last person to know it. His presence in Afghanistan will certainly be the surest means of making the Afghans eager to intrigue with Russians or any other people against the British officer's employers. In short, unless all that the liberal chiefs have been saying on the subject is the mere moonshine of official factiousness, they are bound in case of their accession to power to recall any British agent whom they may find there. The world would have a right to think very ill of the Duke of Argyll and Lord Northbrook, if they held office in any government which maintained the policy of keeping a British resident either in Cabul or anywhere else in Afghanistan.

In the other cases where Mr. Chamberlain declared for deliberate reversal of the action of the government, the question of time would naturally command more consideration than in the case of Afghanistan. But to assert, as some now assert who disapproved of the Anglo-Turkish Convention at the time when it was made, that we are bound to carry on the work to which this Convention was supposed to commit us, is to ignore one of the very strongest objections to that arrangement. The objection is simply this, that we have already on

our hands far more duties than we can discharge. It is a most attractive picture, no doubt, that England should undertake the reform of Asiatic Turkey, and by skilful administration bring back to those unfortunate regions some of the alleged order, happiness, and prosperity of a former age—supposing that they once were really very happy and prosperous, a proposition more readily assumed than carefully examined or verified.

As for reform with the assent and aid of the Porte, we need only observe how the reforming energy of Midhat in Syria was a moment ago being steadily and effectually counteracted by the agents who were sent, nominally to serve under him, but really to thwart him, by the central authorities at Constantinople. According to the latest rumour Midhat has resigned in sheer despair. And everybody may judge how far urgent pressure from us for reform is likely to make the English minister at Constantinople a *persona grata*, or how far on the contrary it is likely to throw the Porte into the arms and under the counsels of Russia. There will be no reform. Interference by England will be steadily resisted.

Apart from all these obvious objections, Great Britain has her hands full, and much more than full. The master problem of India is more than enough for us, and those who know most of India are precisely those who are most ready to think the problem insoluble. There is a still more palpable warning than India against new responsibilities and larger undertakings. Let any politician read Mr. Froude's paper on South Africa in the last number of this Review, and then say, after pondering that story of confusion, waste, and incoherency, whether the country which is responsible for such a scene of misgovernment, such a prolonged tale of uncertain ends and doubtful means, of vacillating policies and slovenly execution, spread over twenty years or more, can with any decency pretend that it has leisure and disengagement of mind for teaching the Turks or any other people how to govern. Let us first set our own house in order. It is exactly because the English government had its attention absorbed and strained by the affairs of South-eastern Europe, that it allowed a rash subordinate to plunge us into war in Africa. Nothing but the blindest and most infatuated self-complacency could let us suppose that we have managed affairs so well in the countries already in the hands of our officers, that we have a right to undertake the affairs of other parts of the world.

To us then it seems that Mr. Chamberlain's words are perfectly sound and wholesome. If the only effect of the return of the Liberals to power would be the continuance of the foreign policy and the new foreign engagements of the present Ministers by men of stronger heads, then it is hardly worth the trouble of crossing the street to go to the polling booth. Let it be at least

clear that there is a party in the country, whether minority or majority, whether in harmony with the official view or out of harmony with it, to whom the all-important thing in the approaching contest is not merely that Lord Hartington should be in office and Lord Salisbury out, but that a peremptory check shall be given to the whole system of letting our own affairs go wrong while we absurdly busy ourselves in futile meddling with the affairs of other nations.

Mr. Childers and other speakers affirm that whether in South-east Europe or in Central Asia, the ambition and progress of Russia must always be a most important factor in determining English foreign policy. This may be true. But what is important is the principles on which our policy is to be determined in face of the progress of Russia. Are we to pursue the system of noisy suspicion, apprehension, provocative military demonstration, that has existed the last three years, and that has ended in confusion and insecurity? Or are we to return to the principles of sense, morality, and a respect for the rights of other nations? If England were a weak and impoverished power, the former course, which is the course of the alarmist party, would be intelligible, even if it were excusable. But England is, and we have the word of the chief of the party of military demonstration for this—England is a very strong power. It is just because England, if she went to war, would not have to consider whether she would maintain a war of one or of three campaigns, that she ought to be able to watch disagreeable events without alarm. What is the advantage of immense material strength, if it does not confer the moral strength of calm and self-possession? Lord Hartington never showed more solid judgment than when he maintained that “the policy of England ought not to be an imitation of the policy of any other Power. Our position is different from that of any other Power, our resources are of a different character, our policy ought to be a different one.”

Above all, it ought not to be a policy of aggression; and yet this is exactly what we are urged to make it, and what we have made it. No English public man in our worst times ever said anything more shamelessly cynical than Lord Salisbury's utterance the other day, that just as England had taken Gibraltar and Malta because she wanted them, so now as she wanted Cyprus for purposes of her own, she had taken that. With what countenance can a minister who has publicly said this, talk to the Russian ambassador about the lawless ambition of the Muscovite government?

For the moment attention is drawn to the movement of Russia in Asia. Three main propositions are laid down by those who press for new and more strenuous exertions in the field of military demonstration. First, that the Russian government, in order to turn the

attention of their people from domestic abuses, and in order to smother the voices of internal revolution, are inevitably led to seek a distraction in foreign war. This in itself is open to dispute. It might just as well be contended on the other side that, exactly because it was the war with Turkey which by disclosing the flagrant corruption of the system, led to the subsequent agitation in Russia, therefore the stronger heads in the government will think it best not to repeat so perilous an experiment. Even if it were otherwise, in measuring the strength of Russia,—whether we do it as neutral observers, or as if we are to treat her in the light of a possible enemy,—surely nothing can be plainer than that this formidable spirit of revolt against the institutions and administration of their country, if it be so alive, so desperate, so fervent, must be a source of almost incalculable weakness to the Russian government, and therefore a source of strength and of confidence to any Power with whom that government might be at war, or against whom it might be suspected of entertaining hostile designs. We believe, therefore, that the revolutionary spirit which is alleged to corrode society in Russia is quite as likely as not to disincline its government to a foreign war; and that in case of a foreign war it is much more likely than not to be a decisive advantage to a foe. In either case we find an argument against alarm.

The second proposition is that if Russia is bent upon war, it must necessarily take the form of an attempted invasion of India. Why should it? What is the evidence? That Russia intends the two frontiers to touch is possible. Some of the most sagacious English politicians and Anglo-Indian statesmen have always maintained that this was inevitable. In any case it is one thing to advance up to the Indian frontier, and another to pass beyond it to meet the materially strongest nation in the world on its own ground, with forces cut off from their own base by “deserts and impassable mountainous chains extending thousands of miles,” as Lord Salisbury said.

The third proposition is that we shall best meet the inevitable advance of Russia towards the Indian frontier by military demonstrations, by violent dispatches, by stirring as much excitement as possible in India and elsewhere, and by spending some millions of money in raising up enemies to our power in the regions between the Russians and ourselves. If this were true, it would be a significant comment on the merits of the policy of provocation. If it were true, the nation might well prefer that the results of the policy of provocation should be met and dealt with, even if they could only be met in this evil way, by men of gravity and of serious principle. But in fact it is not true. If Russia is to advance, within regions where no one pretends that it is any business of ours to interfere with her, then however disagreeable the close neighbourhood of such a power as

Russia may be, war and violence will not make the situation less disagreeable. It will cost countless sums of money, it will expose us to the risk of unsettling the people of India, and it will have to end after all in some sort of understanding which might much better be arrived at in the first instance, and which would be carried out in the first instance if the destinies of England were in the hands of serious statesmen. Why should we not apply to our own case the advice, and most sensible advice it was, which every English newspaper delighted to give to France, when men like Thiers chafed and raged at the consolidation of Italy and the consolidation of North Germany? We used to say to the French—"You cannot expect Italians to sit content under oppression, nor Germans to sit content in disunion and impotence, as humiliating to national self-respect as it was materially inconvenient and troublesome, simply because it is pleasanter to you to find yourselves surrounded by weak powers. You must make your account with the existence of strong neighbours on your borders. You have nothing to do but to make the best of that which you have no kind of right, to say nothing of your power, to prevent." This was the language of reason and sense. It would be the language of reason and sense if it were addressed in turn by a friendly foreigner to the England of to-day.

Here is an illustration in the history of the last ten years of the want of wisdom in the advocates of an active, resentful, provocative policy on the part of England. The favourite case of these men against the principles which guided the foreign policy of the late Ministry, is the modification of the Black Sea Treaty in 1871. They assume that England ought to have plunged into a war, rather than acquiesce in the modification demanded by Russia. Lord Hartington has just made an excellent reply to this assumption, and to all the inferences from it as to the sense and spirit of the Gladstone Government. "When Lord Salisbury," he said, "is defending himself for having given up Bessarabia and the mouths of the Danube, and for having given up Batoum and other places, what is his defence? He says, 'We found that the other powers of Europe were indifferent, and we did not think that the question was one of sufficient importance to warrant England in resisting Russia alone.' Well, that was the case with regard to the modification of the Black Sea Treaty. When the treaty of 1856 was denounced by Russia, the government of England found that every European power was not only indifferent, but that they had actually given to Russia assurances that in their opinion the provisions of the treaty ought to be modified, and that Russia ought to be restored to the right which is possessed by every Power—the right of protecting her own frontier. And does Lord Salisbury, when he taunts us with being consenting parties to the modification of the treaty in

1871, mean that we ought to have gone to war alone for the retention of the clause of the treaty, when we found that the opinion of every other State in Europe was opposed to such a course? It is not a fact to say that the treaty of 1856 was modified by Russia of her own free will. The English government, in the Conference which met and which discussed the subject, proposed a substitute for that clause of the treaty, which was accepted by the government of Turkey as a perfect equivalent, and the result has been that, in the war which subsequently broke out between Russia and Turkey, Turkey suffered no damage whatever from the modification of the treaty that was made in 1856. Then what is the meaning of this taunt as to the abdication of power to which England submitted in 1871?"

The answer is complete, and as complete an answer is already before our eyes to the assertion that the departure from the temper of 1871, in favour of a temper of activity and interference and aggression, has been followed by changes for the better in any respect whatever.

October 27, 1879.

THE

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MARTIAL LAW IN KABUL.

By what title are we treating the Afghan people as rebels? By what law are our generals hanging men on charges of leading the enemy's forces to battle? Whence comes our right to kill priests who incite their people to resist us? That our armies have invaded Afghanistan, and in two expeditions have crushed the soldiers of Kabul, we all know. That we have broken up what shadow of state existed; that we have its titular ruler a prisoner; that we have seized his treasures, and destroyed the centre of his capital—all this is very true. It is what invaders and conquerors usually do, or at least have done in former ages. But having done all this, by what right, in public law or in moral justice, do we now affect to treat the conquered people as rebels, and hang the generals and the priests who led them to defend their country?

We well know what is the official plea for these acts. It was not unskillfully concocted. It is this. Down to last August, we had on our North-Western frontier in India, it was said, a strong, friendly, and independent kingdom. We had lately entered on closer terms of amity with this friendly nation, and had covered its sovereign with personal favours. We had an envoy and a brilliant suite in his capital. Suddenly a faction in his army mutiny; they overpower our friendly prince; they attack our embassy, and kill our envoy and his escort. The prince for the moment is unable to restore order; we go to assist him; he even invites us. We enter his kingdom to assist in maintaining the police. A few murderers and robbers still trouble the security of his capital. We must assist our friend to overcome his rebels and mutineers at home.

So far the official plea runs smoothly enough. But in the face of the facts we know, it has grown too unreal to be stated with gravity. Our expedition to restore order in the midst of a mutiny becomes an army of invasion and conquest. India heaves with the effort. The North-West is denuded of its troops; swept of its baggage animals,

its supplies, and its material. Millions and millions are poured out with an almost desperate eagerness to win. As the invading army advances, it finds that a war is before it at least as formidable as the former war of conquest. The mutineers prove to be the regular troops of Kabul; they fight battles with obstinacy; they do all that a half-armed and semi-civilised race of mountaineers can do to defend their homes and their freedom. Our armies advance with skill and rapidity; the resistance is crushed out in a series of battles, bloody enough to the defeated, and certainly spoken of as victories at home. The capital is occupied with all the formalities of a conquered city; and the people are dealt with as national enemies. It turns out that in all probability the friendly prince was himself the author of the attack; that he must be kept a prisoner, and no doubt will be tried for his life; his property is seized, his palace destroyed, and his titular kingdom is treated as a thing of the past. The occupied country is dealt with as a conquered province; and an outcry is raised from our soldiers to annex it without more ado.

And now in this conquered province the work of vengeance begins. Our general issues a series of proclamations in the vein of Timour or Akbar. "The British Government has the right of totally destroying Kabul," he says. "What right? Does conquest give the right of totally destroying the capital of an independent nation? "A punishment to be remembered is necessary." "This punishment of the whole city does not absolve individuals." *"Rewards are offered for every person who has fought against British troops since the 3rd of September; larger rewards are offered for rebel officers of Afghan army."* What is the meaning of all this? Has a victorious army the right of setting a price on the head of every soldier who has fought against it from the moment of invading the defeated nation? What would be said in Europe if the Russian generals had proclaimed that they had the right of totally destroying Constantinople, and had set a price, when they crossed the Balkans, on the head of every Turkish soldier who had dared to meet them in battle since they appeared on the Danube? Or what would be said in England if the Germans had proclaimed at Versailles that they had the right of totally destroying Paris, and had offered rewards for every French soldier who had fought against them since the date of the battle of Sedan? Yet this is the language which our soldiers are permitted to hold in Asia. These are the things they are suffered to do, far from the eye of any independent observer, freed from all political control, and after rigid and minute precautions against any publicity but that which is permitted by the latest addition to the British Constitution—the new Military Censor.

This is the language of an English invader to a conquered people.

It is published by the India Office at home, in a telegram from the Viceroy of October 18.

"As inhabitants have pertinaciously opposed advance after warning, *they have become rebels*, and added to previous guilt of abetting murder of British Envoy and companions. Though British Government *could justly totally destroy Kabul*, yet in mercy the city will be spared, but a punishment to be remembered is necessary, therefore the portions of the city which interfere with proper military occupation of the Bala Hissar will be immediately levelled, and a heavy fine imposed. Kabul and the surrounding country within a radius of ten miles will be placed under martial law," &c. &c. . . . "This punishment of a whole city does not absolve individuals. Searching inquiry into circumstances of the outbreak will be made, and participators dealt with." . . . "Rewards offered for any person concerned in attack on Embassy or information leading to captures; *similar rewards offered for any person who has fought against British troops since 3rd Sept.* ; **LARGER REWARDS OFFERED FOR REBEL OFFICERS OF AFGHAN ARMY.**"

On the 12th of November General Roberts issued another proclamation. He says that some, at least, may have thought the Ameer was a prisoner in our camp, and therefore were not rebels against him. The Ameer was distinctly a prisoner on the 22nd of October, and was practically a hostage from the first. But after this nice point of constructive rebellion, the general proceeds:—

"*Rather, therefore, than punish the few innocent*, an amnesty is proclaimed to all who have fought against the British since the 3rd of Sept., on condition that all arms are surrendered to the British authorities. Those taking advantage of it will be allowed to return to their homes without molestation. Amnesty not extended to soldiers or civilians concerned in the attack on the Residency, nor to those in possession of property of the Embassy, *or who were guilty of instigating the troops and people to oppose the British troops.* **SUCH PERSONS WILL BE TREATED WITHOUT MERCY AS REBELS.**" (*Daily News*, Oct. 21, Nov. 15.)

Nor are these threats in vain. The work of slaughter in cold blood now begins when the fighting is done. "The trial of the prisoners is proceeding daily"—we are told on 29th October; "all convicted are hanged." "The search for the rebel leaders is taking place." The head of the city mollahs was hanged "for preaching a religious war and giving the fanatics the standard." The Kotwal is also hanged on the ground, beside that of dishonouring the dead, "that he had sent out a proclamation through Kabul, calling on all Moham-medans to fight us at Charasiab." Another telegram states it "that he was prominent in inciting and organizing the resistance to us at Charasiab." What does it mean? These are the telegrams that reach us when every avenue of intelligence is strictly in official hands, and not a word can escape except such as is permitted by the "military censure." To punish men who are proved to have taken part in the slaughter of our envoy is one thing. I have a word to say on that presently. But it is not said that these men were shown to have a share in any such slaughter at all. The head of the

mollahs, as it was his business to do, called on all Mohammedans to resist the infidel. What were the mollahs doing at Constantinople during the Russian invasion? The Kotwal was "prominent in organizing the resistance to us at Charasiab"—a glorious victory we are told for the British arms. Another telegram runs—"All the villagers round Kabul quite hostile to us. No quarter is given to any one found firing upon us, and *prisoners taken in fight are shot.*"

Has it come to this? That after a juggling proclamation, by which soldiers fighting for their independence are called rebels and murderers, with legal sophistry such as wove the constructive treason and the overt rebellion of a Stuart lawyer, our soldiers and generals are found capable of shooting prisoners taken in fight, of boasting their right totally to destroy conquered cities, can stain themselves with the murder of priests who urge their people to battle, and can stoop to the incredible meanness of hanging those chiefs who have been prominent in fighting with them a pitched battle?

I well know what is the official plea for all this, what is the salve that honourable soldiers apply when they turn hangmen of warriors whom they fought in the field but yesterday. We are told that this is merely the punishment of murderers, that our envoy and his suite were slaughtered in a time of peace, and that we are only restoring order on behalf of a friendly prince. This is no doubt the official plea, and the military logic: now it is not only quite insufficient but it is totally false. In the first place, it is not pretended in the only telegrams which are suffered to pass the cordon, that the men hung were the men who killed our envoy. We are told that they were prominent in organizing the resistance, in inciting the army to fight us at Charasiab. They are the chief Afghan leaders who stimulated the national defence. The chief priest called on his fellow-believers to fight us. One morning five leading prisoners are hung; the City Kotwal, the head of the mollahs, and two generals, one of royal blood and a chowdika. Now were these men shown to have slain the envoy, or were they prominent men who had incited the battle of Charasiab? What we are told is, that "*prisoners taken in fight*" are shot, not assassins convicted of murder. We hear of a search "*for the rebel leaders,*" not for any particular criminal. This is quite in accordance with the proclamations of the general. The people of Kabul were told that a crime had been committed by certain mutineers, that these mutineers had promoted rebellion, that the British army was about to suppress the rebellion, end the mutiny, and punish the murderers. And that all who took arms against the British invaders would be treated as mutineers, rebels, and murderers. It is easy, on a piece of paper, for an invading general to call all who resist him murderers and outlaws; it is easy and expeditious to shoot prisoners of war, and to hang those who organize the armies

he has to fight. But a piece of paper cannot make this just, or politic, or decent. It leaves the act what it was—an act of military terrorism.

And now what in real truth is this all-sufficient plea, on the strength of which all these acts are excused, which makes it just to shoot "all prisoners taken in fight;" which turns the chiefs of an independent nation into "the rebel leaders," and the soldiers of a free people fighting for their homes rebels, mutineers, outlaws; which makes it a crime to be punished by hanging, for a priest to incite soldiers to do battle with an invader? What is the over-mastering plea for turning our officers into hangmen? The ground is of course the slaughter of the envoy on September 3rd. Let us look at this a little closely. The outrage and slaughter of an envoy in time of peace is undoubtedly a heinous national offence, and every government, which by weakness or connivance has suffered such a thing under its eyes, must expect the penalty of war. But how far is this mission at Kabul like the case of the embassy accredited to a friendly nation, how far was the Ameer's a constituted government at all, how can we separate the events of this year from the events of last year, or start *de novo* with the arrival of Sir L. Cavagnari at Kabul? I am not about to excuse the slaughter of our mission in what was certainly something short of regular war. I am not pretending that the Ameer and his government are not responsible for the outrage. But I protest against the fraud of treating the people of Afghanistan and the soldiers in Kabul, as if the country formed a settled and fully constituted state, as if the embassy was a simple embassy to a friendly nation, as if there had been no previous war, no invasion last year, no extorted and hated treaty, and no traditional resistance of the Afghans to admit European envoys at all.

It is a mockery of sense and justice to ignore that the events of the 3rd of September were a simple incident in the war of invasion and conquest, that has dragged on with some checks since last autumn. The ambassador, as he was called, was the advance guard of the expedition, which in this last spring had partially conquered the country, and still occupied a part of it. I am not about to reopen the general policy of this Afghan conquest. It has been condemned by soldiers and civilians of great experience and of all parties both here and in India, by the best of our Viceroys and the wisest of our Indian ministers. Nothing that I can say can convince those who are not yet convinced, how wanton an aggression it was. I content myself with a protest against it as a rank crime on every ground of morality and of policy. The excuses for it were utterly frivolous; and it has been defended in the well-known spirit of all wars of aggression—the spirit of ambition, vain-glory, and recklessness. But of that war as a whole I shall not speak. I allude to

it only to insist that the attack on the embassy was a simple incident of the original and still unfinished war to conquer the Afghan people.

It seemed good last year to the British Government to invade a neighbouring independent people. That people were a group of rude tribes hardly formed into a state, fiercely fanatical in religion, and proud of their freedom and independence. After laying terrible burdens on suffering India, our armies succeeded in crushing the national defence, in driving the sovereign into exile and death, in destroying what cohesion had previously existed in his name. A period of confusion followed, the kingdom dissolved into separate and unsettled groups, and the tribes and chiefs made the most of their new independence. Some partial attempt at resettlement followed. A son of the dead sovereign, just released from a long imprisonment, succeeded in securing some show of authority in the capital, and in some other parts of the country. It was convenient to treat him as the ruler, and we partly enabled him to become so in fact. At Gandamak the late envoy forced on the bewildered prince such terms as it suited us to dictate, and with fair words a nominal peace was effected. But all who knew Afghanistan warned us that the treaty was a piece of paper, that the prince had no real power to execute the treaty, even if he had the will, that a large portion of the country repudiated him, that the leading spirits of the people regarded him as a traitor, a puppet, and a coward. If over warning was justified by events it was that which all the cooler heads foretold, when they said, that to make your puppet sign an ignominious treaty was not to conquer a country, and to send a small force to hector over the puppet in his mountain capital, was a wild and fool-hardy scheme. However, it was done. Into the midst of a turmoil of fierce tribes, smarting under defeat, furious with religious hatred, and torn by intrigues and dissensions, the so-called envoy was sent to enforce the terms of a so-called treaty which the tribes had in no way accepted, and to dictate to a sovereign who was hardly obeyed by his own body-guard, and scarcely secure in his own capital. Almost the one thing that Afghans and their chiefs for generations had agreed in was to resist the presence of British soldiers and officials. And here, by virtue of a treaty which these chiefs repudiated, signed by a prince whom many of them did not acknowledge, a small British force entered the capital, headed by the soldier who last year sought almost to force the Khyber Pass, and who this year had personally dictated the treaty. It was almost to invite an outrage, to make a collision inevitable. What else could we have done if we wished an excuse for a new war?

But this peaceful ambassador was only an ambassador in name. He came at the head of a squadron. The so-called suite of this

so-called envoy consisted of a small military force of about sixty or seventy picked soldiers. It is true they were not strong enough for an army; but they were much too strong for an embassy. It was not quite a corps of occupation, nor quite a corps of observation; and they came in what was at least a military truce. But they practically served the purpose of an army of occupation and of a corps of observation; and they visibly represented an ample army in reserve. When we know what feats have been done by British soldiers in the midst of barbarous races, it was only a little in excess of the ordinary odds. They were not there exactly to fight—they were there to overawe and to control. The time was not precisely war; but it was little more than a truce. The small corps came into Kabul much as the famous uhlan in 1870 rode into a French town. He too did not come to fight; he came to overawe the citizens into carrying out his orders. The Red Prince was never far behind; and in the meantime the uhlan took military occupation of the city, and the practical control of the citizens. But the uhlan took his chance of being shot. The position of Sir L. Cavagnari was not exactly this. But it was not very far from it. He had gone into the midst of a turbulent enemy, in advance of the regular army. He held a nominal political office, and he came under the terms of a so-called treaty. But he came, as he well knew, with his life in his hand. I shall say nothing to dishonour the memory of a brave, but wild man. He thought that audacity might supply the place of troops; he believed that his death, if he died, would be heroic. He has died as a brave soldier dies, at the head of his men, fighting against overwhelming odds with a half-barbarous enemy, whom he meant to conquer and whom he thought to overawe. But he has died, as a soldier dies, in what was virtually an act of war.

This so-called envoy was in truth a soldier sent out on an advanced post, into a country seething with civil war, from which the invading armies had scarcely withdrawn, under a treaty signed by a mere unrecognised pretender. He is sent into a city which admits no other European on any pretence; where, as Lord Lawrence used to say, no European's life is safe for an hour, and where no Ameer could protect him; amongst wild mountaineers and fanatical Moslems, who regard the presence of an Englishman as a personal humiliation. He was sent out with a small force really to secure the advantages of a war, which all sensible men said was far from ended. To treat the death of this soldier, ordered out on a forlorn hope like this, as the murder of an ambassador to a civilised power, to be avenged with all the punctilio of European diplomacy, is mere chicanery. And upon this chicanery is built up the claim to punish the last efforts of Afghan self-defence as mutiny, rebellion, and murder.

Even this chicanery itself is not consistently maintained. The legitimate mode of redressing the slaughter of an envoy is to make war upon the State, to coerce its government, and to obtain satisfaction. But war with a State, however great the provocation, gives no right to hang generals and priests, who head the national resistance. If, in the very act of war, the State is reduced to atoms, and its government shattered or dissolved, that may give a right to the injured power to punish the actual offenders itself, and to set up a government of its own. But what we now complain of is, not the punishment of the men who committed the outrage, or fair attempts to restore a government, but the hanging of generals and priests whose crime is to have animated a national defence, the proclaiming that all who resist the British invader shall be treated as rebels, and the setting rewards upon their heads. For this there is no justification whatever in public law, in morality, or even decency. Against whom are these men rebels? You have seized their ruler as a prisoner: from the first he was practically a hostage. You are about to try him for his life on the charge that he instigated or approved of the attack. How came the Afghan soldiers at Charasiab to be mutineers? They fought as regular regiments under their own native officers, and to all appearances at the secret orders of their nominal prince. Where is the government that they defy? There is no government, or shadow of government, except the British army, and the late government which is now its prisoner. And the British army are plainly invaders who have deposed two sovereigns and destroyed two governments. Are the men you hang the authors of the attack on the embassy? Where are the proofs of it? What is the evidence that satisfies a court martial, on fire with military vengeance; smarting under a bitter catastrophe, and the cruel death of brave comrades? What is the law you use in your drum-head commissions, whence issue no reports that you do not counter-sign, where is no independent or civilian witness? The men whom you hang, you pretend, have abetted the outrages *after the fact*, by resisting the invaders of their country, by taking arms against the British forces. So that by this military indictment, every soldier in the Afghan armies supports the rebels; rebels are those who abet the mutineers; mutineers are those who resist the British; and those who resist the British are guilty (after the fact) of murder of the British envoy. Mutiny, rebellion, outlawry, murder, on your lips are nothing but random phrases, tossed together by soldiers, parading the terms of law and justice; who really come to conquer a brave, but turbulent race; who mean to kill all who oppose them, and to terrify the rest into the show of submission. The pretexts that justify this unsoldierlike slaughter of prisoners of war are chicanery, worthy of Scroggs and Jefferies. And the putting

men to death by legal chicanery bears an ugly name in English history. The meaning of it, that which justifies it in the eyes of soldiers, and probably of some politicians, is this—that since the difficulties of subduing Afghanistan permanently are very great, and the forces that are sent to do it are very small, and as Kabul is in the heart of Asia away from all European observation, and veiled by the “military censure,” recourse must be had to terrorism.

It would be better to give up this affectation of legality, and, if it is necessary to herald a war of conquest with proclamations in the style of Oriental Caliphs, to open thus:—“Be it known to all men in Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the name of the Empress of India, and so forth. Whereas, for sufficient reasons, we have determined to subdue the people of Afghanistan, we hereby warn you not to resist our victorious armies. If you oppose our good pleasure, we shall hang some of you, until the others obey and submit. Such part of the city as we think fit we shall destroy, and it is only in mercy that we do not destroy it entirely. We shall kill and burn until the people come to know that our will is irresistible. *Imperium et Libertas*. Rule Britannia!” This is the real purport of General Roberts’s Mogul proclamations.

I am not making any general charge of cruelty against our soldiers and generals. We have no evidence that they acted in the thirst for blood, nor in any lust of outrage. Fortunately things are not so bad as that. English gentlemen are not suddenly converted into Mouravieffs, Gallifets, and Chefket Pashas. Nor do I assert that they acted worse than soldiers always act who are left to themselves and permitted to hang civilians. Their moderation in hanging contrasts favourably with that of Russian or Turkish generals suppressing an insurrection. My charge is a perfectly definite one. It is that they are permitted to hang people at all as rebels; that they should be suffered to set rewards on the heads of soldiers and generals who meet them in open battle; that they should be allowed to execute prisoners in cold blood (short of any case of specific murder proved against the criminal); that they have power by proclamation to convert the national defence of a free people, into rebellion and mutiny; that they should be left to be the sole judges of what constituted this offence. Lastly, my complaint is that British officers sent to invade and conquer an independent people should be authorised to do so by terrorism—by the use, that is, not of their swords and rifles in battle, but by the rope and the torch when no one is left to fight.

To all this the one defence is, as always—the prestige of our Indian Empire, the extreme paucity of our forces in Asia. They say, The troops we can spare to hold vast territories are so few, the importance of our Eastern Empire is so enormous, the difficulties of

subduing vast mountain tracts with two or three thousand Europeans are so great that we cannot be bound by European law, that we can only exist—by terrorism in fact. Now to say, that it is impossible to apply the public law of Europe in the East is no answer at all. Our very charge is, that they do apply the forms and fictions of European law, whenever it suits them, and just so far as it suits them, and throw these forms off the moment they tell on the wrong side. In dealing with Oriental races, it has become a settled practice with some British Governments to assert and exact all the rights that can be grasped under the strict letter of European diplomacy, and to recognise none of the obligations and limits of European law, whenever they cease to be convenient. The dilemma is this. If they go to Kabul under the rights of public law, they are acting there in defiance of public law. If they deny that public law can be applied to Afghans, how ludicrous is the plea of the sacred person of our envoy, the mutiny against a friendly prince, the constructive rebellion, and the *ex post facto* murders? The public law of Europe is, perhaps, in all its forms, or in all its rules, not capable of strict application in Asia. But to a civilised and honourable people that cannot mean that they are exempt from all law in Asia, from the spirit and principle of public law as well as from its forms; that cannot justify them in using the terms of public law in order to entrap and mystify Asiatic rulers, and then to laugh at the very essence of public law, if it hinders their own objects. To a great people at the head of modern civilisation, the difficulties of applying the public law of Europe to people in Asia involve most scrupulous care to follow that which is beyond and behind all public law in Europe, a real and healthy sense of equity, to look at the things as they are, to treat half-civilised races of different religion and habits, from the point of view of a wise understanding of their prejudices and their ignorances, to bear ourselves always as their guides in civilisation and justice.

Now throughout this Afghan war (it is not the first nor the last war that has been waged by England on that plan) it is laid down on system that our troops are to enter the enemies' country, whether they be independent tribes, rebels, mutineers, or robbers is immaterial; in any case the country is treated as in "insurrection" and general outlawry; and as the troops are too few to occupy and permanently hold so vast an area, they are to kill and burn, ravage and destroy so far as may be requisite to secure submission. They are to behave just as Edward I. behaved when he was conquering Wales or invading Scotland, just as Cæsar behaved in Gaul, or Cortes in Mexico. That is to say, they are to hold themselves free from all the laws of war as understood in modern Europe; they are not bound to fight as civilised nations fight; if they are too few to

subdue the country physically, they must terrorise it into submission; the end is conquest, and any means leading to that end are good.

Now I say that no circumstances, no diplomatic outrages, no pieces of paper or treaties with mountain chiefs, can justify this system of conquest by terrorism. The spirit of evil is on it, everywhere and always; in Asia, or in Europe, in the mountains of Afghanistan, or in the valleys of the Balkans. If your troops are too few to conquer and hold a territory, by the public laws of peace and of war, you should keep out of it; if the tribes you wish to annex do not understand modern diplomacy, it is no ground that you should sink to the morality of a hill chief. To tell us that the interests of India are paramount, and that to save our power and our credit there, all things are permitted, and that all morality is idle; this is indeed to demoralise the nation, to turn our Indian Empire into a curse greater to Englishmen than her Mexican and Peruvian conquests were to Spain; it is to teach a free people the creed of the pirate. Let the old watchwords be erased from all English flags: *Dieu et mon Droit*—*Honi soit*—and the rest, are stale enough. We will have a new imperial standard for the new Empress of Asia, and emblazon on it—*Inperium et Barbaries*.

It concerns the honour of this people, it especially concerns the credit of Parliament, that the political and international side of these foreign wars should not be resigned *carte blanche* to soldiers with a roving commission to conquer, free from all reference to the law of nations, and practically exempt from the rules of war. Above all, it is monstrous that they should be permitted to draw round them a strict cordon of secrecy, and exclude all information of an independent or civilian kind, even to the civilian government they serve. It is an idle pretence that the secrecy was demanded in the military interests of the campaign. It was enforced to exclude criticism, to avoid observation, to withdraw the acts of the generals from the control of the civil government, of the Parliament, of the nation. No doubt generals in the field delight in nothing so much as in *carte blanche*, the exclusion of all political control, the suppression of all criticism, the absorption of every force civil, political, legal, and moral into the one convenient autocracy—Martial Law as understood at headquarters. Of course these heady captains, with the thirst of Alexander and Napoleon in their veins, would be only too happy to conquer all Asia on such terms, and career over the planet so long as at home we found them in men and in guns, and asked no awkward questions. But it behoves a responsible government and a free Parliament to beware that these men never shall be let loose on a province or a nation, to drag the name of England through blood and dust, to shut themselves up in a sealed district on

some idle military excuse, and then to set to work with fire and sword, gun and halter, until they have tamed another semi-civilised and independent people. Such things may cause joy in military clubs, and their admirers; it may delight newspapers on the moral level of the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Spectator*, but it is utterly dishonouring to a nation such as England, and it disgusts and shames the manly spirit of our thoughtful working people.

Again I say, I do not charge our soldiers and generals with promiscuous cruelty. Very far from it. I know and honour amongst them many most gentle and generous men. They often show conspicuous self-control, and a quiet mercifulness worthy of truly brave natures. They almost never lose their heads, and seldom indeed do they catch a blood lust like French or Turkish generals in an insurrection. Personally at home we all know them as English gentlemen and just men. But I complain that they are often set to tasks such as no soldier should have given to him, and granted a license such as should be trusted to no general. One could not trust the archangel Michael to be just, or the seraph Abdiel to be faithful, in a position so trying. Our soldiers are sent into a district, one against a thousand or ten thousand, usually heated with some tale of outrage to avenge, and knowing that nothing but desperate energy can enable them to win, despising their enemy as "niggers," and utterly unable to look on them as soldiers; they are sent into a province or a kingdom alone, without any political control or civilian witness, and they are simply ordered to chastise the rebels, or crush the resistance. What would have been the consequences had the Red Prince been let loose upon France without any civil control or witness, with orders *carte blanche* to bring Frenchmen to their senses, and to be his own Vattel and Foreign Secretary. Prince Bismarck took care to keep his generals strictly in hand. Had he not done so, Europe would be ringing now with horror. What then must it be when soldiers, on fire to avenge some outrage, outnumbered as the Spaniards were outnumbered in Mexico, are sent in upon a "nigger" people, with all the physical loathing of race, and the inhuman prompting of their religion, to tame an insurgent tribe? Angels could not be trusted to do the horrid work, and the natural result ensues.

In spite of the conspicuous coolness and generosity of our soldiers, the fact remains that they never meet their equals or a civilised foe. A generation has passed since Englishmen met in fight white men, and even those were hardly of European civilisation. They never fight under the rules and conditions of modern war. They hardly ever fight with a foe, whom they treat as an honourable foreign enemy. They are for ever engaging in battles of black skins, red skins, brown skins, "niggers," or savages of some kind. Their

enemy are almost always "rebels," or "mutineers," or "insurgents," or "marauders," with whom they do not pretend to hold the conventional laws of warfare. Our officers, therefore, are almost always partly executioners, and partly criminal police, as well as soldiers. They not only use their swords, but they have ever in their train ropes and halters, gibbets and cats, and all the apparatus of a Russian army in Poland. They seldom fight without killing prisoners in cold blood after all resistance has ceased. They blow them from guns by platoons, they hang them from the first tree, they shoot them in squads, they flog them by scores, they burn villages wholesale, their men knife wounded men (at least they boast that they do); they hold drum-head courts-martial on priests and officials, they proclaim martial law at their own free-will.

Again I repeat that I do not charge our officers or men with wanton cruelty, nor do I say that they become personally savage, except in rare cases. Nor do I say that they do these things without general orders, or without a very fair show of actual insurrection and real outrage. But this, as a fact, is the horrid work the British army is usually called on to do when it enters the field. It is one of the curses, no doubt, of our Empire; one of the burdens to be borne by a nation which builds its greatness on vast continents of half-civilised people. I wonder that the fine stuff of English gentlemen can resist, as it does, the contagion. I am amazed that so few of them get brutalised by their work. There were men, we know, in Jamaica who seemed to delight in hanging and flogging the blacks. And I myself have heard a young officer say that what pulled him through a desperate wound in the Indian "Mutiny" was the crawling to the window each morning to see the niggers hung—the "niggers" being prisoners taken in the battle where he got his wound. Happily there are few such blood-hounds in the British army, seldom as it fights on equal terms with a civilised enemy.

But not the less necessary is it, for a civilised government and people, to control with a strong hand the appeal to military law. There is that of the wild beast in all fighting men heated with battle, that they ought almost never to be turned, with the blood still hot upon their hands, into governors, executioners, judges. This Martial Law is a big word for a black thing. It means terrorism, slaughter, violence—within such limits as a soldier thinks convenient. It is strange that of all nations on the earth, except possibly the Russian, the English nation is the one which most often proclaims Martial Law. The British army, of all armies in the world, is the one which is most often hanging, shooting, or punishing prisoners of war. And of all civil Governments on earth, unless, perhaps, that of the Czar, the Parliament of this free nation is the one which is the readiest to

hand over countries and provinces to the absolute will of a soldier flushed with victory.

If these words, quite undeniable as they are, cause pain and anger in the minds of honest men, the fault is not mine. I do not pretend to be a man of peace at any price, nor do I deny the necessity for soldiers and the duty of recognising war. But I have a right to appeal to the civilian sentiments of civilised citizens, and to ask that our army shall be held strictly in civil control and consistently used in a civilised spirit. No honourable soldier can refuse such a claim. As to the men of blood and of swagger, we care as little for their wrath as for their insolence. They cannot rise, as a French statesman said, to the level of our disdain. Men who fulfil their civil duties in the face of any opposition, need not be dismayed by the courage which hurries back to banquets, balls, and welcomes, from the slaughter of "niggers," from wild raids across savage districts in expeditions which, like a tiger hunt, combine at once a battue and a pic-nic. Such men entirely mistake the true temper of their fellow-citizens at home. The opinion of the profession or the narrow class that feeds it is not all in this island. There are serious men here, quite as eager for the honour of their country as they are, who have thought about war, its history, its duties, and trials as much as they have, who turn with a sick heart from this never-ending tale of invasion, slaughter, repression, military executions, and martial law. For a generation the Temple of Janus for us has hardly once been closed. No year passes that British troops are not fighting somewhere, and never a white or a civilised foe, and rarely indeed in civilised warfare. To us these men come home, yet honourable men no doubt, and unpolluted with savagery, but still reeking with the blood of men killed in unjust quarrels, of men put to death in cold blood, butchered in the loose hubbub of military retribution. Will some member of Parliament exact a true return of the prisoners taken in battle in these African and Asian wars, and of the punishments inflicted by military justice? How many of the hundreds of thousands of fighting men who have so lately met our armies in battle, have been taken prisoners in the field? How many of such prisoners have been honourably treated as Europeans treat European prisoners of war? What are these wars in which we never hear of prisoners, in which prisoners of war are systematically tried by courts-martial? Have we no member on either side of our docile parties, who will tear open the secrets of the "military censor," and drag before the nation the true story of this hanging of "niggers"? There are men at home to whom these things are never veiled by displays of personal daring, who hear the groans of the prisoners in their agony amidst all the cheers of admiring friends. The vast mass of our working people, in town and in country, loathe these

criminal wars, and turn from the instruments of these wild acts of retribution. *Bella geri placuit, nullos habitura triumphos*, said the noble Roman—there are wars too odious to deserve a triumph. Our soldiers too often forget this maxim, and the stern warning it conveys. There is no response in the mass of the nation to the thoughtless cheers of the idle, when executioners and hangmen return to claim a triumph. They may have done their duty, and may have done it without passion: but we do not care to see them; and we ask of the Government that sent them by what law or right these things were done.

To all that is said there is always one monotonous reply—the prestige of our Asiatic position—the critical necessities of our Indian Empire. If this means, that having a great possession in the East, its importance is such that neither justice nor morality have anything to do with the matter, then this nation will sink to the Spain of the Philips, if it ever accepts such a doctrine. I know there are politicians on both sides who have quietly made up their minds, that having got India they mean to keep it by any means and all means which come to hand; and whatever has to be paid in life, or in waste, in guilt, or in shame, will be paid to the bitter end. To such men we have but one short answer—we do not argue with Pirates: we call upon civilised mankind to judge them.

It is just because we have a deep sense of all that we ought to do in India, it is just for the sake of India itself, that we condemn this military terrorism. It is not we who say—Perish India, or who crudely call out for its summary abandonment. For my part, I recognise all the duties which our presence there has imposed on us, and I desire to fulfil those duties of good government and upright dealing at every sacrifice and with all our might. It is because I desire a just rule and the firm and peaceful settlement of India, that I protest against the system of these constant wars of retribution. How is the government of India ever to rise to the level of a just and beneficent power, when, year after year, it is occupied in successive wars of aggression and repression, of terrorism or vengeance? How are officers to become the peaceful guardians of a contented empire, when they are for ever returning, hot with revenge and triumph, from a promiscuous battue of half-barbarous "rebels"? The day when the white and the dark race shall feel that they are fellow-citizens, instead of conquerors and conquered, masters and subjects, is indeed indefinitely adjourned by these wild raids amongst wild tribes in the spirit of Cortes or Pizarro. The bad blood which these raids enkindle in every vein, the desperate sense of race-feud which they breed in the native, and the fierce temper of disdain which they rouse in us—these are the real perils and difficulties of the Indian Empire. Fed by this slaughter and violence and

lawlessness, that empire will always be precarious, will always be sinking to a lower level. To believe that an empire can for ever subsist on terrorism, be the terrorism only in reserve, is to believe that the most cynical of Turkish Pashas or Russian Prefects are wise politicians and true patriots.

If we are asked what do we mean by *terrorism*, the question is easily answered. Terrorism consists in the killing, torturing, or punishing A, not for any crime committed by A, but in order to terrify B, C, and D into submitting to your will. That is terrorism; and it is, always and everywhere, evil and abominable, in Europe or in Asia. No circumstances can justify it. No object can excuse it. And that is what, we say, our troops have done in Kabul, and what our Government has authorised them to do. If it be objected that all war is terrorism, the answer again is simple. War has its recognised laws as much as peace, and they must be submitted to in Asia as much as in Europe. If it be said that they cannot be applied in Asia, or are not understood by barbarians, then the spirit of these laws must be followed, if we cannot follow their letter. They are laws like the laws of honour which bind soldiers as such, which distinguish them from pirates, banditti, and cut-throats, wherever they may fight. They are laws which ought to bind the British soldier as a part of his own self-respect, quite apart from their being enforced by adverse opinion, or formulated in words by the enemy. And the chief and centre of these laws are these:—Thou shalt not kill helpless prisoners of war; thou shalt not kill for civil offences, as distinct from military attack. Both are summed up in this. You may use your swords and your rifles in battle—you may not use gibbets and ropes in cold blood. And we tell these heroes of the drum-head and the halter that, whether it be in Asia or in Europe, in Africa or in America, they who do these things cease to be soldiers, and sink to the level of hangmen or cut-throats. Longitude and latitude have nothing to do with it: nor have the habits and ideas of the particular enemy. It is a matter of personal self-respect, binding on gentlemen and on soldiers everywhere.

It is vain to repeat that the Afghans are graceless barbarians, and fully expect to be hung if they are caught. This matter is not a law-suit between us and the Afghans to determine which are the most reckless cut-throats, or which is the most unjust of nations. It is a question of the permanent standard of British civilisation, of our national character, of the dignity and place of the English soldier. The character, or the moral standard of the wretches who quiver on the rope's end, have nothing to do with the matter. The matter is your moral right to hang. If General Roberts took pot-shots at passing Afghans in the streets, he would be committing murder, whether the Kabulees he killed were cut-throats and robbers or not.

It is the hanging at all which concerns us, not the personal merit of the victim. In vain is it said that not so many men have been hung after all. No one supposes that General Roberts or his deputies enjoy their horrid task. It has nothing to do with the matter, that only a score or so after all have been hung. Only a score or so hung in cold blood for defending their country! If only one man has been so hung, it is a detestable murder: To set a price on the head of men who resist an invader in battle, is itself an unpardonable outrage—even if it were an idle vaunt, unfollowed by acts.

Measures of war, and military defence are one thing. We have not said that General Roberts is not bound to protect his camp. What we complain of, is the slaughtering unarmed prisoners as part of a political plan, to overawe a civil population, when all resistance is over. It is the making a soldier, recking from battle, the supreme master of an entire nation, and the sole judge of a vast political problem. And it is the handing over of this political problem, the complex civil issues of rebellion and order, to the unbridled will of a victorious general, whilst placing in his hands the weapons assumed by a Pasha in reducing a Christian province. Nothing can ever make this right, or wise, or safe. To talk of Asia, or empire, or prestige in the matter is inhuman nonsense. Morality, political sense, and human nature, are not inverted in the antipodes, nor do they lose their meaning in the tropics.

I have spoken in this matter without any reference to party. A man who does so, I well know, is excluded from public life, even if he wished to enter it. But at least he has his freedom; and he is bound to use his freedom without thought of party tactics, and he can speak things and speak in a tone which party leaders may discourage. There are men, I know, on both sides, who would drag England down to the level of a military despotism. In truth, all this goes down far deeper than party. It touches the vitals of our soundness and strength as a people. Never was blindness greater than that which mistakes the hubbub of idlers and the cheers of the clubs for the solid approval of the English people. In town and in country the masses of our workmen hear with horror of these wanton wars and this lawless justice. It is quite true that many of them were resolute, as they are resolute still, that the Russian Empire should not lightly absorb all Eastern Europe. For my part I thought them in the right. It is a strange blunder to suppose that they therefore approve this out-Heroding Russia in the East. You are filling them now with the belief that the classes who rule them seek war for the sake of war, that the vain-glory of war even more than the gains of war, that they fan the warlike spirit as nobler than the spirit of industry, that they love the high hand of the camp rather than the justice of civil law. Our workmen met but the other day in con-

gress, delegates from some million or so of British artizans, and the Meeting on "Peace or War" denounced these barbarous raids and this lawless butchery. This was the main political grievance.¹ It will be a rough day for us all when the craftsmen and peasants of England resolve that this Empire you build in crime is a cruel and shameful burden, that weighs upon their future like a curse. And as we listen to the tale of these wanton battues with a flush as from a blow upon the cheek, some of us can feel even now that the hour of this national awakening is at hand.

As if no form of invention were to be wanting to this imperial pageant, they are seeking—these men—to gild their martial exploits from the ancient glory of the throne. The favour of a gracious Lady is most artfully inwoven in these tales of blood and conquest. Would they add to the Regal style, not only the Empress of India, but the Conqueress of Asia and Africa? What folly of amphitheatre or burlesque is too enormous for their daring? Truly, it is a witless device. Perhaps the brilliance of the throne may lose more by the dust and blood of war, than the lucky conquerors can gain from the radiance of the fountain of honour. We all now seek our drafts of honour from such fountains as we judge best, and we shrink from the stains of gore that may dim the purity of their source. We have known and we accept the English crown as that of a peaceful law-abiding Kingdom. We will never accept it as a lawless, conquering, blood-stained Empire.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

(1) Mr. Joseph Arch, a man not unknown, recited amid great applause a poem which thus concludes:—

"Blow, gently blow, 'ye breezes,
 Let the war-smoke upwards curl,
 While bathed in blood and glory
 Stands forth our Premier Earl!
 But weep, oh! weep for England,
 And how the head in shame;
 For sullied is her honour,
 And tarnish'd is her name."

THE AUSTRO-GERMAN ALLIANCE.

THE journey of Prince Bismarck to Vienna, his almost royal reception there, and the close-drawn relations of Austria and Germany, announced as they have been *urbi et orbi*, have produced a deep impression on the whole of Europe. This conspicuous proceeding on the part of the Prince has indeed made a real and a sudden change in the aspect of European affairs. Its meaning could not be mistaken: the alliance of the three Emperors had come to an end. It was succeeded by an alliance of two of them, directed against the third. This was a blow evidently and openly aimed at Russia, and it was made of more importance by the fact that its author was determined that nobody should mistake its meaning. Prince Bismarck and Count Andrassy had had quite opportunities enough at Gastein of meeting and making all necessary arrangements. The Vienna journey could thus have only one object; it was an anti-Russian demonstration. At the same time official journals told us that the Emperor William had only made up his mind with the greatest reluctance to adopt his chancellor's new policy, and that his people owed him the liveliest gratitude for this sacrifice of his most cherished sentiments to the welfare of Germany.

Prince Bismarck had taken great care, by assiduous attentions to the French ambassador at Vienna, to show that he had no designs on the French Republic, and the German press kept repeating that the relations of the two countries had never been upon a better footing. As I write, indeed, Count de Saint Vallier, the French ambassador at Berlin, is a guest at Varzin, an exceedingly unusual thing for a foreign minister. Russia had seen the storm coming and had on her side been recently looking out for allies. The Czarewitch had, in the first place, paid a visit to Stockholm, where he had received the most cordial welcome. Now in case of war the neutrality of Sweden is indispensable to Russia. Finland has continued to be Swedish at heart, and the language and institutions of Sweden still prevail in her towns, the province being only nominally connected with Russia. The autonomy of Finland has been scrupulously respected and the Finns have no grievance against Russia. There is therefore no actively separatist feeling. But their sympathies with their brethren on the other side of the Baltic are lively, and this sympathy would probably, at the sight of the Swedish banners, resolve itself into an insurrection on behalf of the old country. To restore Finland to Sweden would be a handsome price to pay for a Swedish alliance, and

the bargain might, under certain circumstances, be a tempting one to strike. In 1854, Sweden allowed herself to be worked upon by England and France, and in November of that year a treaty was signed, whereby she bound herself to invade Finland in the spring of 1855.

Recently, too, Russia has taken steps as though to secure the support of France. The Czarewitch even went to Paris without stopping at Berlin. It seems likely indeed that France will not enter into engagements with any one, but will accept with gratitude the kind expressions of Germany, of Austria, of Russia, and of England alike, reserving the power to act as occasion may demand in her own interests. The existing political situation of Europe may therefore be thus summed up. Germany and Austria are in close alliance and supported by England, Italy is undecided, France is watching her opportunity, and Russia is isolated. What then is the motive, and what the object, of the Austro-German alliance? Will it rest upon a real community of interest? or has it no other justifying cause than the views of the ministers for the time being? What again will be its consequences as concerns Europe? Such are the points which I now propose to examine.

The understanding between Austria and Germany cannot in any way surprise those who have taken the trouble to follow closely the course of events for the last ten years. It is the logical consequence of the new situations brought about in 1870, and could be deduced from them by a process of reasoning almost mathematical in its strictness. In a work published in 1869, and entitled *View of the Eastern Question*, the Russian General Rotislaf Fadaieff put forward with surprising lucidity the reasons which were likely to bring about an Austro-German alliance. "As long," said he, "as the rivalry between France and Prussia lasts, Russia will have a certain liberty of action, but when this difference has been peaceably adjusted, or settled by an appeal to arms"—let us remember that this was written in 1869—"then Russia must hasten to get any difficulty out of her way at once, for in all probability she will have to look to an alliance of England, Austria, and Prussia, far more dangerous to her than the existing alliance between England and France." The personal sentiments of the Emperor William have been the only obstacle to this hitherto. Farther on General Fadaieff writes as follows: "The termination of the hostile attitude of Austria towards Prussia, and her alliance with that power, will give her much greater strength than an alliance with France, which would always be insecure and intermittent. The contiguity of their territories, the identity of their interests in the east, the popular sentiments on both sides, and the sympathies of race, make an alliance with Prussia far more advantageous than any other to Austria. If the situation of Russia

was difficult enough already when Austria protected Turkey, it will become much more difficult when Prussia is at the back of Austria. A triple range of defences—Austria, Prussia, England—will defend the Balkans thenceforward." This is the exact programme which Prince Bismarck and Count Andrassy have recently agreed upon at Vienna, indicated ten years in advance by a clear-sighted Russian. I have myself more than once endeavoured, in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*,¹ to show that England has nothing to fear in reference to the permanent establishment of Russia in Turkish territory. I then argued that Germany would never permit the great river which, after watering so many German lands, opens a way from them to the Black Sea, to fall into Russian hands. As long as Prussia occupied a subordinate position in reference to Austria, she might be content to follow the fortunes of Russia. But since Austria, driven out of the Germanic confederation, has ceased to be a formidable rival; and since Prussia, once humble, has become Germany and great, she holds herself bound to sustain German interests on the Danube, as well as on the Rhine. *Die Wacht am Rhein* has been a war song against France; the Germans and the Austrians may very well sing *Die Wacht an der Donau* in chorus, against Russia. To prevent Russia from occupying Turkey is, for England, merely a question of the balance of power, and of the interests of her colonial empire. Even if the Czar were reigning at Constantinople, he would still be a long way from India. But to the Germans the advance of Russia is a question of life and death. Should she succeed in absorbing the Slavs of the Danube, the realisation of Pan-slavonic dreams becomes a certainty. A glance at any ethnographic map will show that the Slavs reach to Trieste, to Gratz, and even to the western borders of Bohemia; that is to say, that they occupy three-fourths of Europe, having the advantage over the Teutonic races, not merely in number, but still more by the extent of a territory where a hundred millions of men could well establish themselves. Germany may have chosen to show herself favourable to the Russians during their war with Turkey, because she hoped to find her account therein; but she will never permit them to reap the fruit of their victories. Such were the views which I set before the readers of the *Fortnightly Review* two years ago, and the course of events seems to show that these views were not far wrong.

To explain the recent proceedings of Germany we must go back to 1870. At that time Russia saved Prussia by preventing Austria from taking her in flank when Napoleon III. crossed the Rhine.²

(1) July, 1877; February, 1878; November, 1878.

(2) In a despatch of the 20th July, 1870, to the Austrian ambassador at Paris, Count Beust says, "We think it certain (with all respect to General Fleury) that Russia holds to her alliance with Prussia so strongly that, in certain eventualities, the inter-

This permitted the Germans to crush France, and to become an empire. It was clearly a blunder on Russia's part, and she is probably well aware of it by this time. What, then, were the reasons which inclined her to commit it? There were some which were not devoid of speciousness, and were quite independent of family ties and of the personal affection which existed between the Emperor Alexander and King William. The triple alliance of England, France, and Austria had, in 1855, covered Turkey, had forced peace upon Russia, and still continued to interpose an insurmountable barrier to Russian designs. To recover liberty of action in the East it was therefore necessary to weaken France and Austria, and so to reduce England to impotence on the Continent. Sadowna and Sedan thus had an appearance of being Russian victories, and Prussia seemed to be doing the Czar's work by humbling his adversaries. The Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871 was the revenge for the Treaty of Paris in 1856, and opened, or seemed to open, the road to Constantinople for the Muscovite eagles. Without spending a rouble or moving a soldier the face of Europe was changed, and, as it seemed, at least, entirely in the interest of Russia. Another eventual advantage seemed also in sight. Russia can always come to an understanding with any state which, for the time being, desires some special object more strongly than it fears the preponderance of the Slav element. She can never count upon Germany or Austria or England giving up to her the Danube and the Balkans. Nor would it seem that France, either as the ancient ally of Poland or as representing revolution principles, can ally herself with Russian despotism. But France mutilated, burning for revenge and for the recovery of her lost provinces, might some day make terms with a power which should help her to re-establish her ancient frontier by a joint attack on the German Empire. A Russian alliance, therefore, which would once have appeared a monstrosity, might become even for republican France a temptation and a ground of hope. Thus Prince Gortschakoff had played the game well, and seemed to have it in his hands. After weakening, by means of the Prussian arms, his two enemies of 1853 and 1863, he had left in the rear of Prussia herself a nation rich, warlike, nearly forty millions strong, on the aid of which he might always count when the day should come on which a serious attack on Germany should become necessary. Prince Bismarck was not blind to this danger. He knew that it is not possible to alter the map of Europe for one's own profit, with-

out the Russian army must be looked upon not as probable but as assured. We also think it certain that our taking the field would be followed immediately by a similar step on the part of Russia, which threatens us not merely in Gallia, but also on the banks of the Lower Danube."

out exciting formidable jealousies. He saw well enough that the day might come when he would have to make head on all sides at once, against France, against Russia, and against Austria. The Russians have a natural hatred of the Germans, and are at the same time fond of the French. The rapid successes of the German army in 1870 wounded the susceptibilities of the Russian army, which thenceforward became still more French in sympathy. These hostile sentiments were indeed balanced by the affection of the Emperor Alexander for his uncle. But it was known that the heir to the Russian throne was quite otherwise minded, and that he shared the dislike of the people for Germany. The hostility of Austria, that is to say of the Austrian court and army, was also unquestionable. Indeed it appears from a correspondence interchanged in the newspapers between Count Beust and the Duke de Gramont,¹ that Austria had actually undertaken to attack Germany about the beginning of September, 1870. After the first French defeats, and under the threats of Russia, the excuse was made that Napoleon III. had declared war without waiting for Austria to be ready. Thus Austria aspired to take revenge for Sadowa, just as France did for Sedan. Should a change of sovereign take place in Russia, Germany might find herself threatened on three sides at once, like Frederick II. in the Seven Years' War. The German government well understood the danger, and devoted the whole of its energies to the strengthening of its military establishment. Objections were made on all sides, even in the German Parliament, to the military mania. But when Count Moltke mounted the tribune to defend the war estimates, he had no hesitation in indicating boldly the dangers which had to be foreseen, and against which it was necessary to take precautions on

(1) In a letter addressed to Count Beust on the 8th of January, 1873, the Duke de Gramont establishes irrefutably that in July, 1870, Austria had engaged to give armed assistance to France. He cites an extract from a dispatch of Count Beust of the 20th July, 1870, which says: "Count Witzthum has delivered to our august master the verbal message which the Emperor Napoleon deigned to entrust to him. These words of the Emperor's, as well as the explanations which the Duc de Gramont has been good enough to add, have prevented any possibility of the misunderstandings to which the unforeseen occurrence of this sudden war had given rise. Be good enough, therefore, to report to his Majesty and his ministers that, faithful to our engagements, as they are recorded in the letters interchanged last year between the two sovereigns, we consider the cause of France as our own, and we shall contribute to the success of her arms to the utmost of our power—dans les limites du possible." Further: "The word neutrality, which we regret to pronounce, is forced upon us by imperious necessity and by a logical appreciation of our joint interests, but this neutrality is only a means to enable us to reach the true object of our policy, and to complete our armaments without exposing ourselves to a sudden attack either from Prussia or Russia, an attack from which we are not in a position to defend ourselves." On the evening of the 24th July the Austrian ambassador, becoming more explicit on this question of armaments, informed the Duc de Gramont in writing that, in the condition in which the war had surprised Austria, she could not possibly take the field before the month of September.

three sides at once. This situation gives the key to the important events of May, 1875. A rumour was suddenly set afloat that Germany was about to pick a quarrel with France. England and Russia took measures of energetic interference at Berlin, while Austria on the contrary held aloof, saying that she had every confidence in the good faith of her neighbour. War seemed so imminent that the Emperor Alexander and Prince Gortschakoff hurried to visit the Emperor William, and after interviews lasting two days Prince Gortschakoff published in his official newspapers the cruel telegram, "Peace is now assured." Nothing more humiliating for Prince Bismarck could have occurred. It appeared that he had wished to throw himself upon France without any provocation, and that Russia had stopped him. It was to Russia, and Russia alone, that Europe owed the preservation of peace. It can easily be understood that Prince Bismarck has never pardoned Prince Gortschakoff this deadly injury. Again and again, in conversation and in Parliament, he has asserted that he was slandered, and that he never had any designs on France. He says so and we must believe him; but, if it be so, it was the military party which took it into its head to act, for the fact of the projected action is beyond dispute. The French Government knew perfectly well the demands which were about to be made. The claims of Germany were that France should reduce her army to two hundred thousand men, and should instantly put a stop to the reconstruction of her fortresses. During the whole of the month of April the German press had not ceased to accuse France of preparing an attack on Germany. As this was absolutely and manifestly false it was clear that a quarrel (literally a *querelle d'Allemand*) was being picked. The fact received official recognition in the English Parliament. The Foreign Secretary—a question being asked on the subject—answered that it was true that for a moment the peace of Europe had been seriously compromised, but only in consequence of a misunderstanding. France had imagined that she was threatened by Germany, and Germany had believed that she was menaced by France. Thanks to the friendly intervention of Russia and England the mutual apprehension had been removed, and harmony had been restored in Europe. As it was certain that Germany could not for a moment have believed in any menace on the part of France, which was then so little prepared for war that in case of it she had resolved to withdraw her troops behind the Loire, it was not very hard to see from which side the attack had begun. Nor is it difficult now to see what idea had guided, it may be Prince Bismarck, it may be Count Moltke. The wonderful resources of France, and the incredible rapidity with which she was recovering herself, had astounded, and even, with some reason, terrified Germany. She was

thought to have been crushed, and lo! she was again on her feet, with financial and military resources far greater than those she had enjoyed under the Empire. Was it not wise to stop her while there was time, while the tried friendship of the Emperor Alexander could be counted upon? The longer the time of waiting, the greater would be the danger. This at least seemed clear. The tactics of the Prussian army may be thus summed up: "Take the initiative, and attack the enemy as soon as he comes within sight." This principle was transported into the region of politics. But the demand was rather too large a one to address even to the most devoted of nephews. The Czar replied, "If I were to consent, my people would make common cause with Europe against us." The rejoinder was made, "Do what you like with the East, take Constantinople if you must." But Prince Gortschakoff refused. It is said that at Berlin there was an idea of going their own way. They could, it was held, finish France before Russia and England had made up their minds or mobilised a single division, and when the deed had once been done no one would have stirred, or, at the worst, Germany might have fought it out. But the Emperor William would not play for such heavy stakes, nor would he run the risk of war with his nephew.

There can be no doubt that the incident of May, 1875, was a grave and dangerous check for Germany. The whole of Europe had combined against her to defend France. But in the Eastern Question Prince Bismarck found a way out of the difficulty much superior to that which the war party had preferred. The Herzegovinian insurrection was from its beginning supported by Austria and by Germany. The Austrian Government kept as governor of Dalmatia General Rodich, a man devoted to the Slavs, and the insurgents were at no loss for ammunition and help of all kinds. The interviews and the alliance of the three Emperors followed. At this England was disturbed, but without any reason, for in the long-run her interests in the East could not be threatened thereby. The alliance gave Russia full liberty to bring the Turks to book, and even to go to Constantinople, but only because it was certain that Germany and Austria could at any moment bring her back again by cutting her off from her base. Austria was to have Bosnia and the Herzegovina to rectify the Dalmatian frontier. For Germany, what was the gain? None at all; merely the pleasure of obliging her good friends. But as a matter of fact the advantages she hoped for were not small. In the first place the Anglo-Russian understanding of the month of May with France was broken up. Russia was sure to draw upon herself the enmity of England, and perhaps even actual hostilities. In the struggle with the Turks she must necessarily be weakened, and the good-will of Germany would become absolutely

necessary to her. On the other hand Austria, by advancing into the Balkan Peninsula, was certain sooner or later to awake the jealousy of Russia, and thus she also would be unable to do without the support of Germany. From that moment, indeed, a complete understanding existed between Prince Bismarck and Count Andrassy; nor did the Prince make any mystery about it. Being interrogated in Parliament about his foreign policy, he replied that he was on terms of friendship and alliance with the two neighbouring empires, but that if in certain eventualities it became necessary to make a choice, he could not but incline to the side to which community of interests and of race drew him; that is to say, the Austrian alliance had become the foundation-stone of German policy. During the Russo-Turkish war, and especially at the time of the siege of Plevna, Germany recovered full liberty of action. The plan of May, 1875, might have been taken up again without fear of troublesome intervention; but Prince Bismarck did not take it up again, perhaps because it had never been his, perhaps because he had his eye on something better. When a man has had three enemies to face, and has been able to turn one of them into a friend, the reduction of another of them to a condition of impotence is sufficient to restore the feeling of security. Now it was easier to checkmate Russia than France. Against Russia Germany could always count on England and on Austria, while these two powers would by no means have been equally disposed to sacrifice France, the military power of which was besides far superior to that of Russia. The saying of Prince Schwarzenberg, "Austria will astonish the world by her ingratitude," is not forgotten. This saying might nowadays be transferred to Prussia. It seems to be the destiny of Russia to meet with ingratitude. At the time of the Treaty of Berlin Prince Bismarck did not assist Russia in maintaining the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano. The only support he gave her was in her demand for the portion of Bessarabia touching on the mouths of the Danube. The gift was one of doubtful value, for it has drawn on Russia the hatred of the Roumanians, who did them such yeoman's service at Plevna. Austria, without drawing the sword, has had the best luck. By means of Serajevo and Novi Bazar she has made her way to the heart of the peninsula; she is within a step of Mitrovitz, the terminus of the Salonica Railway, and she will inevitably make her way thither. Years ago Herr Hahn, the sometime consul of Austria at Syria, pointed out in a well-written pamphlet that Salonica was the true gate of Eastern Europe. It is by this port that Austria and Germany can bring about the object they have in view—the commercial development of all eastern countries. Germany, on the other hand, has been absolutely disinterested. She found ample

compensation in the recovery of the security of her position. To put shortly what has just been said, it is evident that the Austro-German alliance, confirmed recently with so much solemnity at Vienna, is Prince Bismarck's revenge for Prince Gortschakoff's telegram of May, 1875.

In what, then, does the agreement arrived at by Prince Bismarck and Count Andrassy, and ratified by the two Emperors, consist? This is not precisely known. It may be taken for granted that the object is not to attack this power or that. It may be, perhaps, if not a customs union, which would not be easy to carry out, at any rate a half-union, brought about by a reciprocal adjustment of tariffs; the extension of Austrian influence, and probably also of the Austrian occupation, in Turkey, and especially in Macedonia; the joint development of the commerce and the resources of the East; and finally, the entrusting to Austria of the guardianship of the peninsula against Russia. There should follow as a corollary on this the obligation to defend the arrangement jointly against anybody who should oppose it or find fault with it. In short, it may be a highly pacific and businesslike convention, but still one with a couple of million bayonets in the background.

We have now to consider whether this understanding has no ground except in the personal views of the two chancellors, or whether it is solidly founded in the permanent interests of the two empires. No doubt it was much easier for Prince Bismarck to come to terms with a Hungarian than with a pure-blooded Austrian. All good Magyars bless Sadowa, which gave them back their constitution, their autonomy, and their ancient liberties. Nor must we forget that in 1866 Prussia had formed a Hungarian legion to raise Hungary. Thus Count Andrassy had nothing to forget in his colloquy with Prince Bismarck; he had, on the contrary, not a little to remember in the way of service done to his country. Besides, had he not been condemned to death in 1848, and obliged to fly before the Russian armies when they invaded Hungary to force it under the detested yoke of the Austrian despotism? The memories and personal dispositions of Count Andrassy must therefore have facilitated the understanding. But there was more than this; the alliance seemed to be commanded by the clearly understood interest of the two empires. Of this, in the case of Germany, there can be no doubt. A firm alliance with Austria would permit her, if need were, to make head at once against enemies from the westward and from the eastward. By discouraging aggressive projects, such an alliance would be the best guarantee of peace. It is, moreover, far more popular at Berlin than a Russian alliance would be. It may be remembered with what bitterness the Russophil policy of Prince Bismarck two

years ago was attacked both in the parliament and in the press of Germany. The understanding with Austria practically restored the state before 1866, in the time of the Germanic Confederation.

But may not Austria have been outwitted in the bargain? Some of her friends are of this opinion. If the Austro-Hungarian Empire, say they, following the road pointed out by Prince Bismarck, plunges into Oriental affairs, it will come out of them a Slavo-Magyar state, the centre of which will be at Pesth; and the German provinces, irritated at losing their predominance, will turn their eyes to the great German fatherland. No doubt the position of Austria, made up as she is of three different, and at heart hostile, races, is difficult enough. Whatever policy be adopted, stubborn resistance must be met with, and serious danger. But it is necessary to make up the mind to that which offers the least of both. The three chief points which have to be observed are as follows. Austria cannot suffer any Russian aggrandisement in Europe without danger in the future. Secondly, Austria cannot continue to sacrifice to the Germans and the Magyars the Slavs, who are as numerous as the Magyars and the Germans put together. The further progress they make in civilisation, the more conscious do they become of their strength, and if their just demands be not complied with, they will turn to Russia. Lastly, Austria cannot refuse the difficult but glorious task of taking into wardship the Balkan Peninsula. The new States which have been formed there wish to retain their independence. But if they are left to themselves they are as yet too weak to resist the will of Russia. Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia will soon follow their example. Must not they too be protected? Grave disorders will once more break out in Turkey. Who is to quiet them? If it be not Austria, it must be Russia. There is, therefore, no alternative for the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It must either accept the wardship and defence of the Peninsula, or abandon it to Russia. Now this latter alternative would infallibly bring about the triumph of Panslavism. But to accomplish the mission which has been imposed upon her in the East, in face of Russia, necessarily hostile and irritated, Austria needs an ally who can be depended upon, who is close at hand, who has the same interests as herself. And this ally can but be Germany. No advantage could accrue to Germany from the destruction of Austria. The increase in the number of her Roman Catholic subjects would complicate her internal difficulties; and what could she do with the Magyars, the Czechs, and the other Slavonic races? To incorporate them in the Empire, or annex them as subordinate States, would be to make irreconcilable enemies of them. Thus the understanding between Berlin and Vienna has another basis than the mere personal

sympathies of Count Bismarck and Count Andrassy. Germany has need of the friendship of Austria, and Austria cannot dispense with the support of Germany. The new Austrian Chancellor, Baron Haymerle, has been chosen expressly for the purpose of carrying out the policy adopted by his predecessor as to Eastern affairs. He has lived much in the East; he speaks all its languages; he knows all the interests and all the races concerned. He understands the mission and the responsibility of his country in these quarters, and no minister in Europe is more capable of discovering practical and advantageous solutions of the problem. If he is not hampered by paltry private enmities, he will make Austria take in reference to Turkey the position which her self-preservation dictates. For we must not forget that to Austria the question is, "To be or not to be."

Now let us consider how the Austro-German understanding may affect the interests of other European States, and what view disinterested friends of liberty should take of it. Turkey, as she has been left by the Treaty of Berlin, is an impossibility, a monstrosity which cannot live, either from the point of view of geography or of finance or of administrative government. The best government in the world could not extract from these fragments of disorganized territory the means of meeting the difficulties, exterior and interior, which are continually on the increase. The situation is intolerable. The treasury is empty; the Sultan himself is penniless; the officials are not paid; the soldiers, who are equally unpaid, desert or live by plundering the inhabitants. At the spectacle of so many evils it is impossible to avoid a feeling of indignation against Lord Beaconsfield and his Ministry, who insisted upon the continuance of this detestable *régime*. As Mr. Gladstone admirably remarked in one of his articles in August, 1879:—"Upon every contested question that has arisen in the councils of Europe, we have been the champions, not of liberty, but of oppression. Not an inch has been added to free soil through our agency or with our good-will. Servia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Greece, perhaps Roumania—every one of them are smaller through our influence than they would have been without us. For the first time, it can now be said with truth, that in the management of a great crisis of human destiny it would have been better for the interests of justice and of liberty if the British nation had not existed." How can we not desire that an end should be put, in one way or in another, to the miseries of the Turkish *régime*? Who would not greet with enthusiasm even the Cossack's lance as the signal of deliverance? The faults of this *régime* are such that at the moment I write these lines, the English Cabinet is setting its fleet in motion to obtain reforms which the Sultan may pro-

mise, but which by common consent he cannot execute. It is necessary, therefore, either to allow the continuance of oppression and anarchy which are ruining the country and decimating the population—an alternative which seems intolerable even to the English Ministers who have maintained such a state of things—or else to take the administration out of the hands of the Turks. But who is to be put in their place? It can only be Austria, which, occupying Novi-Bazar already, has but a step to make to reach Mitrovitzá, the railway terminus, and so to make her way to Salonica. What a relief for the unfortunate population of Macedonia, to be saved from the violence and the exactions of the Turkish soldiers and officials! It is in the name of humanity that this solution should be demanded—a solution which is at once the only practicable and the only desirable one. Europe cannot any longer tolerate the disorder prevailing in the provinces which have been left to Turkey, a disorder of such a kind that before long it will reduce them to a desert. This would be an advance towards the radical cure of sending the Turk, that is to say of course the Turkish Government, bag and baggage back into Asia. But then what is to be done with Constantinople? The Greeks claim it, but they could not keep possession of it, the whole of the peninsula behind it being occupied by Slavs. These latter must some day or other have it as their natural capital. But obviously the hour for this is not yet come. Meanwhile a mixed occupation by England and Austria seems to be indicated as advisable. Another combination would perhaps be even better, because it would be a step towards the final solution. Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, Bulgaria,¹ and Eastern Roumelia might form a confederation into which Austria might enter as representing Bosnia and Macedonia; and Austria in the name of the confederation might occupy Constantinople, with the support, and if necessary the military co-operation, of England and Germany, while Greece could have all the provinces where the Hellenic element is dominant. This is evidently the solution of the problem which the future has in store. By hastening its realisation the peoples concerned would be spared years of suffering, and Europe would be relieved from constant occasions of disquiet and of conflict.

Lord Salisbury greeted with an explosion of enthusiasm the Austro-German understanding of which "he only knew what the newspapers said." From the point of view of English interests he

(1) These embryo States, or rather provinces, are said to be now forming a league directed against all extensions of Austria in the East. It is difficult to conceive a more senseless policy. Who can free the Slav districts still under Turkish yoke if it be not Austria? She alone can give prosperity and liberty to the Peninsula, and the Czechs ought to recognise their southern brethren of the fact.

was right. But why attempt to show that it was due to his policy? And why speak of it in a tone of menace and bravado towards Russia? Some consideration is surely due to a State with which one is on friendly terms. And besides, Russia, by delivering Bulgaria and laying the axe at the root of the crumbling tree of Ottoman rule, has deserved well of humanity. The commission which Austria has accepted in the East certainly does England a great service. The late war has shown to demonstration that she is not in a position to defend Constantinople against Russia. According to Major Brackenbury, who followed the campaign and whose authority in this matter is great, the Russians might have reached the Sea of Marmora in less than a month. Instead of obstinately determining to take Plevna they should have masked it, and the march of Gourko should have been strongly supported and pushed forward. The Sultan, who, as it was, was preparing for departure, would have crossed into Asia, and Constantinople, a prey to anarchy, would have capitulated. Osman Pasha would not have stirred. The Turks, admirable fighters on their own ground and behind entrenchments, cannot move quickly because they have no commissariat, and still more because the Commander-in-Chief cannot secure obedience to his orders. The subordinate leaders, either from jealousy or want of discipline, act on their own account, and every combined movement becomes frustrated. Now that Turkey exists only in name, and that the base of the Russian army would be the Balkans and not the Danube, Russia could reach Constantinople in a fortnight. The little States on the road would have to give up to her not merely the right of way but also their troops, as Roumania did in the late war, whether they would or no. Thus England would come on the scene too late. It is easy therefore to understand that she looks with satisfaction on the acceptance of the function of guardian of the East by Austria, supported as Austria is by Germany.

Ought France, it will be asked, to be irritated or disquieted at the understanding? As this understanding is before all things a measure of precaution against Russia, France, which has recently shown herself decidedly Turcophile, ought, it would appear, to greet it with satisfaction. But it seems to me that the line of conduct adopted during the last Eastern war by the French journals, especially by the *Journal des Débats* and the *République Française*, has been as much wanting in foresight as in humanity and liberal spirit. They have constantly attacked Russia, who is, after all is said, their only possible ally. They have not had a word to spare for the enslaved races whom the Russian armies came to free. They lavished their sneers upon the admirable speeches of Mr. Gladstone in defence of the rights and liberties of humanity. What was the reason of this

attitude? Was it to please England? But the whole Liberal party of England condemned and abhorred the conduct of their Government. Was it through hatred of Russian despotism? But if Russia does the work of humanity ought she not to be supported? Was it to vex Germany, which was supposed to be the intimate ally of Russia? They may now see how far wrong they were in this respect. The part of the French Republic was clear enough. At any cost she ought to have taken the side of the oppressed populations of Turkey, and to have defended at Berlin, in concert with Russia, the provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano. Now when Austria seems willing to complete the work of emancipation which Russia was prevented from accomplishing, she ought frankly to support Austria. The true policy of France is to support everywhere the cause of justice and the rights of peoples; and it is by doing this that she will retain her legitimate influence. The Austro-German understanding is certainly not directed against France, and the situation is quite different from that of 1875. Then it was thought at Berlin that a Triple Alliance hostile to Germany was about to be formed, and that it was necessary to take time by the forelock and disarm France before her military reorganization was complete. To-day, when the Austrian Alliance gives her a sufficient guarantee, Germany has no interest in disturbing France. Should she do so, she would provoke a terrible struggle, whence even if victorious she would derive no profit. She can take no more French provinces without being confronted with geographical and ethnographical impossibilities. Even as it is, it is said that Prince Bismarck was loth to retain Metz. Therefore, if France does not attack, she will not be attacked.

The Vienna interview seems to have given some alarm to Italy. I can understand that the *Italia Irredenta* party is annoyed at anything which throws difficulties in the way of its senseless demands; but every reasonable Italian must admit that to try to take from Austria provinces which Germany would help her to defend, would be an act of criminal folly. Statesmen of eminence at Rome have said to me that they dreaded to see established across the Adriatic a strong power which might menace their eastern coasts. But why should the point of view of possible war be invariably taken? No State will ever attack Italy except in the case of a Legitimist and Papal restoration in France; and in that case the danger would not come from Austria nor from the Adriatic coast. Besides, if the Turkish provinces were better administered, their natural wealth would be developed, and an important opening for Italian commerce would be given. Considering that Italy owes her existence to the principle of nationality; it is both her duty and her interest to support this principle frankly in the East.

Only Russia has reasons for dissatisfaction with Prince Bismarck's last journey to Vienna; though the Austro-German understanding cannot have surprised her. She knew that it had existed for some years; for, as we have said, Prince Bismarck has made no mystery of it either in his private conversations or in his parliamentary speeches. But the circumstances of its promulgation, and the singular speech of Lord Salisbury, made the matter particularly disagreeable for her. The German official journals gave the world to understand that Prince Bismarck wished to save his country from a great peril, and that the Emperor William had sacrificed to the welfare of his people his private sentiments of affection for his nephew Alexander. There was talk of an offensive and defensive alliance. Finally Lord Salisbury flourished the sword of Germany as if already drawn in defence of the Balkans. Such proceedings are in any case unfriendly and unprofitable, and are, therefore, not reassuring. They seemed to show that there was something more behind. It might even be thought that Germany was repeating against Russia the tactics directed in 1875 against France. A menace might be seen in the armaments of Russia, and demands might be imperatively made for their reduction. The moment, certainly, may seem not ill chosen. Russia has not yet recovered from the losses of the last war, especially in point of finance; and the time has been too short to allow her to remedy the faults which the war revealed in her organization. Germany, on the other hand, is stronger than she has ever been, and Moltke is still at her side, as well as most of the officers who served in the wars of 1866 and 1870. The plan of campaign against Russia has been studied in all its details, and it is pretty generally thought that the putting of it into practice would not encounter any insurmountable difficulties. The Germans could reckon on the support, if only the moral support, of Austria, upon the warm sympathy of the English Government, perhaps upon the neutrality of France. Will such a favourable conjuncture ever again present itself? In the world of politics circumstances change often, and nothing is more dangerous than to threaten without acting. What can be the object of ostentatiously excluding Russia from the triple alliance? Such are the considerations which might inspire a fear that the new departure of German policy may bring on a struggle with her eastern neighbour. But, on the other hand, there are not a few chances on the side of peace. In the first place, Prince Bismarck cannot hope that Russia will begin the attack. She knows that she is for the moment isolated, and that the odds against her would be too heavy. Her interest is, therefore, to conceal her resentment, and to endeavour to patch up again the union of the three Emperors: the Czarevitch is at this moment endeavouring to do this. The Emperor William is

sincerely anxious for peace. When Count Münster recently remarked, at the Guildhall banquet, that no sovereign had peace more at heart than his august master, he spoke the literal truth. He had it at heart in 1875; he has it still more now. His family affection, his gratitude towards his nephew, are not empty words. He may have consented to a more intimate understanding with Austria, even at the risk of wounding the Emperor Alexander; but from this to a declaration of war, without either motive or pretext, is a long step. Yet such a declaration would be necessary, for Russia will not begin. Besides, Austria herself cannot wish for great disturbances on her frontiers, disturbances which would, at the very least, require large concentrations of troops, and would thus make fresh demands on her budget, which labours already under far too great a deficit. Thus then, though the maintenance of peace is by no means certain—and how should it be when all the great powers, by the most monstrous of anachronisms, regard each other as enemies, and employ the greater part of their revenues and all their power of invention in furnishing themselves with the means of mutual destruction?—still it is probable that the Austro-German understanding will be chiefly of force in the economic department of politics. This is the point which remains to be examined.

In a careful essay recently published—*Nuova Antologia*, 15 October—Signor Luzzatti, a distinguished member of the Italian Parliament, has uttered a cry of alarm on this subject. His opinion deserves attention; for, as he is the person usually charged with negotiating Italy's commercial treaties, no one is better informed as to the tariffs of different nations, and their influence upon commercial relations. Signor Luzzatti thinks it impossible to establish a Zollverein between Germany and Austria, there being too many opposing interests and prejudices concerned. But the two Empires might, he thinks, grant each other concessions based on reciprocity, and thus the imports of other States would suffer, meeting as they would lightly taxed German produce in Austria, and lightly taxed Austrian produce in Germany. The huge Austro-German territory, already including Bosnia, and destined perhaps to include the rest of Turkey, would form in the centre of Europe a market self-supplied and closed to other nations. Must the latter take this quietly? Signor Luzzatti thinks not. Italy is in a position to safeguard the general interest by insisting upon treaty rights: indeed, a commercial treaty was signed between Austria and Italy on the 27th of December, 1878, which accords reciprocally the most favoured nation treatment. We may as well quote this article of the treaty in the terms of the original:—

“Art. 6. Quant au montant, à la garantie, et à la perception des droits à l'importation ainsi que par rapport au transit, chacune des deux hautes parties

contractantes s'engagent à faire profiter l'autre de toute faveur que l'une d'elles pourrait accorder à une tierce puissance.

"Toute faveur ou immunité concédée plus tard sous ces rapports à un tiers état sera étendue immédiatement sans compensation et par le fait même à l'autre partie contractante.

"Les dispositions qui précèdent ne dérogent point : (A.) Aux faveurs actuellement accordées ou qui pourraient être accordées ultérieurement à d'autres états limitrophes, pour faciliter le commerce des frontières, ni aux réductions ou franchises de droits de douane accordés seulement pour certaines frontières déterminées ou aux habitants de certains districts; (B.) Aux obligations imposées à une des deux hautes parties contractantes par des engagements d'une union douanière contractée déjà ou qui pourra être contractée à l'avenir."

In virtue of this article Italy can thus claim in her own favour all the advantages which Austria might give to Germany, unless the exception of the letter A were alleged, which would be in gross violation of the spirit of the paragraph, or unless a real zollverein were established between the two empires, which does not seem probable. Signor Luzzatti holds that Italy in the interest of all Europe ought to insist on her rights.

While I bow to the exceptional competence in such matters of this eminent Italian economist, I cannot share his fears. As each obstacle to commerce falls, the freetrader ought to applaud. The Zollverein itself was of incalculable advantage not merely to the countries included in it but to others, for a great market as it grows rich always ends by drawing to itself an increased supply of foreign imports. The Austro-Hungarian tariff of 27th June, 1878, and the German tariff of 1879, resemble each other in many points, and on the whole are less protectionist than the tariffs of France and Italy. Even supposing that a customs union were to be established between the two empires, foreign imports would not meet on entering this new zollverein with any greater obstacles than before. The only real disadvantage would be that they would find themselves in the Austrian market face to face with the competition of German goods more lightly taxed, and this would apply to the East as Austria makes further advances in this direction. But there would be abundant compensation for this in the future. The freedom, complete or even partial, of trade over the immense district stretching from Salonica and Antivari on the south to Hamburg and Königsberg on the north, including the whole of Central Europe, would bring about an immense development of commercial relations, of industrial activity, of wealth, and of civilisation. Now a rich country, even when contrary to its own interest it maintains an antiquated and exorbitant tariff, offers a vast opening for foreign produce, because there are always some products which it needs and for which it can pay. The example of English commerce proves this in the most convincing manner. The value of English goods exported into France amounted for 1877 to £25,663,602, and to

Germany to £28,950,333, while for Austria the total is only £1,397,322. Let no nation be jealous of measures which enrich its neighbours. The more they have the more they will spend, and the more foreign goods they will import. Certainly Bosnia buys now-a-days neither Italian silks nor fine English woollens, nor *articles de Paris* from France. Let Bosnia develop her natural resources, and notwithstanding the Austrian tariff, foreign goods will be in demand there. I think therefore that any treaty which tends to facilitate the commercial relations between Austria and Germany will in the long-run be equally advantageous to Europe at large.

Let us take a lofty view of the matter, a view remote from mere national prejudice. The Austro-German understanding has two sides, one political, the other economical. From the political side it is probably—I can hardly say certainly—a pledge of peace; for it establishes under a new form the old Germanic Confederation which put Central Europe in so strong a position. By covering the flanks of Germany it allows her to give up the plans of aggression to which she was urged by the fear of being attacked on three sides at once. In the East its effect must be to complete the work of emancipation so gloriously begun by Russia. We must have done with the Turkish régime, which is now putting the last touches to the ruin of all the provinces where the support of England has unluckily maintained it. Now, without handing everything over to Russia, it is not possible to get rid of the Turks, if England and Austria are not ready to administer to their inheritance. To assure to the Slav populations liberty, autonomy, and well-being, is the object to be attained, and the only practical means of attaining it is to extend the influence of Austria. As for the economical side of the matter, if a customs union, more or less complete, be established between Germany and Austria, the partisans of free trade can only rejoice at seeing it reign throughout Central Europe, from the Adriatic and the Ægean to the Baltic and the North Sea.

EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

LAND LAW REFORM.

"THE Land question is coming to the front." The key-note of the cry has been struck by the leader of the Liberal party in one of his weightiest and most effective speeches. It will be re-echoed in hundreds of addresses throughout the country at the next election. Already the subject is being discussed from different points of view at every public meeting, from a Trades Union Congress to an agricultural dinner. Yet I suspect that of the speakers who talk glibly about Free Land not a few would be somewhat puzzled to say what the phrase means. Indeed, to most Englishmen, what is called the Land Question is a strange medley, of which the three main ingredients are primogeniture, ground game, and very long lawyers' bills. A vague notion that land in England cannot be made to change hands without cost and delay, and that a good deal of it cannot be made to change hands at all, coupled with a strong impression that the Agricultural Holdings Act has left the tenant farmer just where he was before, probably represents the sum total of all that they know or think on the question. But of the best mode of remedying these evils, or whether they are even capable of remedy, they probably have formed and can form no opinion whatever.

Let us begin with an aspect of the question which will come home to most of us. A man wants to buy a house or a farm. The bargain is struck and the money is ready. But weeks, and possibly months, may pass before he can be certain whether the seller is able to make him the owner of the thing he has bought. Of the possible cost of the transaction, until it is completed, even his own lawyer—be he ever so honest—can give him but a vague hint. If having gone through the tedious and expensive process of investigating the title, he wishes to borrow money on his purchase, he finds that his mortgagee insists upon going through exactly the same investigation over again, and on making him pay for what he feels to be a needless and irksome repetition. Nay, more, if he wishes to pay off his mortgage debt, he is not allowed to do so without having to disburse a handsome sum for the privilege of getting back his own property. Yet with all these precautions there is probably no civilised country in which a mortgage of landed property carries with it so little real protection against fraud, as it does in England. Certainly it would be difficult to point to any other place where a man could, like the notorious Downs, mortgage the same property to fourteen different persons, each of whom believed it to be unencumbered, and could, when convicted, plead in extenuation of the crime, that the law had made such frauds so easy that the temptation to commit them was almost irresistible.

Lest the picture I have drawn should be thought exaggerated, let me quote a few sentences from a speech made in 1859 by the present Lord Chancellor, then Sir Hugh Cairns, in the House of Commons on the introduction of a Bill to simplify the title to landed estates in England :—

“Suppose,” he said, “I buy an estate to-day, I spend a year, or two, or three years, in ascertaining whether the title is a good one. I am at last satisfied. I pay the expense—the considerable expense—which is incurred in addition to the price which I have paid for my estate, and I obtain a conveyance of my estate. About a year after I desire to raise money upon mortgage of this estate. I find some one willing to lend me money, provided I have a good title to the land. The man says, ‘It is very true that you bought this estate, and that you investigated the title; but I cannot be bound by your investigation of the title, nor can I be satisfied by it.’ Perhaps he is a trustee who is lending money which he holds upon trust. He says: ‘My solicitor must examine the title, and my counsel must advise upon it.’ And then, as between me, the owner of the estate, and the lender of the money, there is a repetition of the same process which took place upon my purchase of the estate, and, consequently, the same expense is incurred as when I bought it; and for the whole of that I, the owner of the estate, and the borrower of the money, must pay. Well, that is not all. Months or years after all this is completed, from circumstances, I find I must sell my estate altogether. I find a person willing to become a purchaser. The intending purchaser says, ‘No doubt you thought this was a good title when you bought this estate, and no doubt this lender of money thought he had a very good security when he lent his money; but you are now asking me to pay my money. I must be satisfied that the title is a good one. My solicitor must look into it, and my Counsel must advise upon it.’ Then again commence abstracts, examinations, objections, difficulties, correspondence, and delay. I am the owner of the estate, and I must pay substantially for the whole of that, because although the expense there is paid in the first instance by the purchaser, of course in the same proportion as that expense is borne by him in the same proportion will abate the price which he will give for the estate.”¹

It would be impossible to add anything to this picture, but it may be questioned whether the amount of these charges, though in the case of small purchases sometimes almost prohibitive, is as great an evil as their uncertainty. For, thanks to the proposterous principle on which conveyancing costs are taxed, the measure of payment is not the value of the work done, but the length and number of the documents prepared. The result is that the client is left practically at the mercy of the solicitor, and one lawyer may, without much difficulty, entitle himself to charge £200 for a result which a more honest or a less timid practitioner would have obtained for £20.²

Now it is inconceivable that all these drawbacks should have no effect upon the marketable value of land. Sir Hugh Cairns, in the

(1) Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, N.S. vol. clii. pp. 281—2.

(2) Mr. W. J. Farrer, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Land Titles and Transfer, mentions a case in which three ladies employed three different solicitors to transact some business relating to landed property in which they were jointly interested. Though “the business was exactly and precisely the same in each case,” the bill of the first was taxed at £17, that of the second at £18, that of the third at £223.

speech which I have quoted, cited a high authority to show that, under a really improved system of land transfer, "every estate in England might be made to sell for at least three years more purchase." The statement was certainly not an exaggerated one. It was addressed to an assembly, nearly every member of which either was or hoped to be a landowner. It meant in the case of a man who owned an estate worth £20,000 a present of £2,000 added to the selling price of the estate. It meant an addition of many millions to the aggregate market value of the fee-simple of England. Yet tempting as the prospect was, scarcely any part of it can be said to have been realised. Bills, it is true, have been introduced, Acts have been passed, Royal Commissions and Parliamentary Committees have reported again and again. But, if we except two valuable Acts passed in 1874 for simplifying sales and purchases of land, and shortening the time during which claims against real property may be made, the question of land law reform remains just where Sir Hugh Cairns left it in 1859. At no time, indeed, has the fall in rents, and the consequent depreciation in the value of landed estates, made the subject so vitally interesting to the landowner; at no time has so much been said about the importance of enabling working men to invest their savings, cheaply and easily, in the purchase of small plots of ground. Yet so profound and general is the distrust of every proposed remedy, that the most valuable contribution which the most competent authority could make to the subject would probably excite far less public interest than the controversy on Civil Service trading, or the personal experiences of a convicted felon.

Nor are the causes of this apparent indifference difficult to trace. The land laws of England are wrapt in a fog so dense as to make the subject intensely unattractive to the general public. Unlike our commercial code, they have their origin in remote and semi-barbarous times, and are overlaid by a mass of mediæval rubbish, a legacy from that wonderful Norman race, who to the true instincts of feudalism united a perfect genius for legal quirks and quibbles, and who having made themselves masters of the land of England, proceeded to write their laws upon it in characters which centuries of change and progress have not effaced. It is not surprising that under such circumstances the technical knowledge, without which no law reformer ought to approach such a subject, should have become the monopoly of very few persons. How many, it may be asked, even among practising barristers, could pass the most rudimentary examination in the laws of perpetuity and entail! But experience shows that the priest who holds the key of the mystery is not always in a hurry to unlock the door. In justice also to the generation of real property lawyers which is passing away, it may be said that they were brought up in a school which regarded the fabric of our

land laws as resting upon foundations as immutable as the law of gravitation or the rotatory movement of the planets. The mere suggestion that a man might, as in some of the States of America, pass land by the simple words, "I, A. B., sell to you, C. D., for £1,000 (the receipt of which I hereby acknowledge) the lands coloured pink on the map copied from the Ordnance Survey, sheet——, number——, and drawn at the foot of this piece of parchment, and I warrant you against the claims of all persons deriving title through me," instead of by a mass of half-mechanical jargon covering two or three skins of parchment, would in their eyes savour of something like profanity. As the late Mr. Joseph Kay, one of the few practical lawyers who have had the courage to discuss the question from a popular point of view, observes:—

"The subject of the Land Laws is surrounded by so many technicalities, the law is so difficult even for lawyers to understand, such a vast literature of rubbish has grown up around it, so many thousands of cases have been argued and reported upon its meaning, and lawyers are so unwilling to put their own hands to the work of reform, that it is not wonderful that the most singular mistakes should be made by many public speakers and that the real reforms which are needed should still be wrapt in so much obscurity."¹

The impatience excited by so apparently hopeless a prospect has given rise to a demand which has really done not a little to retard the progress of land law reform. Nothing is more common than to hear people ask why land should not be as easily transferred as stock. A great living statesman once complained that if he wanted to invest £1,000 in Consols, he could do so in two minutes at a cost of 25s.; whereas if he wanted to invest the same sum in a farm, he might have to wait a couple of months for the completion of his bargain, and spend £200 or £300 upon the process. He forgot, of course, that land is a concrete and stock an abstraction; that stock possesses no boundaries, conceals no minerals, supports no game, pays no tithes, admits of no easements, is let to no tenant, and hampered with no adjoining owners. He forgot, too, that £1 of stock is as good as another; so that if half-a-dozen persons happen to be the joint holders of a given quantity of Consols, they can effect a partition of their interests by performing the simplest of division sums. The result of this inherent difference in the nature of the two things has been that, while stock is everywhere transferred by the simple expedient of substituting the name of the transferee for that of the transferor, the conveyance of land has usually required, or been supposed to require, the more cumbrous machinery of a deed or instrument setting out a more or less prolix history of the transaction, with the conditions to which it is made subject, and the guarantees by which it is to be accompanied. This fact should be borne in mind, because without doing so it is im-

(1) *Kay's Free Trade in Land*, p. 23.

possible to understand the conflict between the two rival systems of land registration which has so long divided the legal profession—the one recording each disposition of the land as it takes place, while the other aims at presenting the net result of those dispositions in the form of a simple certificate of ownership.

But though the transfer of land cannot, from the nature of the two things, be entirely assimilated to the transfer of stock, it is certain that much may be done towards effecting that object. For this purpose, however, two things are needed: first, the land itself must be capable of easy and certain identification; and, secondly, the title which it is sought to register must be itself clear and simple. In other words, the ownership of the land, or rather the right to deal with it, like the right to deal with Consols, must be gathered up into one or two hands, and not, as is often the case in England, split up among a number of persons, each of whom is in a position, so to speak, to put a spoke in the wheel, and prevent or delay the proposed transfer. If, as not unfrequently happens, some of these persons are infants or lunatics, or in Honolulu or the Fiji Islands, or unborn or unascertained, the difficulty of making a title may become almost insuperable. But the first stumbling-block, and, strange to say, that which might most easily be removed, lies in what is called by lawyers the identification of the parcels. It is hardly credible that, owing to the loose and dilatory way in which the recent Ordnance surveys have been carried out, there are still many parts of England, such as the populous and important county of Worcester, which cannot be said to have been officially surveyed at all; and thus, for the sake of a few thousand pounds, the land-owners of England are deprived of a benefit which those of nearly every other civilised country enjoy. In the meantime, it is evident that under such a condition of things as at present exists in England to speak of assimilating the transfer of land to the transfer of stock is, to say the least, premature. On the other hand, in a newly settled country, like Australia, where both the requisites which I have pointed out are to be found, the process becomes comparatively easy. The land is officially mapped out in blocks, and every title starts with an unimpeachable grant from the Crown. Settlements are rare, entails unknown, and the devolution of title following upon the original grant consists mainly of simple transfers from one hand to another, either by way of sale or mortgage. It is obvious that such a state of things presents an exceptionally favourable field for the trial of the system of land transfer known as Registration of Titles, which is, in fact, little more than the application to land of the process used for transferring stock or ships. That such a system is in the abstract preferable to any other is obvious enough. Instead of "dragging a lengthening chain" of title-deeds about with him, the fortunate purchaser of land under such a system is told that he may

commit his parchments to the flames, and rely for his evidence of ownership upon a certificate which may be carried in his waistcoat pocket. For many years its advantages have been tested in Australia and New Zealand, where it is generally known as Torrens's System of Land Transfer, from the name of its distinguished author. A man wanting to borrow money or sell land, accompanied by the intending mortgagee or purchaser, walks into an office in Adelaide or Sydney with his certificate of title in his pocket. He employs no lawyer, and executes no deed. An official is summoned, an entry is made, and a small fee paid, and at the end of five or ten minutes the transaction is complete, the land effectually pledged or sold, and the money in the borrower's or vendor's pocket. No wonder that such a process should excite the admiration and envy of an English country gentleman, who, if he wants to borrow £2,000 on Dale Farm, has to submit to a hostile investigation of his title, which may last two or three months, and to pay two solicitors' bills into the bargain.

The success achieved by Torrens's Act led to the trial of a similar experiment in England. In 1862 Lord Westbury brought in a Bill for the establishment of a Register of Land Titles, which afterwards became law under the name of The Transfer of Land Act, 1862. As might have been expected from the marvellous power of elucidation possessed by that remarkable man, his exposition of his own scheme was a masterpiece of clearness. Before his magic touch difficulties melted away like a compound substance under the influence of a strong dissolvent. Conveyancers trembled at the prospect of a state of things in which deeds and parchments were to become things of the past, and the House of Lords gazed spell-bound on the picture of a great nobleman walking about his estates, and refreshing himself from time to time with the perusal of a *résumé* of his title-deeds reduced to the size of a *carte de visite*. But the measure was a success on paper only, and in little more than five years Lord Westbury was called upon to preside over a Royal Commission charged with the duty of inquiring into the causes of the failure of his own Act. Those causes, indeed, were obvious enough. The Act, unlike Sir R. Torrens's Act, provided not merely for the registration of the simple fact of ownership, but of all the various charges and incidents which might affect the property. Thus the register, instead of containing a plain statement of ownership which everybody could understand, came to resemble an old palimpsest, in which a dozen different titles met and intersected each other at every turn. Such a system obviously failed to meet the very first object of land registration—simplicity of title for the purposes of disposition, a fact which was clearly pointed out by the Royal Commission in their able and comprehensive report. Warned by the failure of Lord Westbury's Act, they undertook to recommend the establishment of a new kind of register of titles, more nearly allied to that

which had succeeded so well in the Australian colonies; and in 1873 a Bill, mainly based upon that report, was introduced by Lord Selborne into the House of Lords. The Bill may be roughly described as an attempt to enforce, by a sort of mild compulsion, the gradual registration of all English titles. As might have been expected, it was vehemently opposed, and it is at least doubtful whether the country was ripe for so sweeping a change. Perhaps, too, even so courageous and skilful a law reformer as Lord Selborne has shown himself to be, might in future hesitate to impose upon every purchaser and mortgagee in this country a mode of dealing with his property which recent experience shows that not one such purchaser or mortgagee in ten thousand adopts of his own accord. Be this as it may, when the measure was reintroduced by Lord Cairns in 1874, it was thought necessary or judicious to exempt from its compulsory operation all lands whose value did not exceed £300. To maintain such a halting-place was obviously impossible, and when the Bill reappeared in 1875 it had become a purely permissive measure, and in that shape it passed through Parliament, after a great deal of criticism and with very few amendments.

The Land Transfer Act, 1875, was an ingenious attempt to adapt to England the South Australian system, the principle of which was, as we have seen, to give to every registered owner of land the powers of disposition possessed by a registered owner of stock or ships. But here a preliminary difficulty presented itself. To subject every claimant for registration to a thorough examination of his title would have involved the very delay and expense which it was the object of the Act to obviate; while, on the other hand, to give a Parliamentary title to any person who claimed to be registered as owner, even if his claim was fortified by apparent or actual possession, would in a country like England, where possession is one thing and title another, have amounted in many cases to virtual confiscation. To meet this difficulty, the Act of 1875, like Lord Selborne's Bill, provided for the registration not only of indefeasible titles, but of titles depending upon mere possession, which, it was to be hoped, might in the absence of hostile claims ripen in the course of some thirty years or more into indefeasible titles. Unfortunately the public failed to appreciate a boon, the benefits of which were more or less problematical, and could only be fully realised by a somewhat remote posterity. The maxim, *Arbores serat quæ alteri sæculo prosint*, is one which has never commended itself to the practical Englishman, who likes to see a return for his money, and the number of "possessory" titles registered under the Act might be counted upon the ten fingers of the Registrar. Nor was the Act in other respects more successful. The total number of titles of all kinds registered under it has barely exceeded fifty, and the latest return shows that the applications to the Office at present do not average one in two months,

a number absolutely infinitesimal when compared with the titles which are said to change hands in England and Wales in a single day. In a word the Act, though as a piece of Parliamentary draughtsmanship well-nigh perfect, has been from the first to all intents and purposes a dead letter. It has failed because it was an attempt to put a new patch upon an old garment; to transplant into a soil choked by the weedy and tangled growth of centuries of feudalism and pedantry, the product of a democratic community, without a history, without ancestors, and without lawyers.

To ascertain and report upon the causes of this failure was the first duty of the Select Committee, over which I was called upon to preside. They sat for upwards of a year, and examined nearly forty witnesses. The result of this part of their labours may be summed up in a single sentence of the Report adopted by a majority of the Committee:—"Simplicity of transfer to be of any value presupposes simplicity of title, and to legislate for the registration of titles without as a preliminary step simplifying the titles to be registered, is to begin at the wrong end." If any proof of this self-evident proposition were needed, it would be found in the fact that in the case of what are called "known titles," sales of land may be effected in England almost as quickly and cheaply as in Australia. It was in this direction therefore, towards which some progress had already been made by the two Acts to which I have referred, that the labours of the Committee were turned, and they ended with several recommendations which, if they have no other merit, have at least that of directness and simplicity. To complete the all-important work of surveying every county in England, so as to make each house and field capable of immediate and unquestionable identification—to clothe instruments relating to land in the simple language of every-day life, instead of disguising them in that of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth—to pay solicitors upon a principle which would no longer put a premium upon mere verbiage—to vest the freeholds, like the leaseholds, of a deceased person in some ascertained person, instead of leaving them at haphazard to devolve upon a child in the nursery, a lunatic in an asylum, or a gold digger in Australia—to substitute simple charges upon land, defeasible in case of repayment, for the unwieldy machinery of mortgages and reconveyances—to reduce still further the time fixed for the commencement of titles—to get rid of "constructive notice" and the abomination known as the Middlesex Register—and to establish in convenient centres really well-arranged registers of all dealings with land, furnished with indexes enabling a person of ordinary intelligence to pick out all the charges affecting the title in a few minutes, with proper provisions for utilising the result of previous searches, so as to obviate the necessity of repeating the same process upon every fresh transaction: all these are suggestions so homely and obvious, that they

are hardly likely to find favour with a generation of law reformers, who have expended as much energy upon impracticable schemes of land registration as any mediæval alchemist ever bestowed on the discovery of the philosopher's stone. Yet, according to competent witnesses, one of these suggestions alone, the substitution of simple charges for our present "legal mortgages," would effect a saving of several millions a year. And I may be permitted to doubt whether, until the day when some steps have been taken in the direction pointed out by the Committee, any register of titles can be successfully worked in England, while, perhaps, if that day ever arrives, it may be found that such a register is no longer wanted. On the other hand, the stock objection so often urged to the registration of deeds—that it would stereotype complexities of title—would disappear if there were no complexities to stereotype.¹ Meantime it may safely be predicted that any further attempt to put Australian wine into English bottles, like all other legislation which ignores existing facts, will end, as such attempts have hitherto done, in failure and disappointment.

But behind these questions lies another and a much more difficult one, with which the Committee did not venture to grapple. Let it be assumed that every acre in England which is held in fee-simple could be made as easily transferable as a block of land in South Australia, there would still remain a very large proportion of land in the country which has as little chance of coming into the market as Blenheim or Strathfieldsaye—I refer to what are called family estates. By this I do not mean that such estates are in the strict sense of the word unsaleable. It is a fact, too often ignored by writers and speakers on the subject, that every well-drawn settlement contains a full power of sale enabling its trustees (with the consent of the life-tenant if of full age) to sell, or let, or otherwise deal with the settled property, and where such a power does not exist it can be readily supplied on application to the Chancery Division. But to possess a power is one thing, and to exercise it another. A sort of educated instinct, as imperious as law itself, has, for the most part, impressed upon such trustees a notion, amounting almost to a religious belief, that they are placed there rather to preserve than to alienate family property, and the very idea of selling old acres for so vulgar an object as that of increasing the income or relieving the embarrassments of a crippled tenant for life, would strike most of them as little short of treason or sacrilege. Moreover the settlement almost invariably requires the proceeds of the land sold to be re-invested in other lands; so that practically the interposition of a power of sale

(1) It is singular that in the United States of America, where registration of deeds is almost everywhere compulsory, and all dealings with land are exceedingly cheap and simple, no complaint is made that such registration makes the transfer of land more difficult or expensive.

amounts to little or nothing, and the family estate devolves from father to son with almost as much regularity as if it had been made inalienable by law. As, however, a great deal of misconception prevails on this subject outside the legal profession, it may be well to explain how this result is brought about.

It is commonly believed by persons who ought to know better that—owing to the operation of our law of entail—land in England is subject to fetters from which personal property is free. Except to a limited extent this is not the case. A tenant in tail in possession may acquire the absolute ownership of his estates by the simplest possible process—that of executing and enrolling what is called a Disentailing Deed. Even if he be only the expectant, instead of the actual, owner, he can by a similar process defeat the claims of his own issue; though, in this case, the rights of the person popularly called “the next in the entail” can only be got rid of by the aid of the previous tenant for life, or, as he is called in legal language, the Protector of the Settlement. To illustrate this: if Lord A. is life-tenant and his eldest son George is the next tenant in tail, and in default of issue of George the estate is given over to John, the second son, and his issue, and so on to the other younger sons and their issue in succession, George, in the way I have pointed out, can, the day after his father’s death, sell the estate out and out to a stranger; and even during his father’s lifetime can, without the latter’s consent, dispose of it in such a way as to defeat the rights of his own issue. But he cannot without that consent get rid of the rights of John and his remaining brothers, and their descendants. With this single exception, however, the restrictions upon the indefinite limitation of real and personal estate are exactly the same. The law of England only allows either kind of property to be tied up during the life of some person actually in existence, and for twenty-one years after his death. How then, it may be asked, does it happen that while personal property is constantly changing hands, land is preserved in the same family for generations, if not for centuries?

Let us take the case which I put just now. A nobleman, or other great landowner, is, under his marriage settlement, tenant for life of large estates, which at his death will devolve on his eldest son, as tenant in tail. If events were allowed to take their natural course, this son would, at his father’s death, subject to any charges which the latter might have had power to make, be practically as free to deal with his ancestral acres as a barrister with his savings, or a Manchester manufacturer with his stock-in-trade. To avert so terrible a catastrophe, his wings must be clipped before he has an opportunity of using them. Immediately on coming of age, or at latest on his marriage, the expectant heir, lured by the prospect of an immediate and certain income, or, it may be, already alive to the maxim that *Noblesse oblige*, is induced to concur in what is called a

re-settlement, by which he is himself reduced to the position of a life-tenant, and the estate is reloaded with fresh charges in favour of all manner of persons born or unborn. The practical upshot of this is, that on his father's death the son succeeds to a diminished income, as well as to a curtailed interest. But the great object of the family is attained, and the estates are tied up for another generation until the next tenant in tail comes of age, when the same process is repeated, and with the same result.

It is not my present intention to discuss at length the merits or drawbacks of a custom which is alternately extolled as the mainstay, and abused as the bane, of English society. But most of us are familiar with particular instances in which its practical consequences have been most disastrous. Mr. Kay gives a lively sketch of a case which came within his personal knowledge. A great nobleman was the tenant for life of a large and valuable estate. He took to reckless and extravagant courses, gambled, lost money, and eventually fled to the Continent, where he lived between forty and fifty years. During all that time the property was in the hands of a money-lender, who, knowing that he would lose all as soon as his debtor died, cut the timber, ground down the tenants, and let the mansion-house go to rack and ruin.

"The estate," he adds, "was damaged more and more, year by year. The farmers had no leases and no security for any expenditure; there was no one to support the schools or the church, or to look after the large village of labourers upon the property. All social progress and all social prosperity upon the estate were put an end to. The farm buildings fell into decay, the land was not properly drained or cultivated, the plantations were injured, the mansion became dilapidated; and all this was caused by the deeds which the law had allowed the lord and his heir to execute."¹

There are few of us, I suspect, whose personal observations will not enable them to verify this picture. Nor is it true to say, as is often done, that such a man is only his own enemy. It is an axiom which no practical agriculturist will controvert, that the returns which can be obtained from any given quantity of land are in exact proportion to the amount of capital expended upon it. But as it is obviously for the interest of the community that every acre should be made as productive as possible, it follows that no system can be really beneficial which hands over a large proportion of the land to the tender mercies of a limited owner more or less crippled or impoverished, or still worse, of some usurer or loan society, whose interest it is to spend as little and get as much as possible during their precarious period of tenure.

If, indeed, this were all, it might be plausibly answered that if our present territorial system imposes upon us some landlords who are gamblers and spendthrifts, it gives us a much larger proportion of

(1) Kay's *Free Trade in Land*, pp. 30, 31.

men of wealth and intelligence, and that, as a matter of fact, under that system far larger returns are obtained from each acre of our soil than the poor and uneducated peasant of Normandy or Picardy, with all his thrift and industry, is able to extract from his narrow strip of tillage. But the question has its social as well as its economical side, and of late years that large and increasing body of Englishmen who believe that the prosperity of a nation is bound up with "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," and who for years have been contrasting the lot of the thrifty and self-reliant peasant of Switzerland or Belgium, and that of the Dorsetshire labourer with no solace but the beershop, and no refuge in old age but the parish workhouse, have been steadily coming round to the conviction that the real hope of England lies in the growth of small proprietorships. Those who, like myself, have seen the difference which the possession of a freehold cottage and half an acre of garden makes in the habits and character—nay, in the very expression and bearing, of a Denbighshire collier, or a Merionethshire quarryman, will need no additional arguments to convince them of this great social and political truth. But to say that you do not interfere with the multiplication of small proprietorships by tying up half the land in England for the exclusive benefit of a few thousand families, is as absurd as to contend that the circulation of money would not be impeded by making it impossible to get change for a five-pound note. Nor can the fact, so often repeated, that millions of acres are sold annually in Great Britain be deemed a conclusive answer, so long as whole tracts of country exist where, from the fact of every square yard being in the hands of two or three great families, a working man would find as much difficulty in buying land as in buying Imperial Tokay. Indeed, the experience of the Irish Encumbered Estates Court and the Irish Church Commission, as well as that of nearly all foreign countries, to say nothing of the reason of the thing, shows that the effect of bringing large quantities of property into the market is to give a chance to small capitalists, and to stimulate that appetite for the acquisition of land which is natural to all classes of men. In other words, the first step towards bringing small properties within reach of the poorer classes is to make sales easy and transfers cheap.

Where, then, is the remedy to be found? The popular notion which used to find expression in working men's meetings and Trades Union Congresses, that primogeniture is at the root of the evil, and that all that is wanted is that the land, like the money, of a man dying without a will should be divided amongst all his children, is based upon a partial misconception. Primogeniture, it may be observed, is rather the embodiment of the prevailing sentiment of the country than the cause of the concentration of land in a few hands. As a matter of fact, too, if Mr. Potter's Intestacy Bill were passed

to-morrow, it would not affect one large family estate in a thousand, for the owners of such estates seldom or never get a chance of dying intestate. Indeed, this very fact makes the maintenance of the present law more unjustifiable, for its operation is practically confined to persons in the middle or lower middle classes of life, who have no ambition to found a family, and who, if they could be consulted as to the destination of their land, would almost certainly desire that it should go, like their personal estate, to the support of their wives and children. At the same time, as was shrewdly remarked by one of the speakers during the recent debate on that measure, we hardly know how much the habits of a nation are indirectly influenced by its laws, and it is at least possible that if Parliament were to make an inroad upon the present law of primogeniture, testators and settlers might gradually become inclined to follow the lead of the Legislature. The truth is, that in such matters law and custom act and re-act upon each other, and that you cannot change the one without insensibly affecting the other.

Another palliative of a different kind is that suggested by the President of the Incorporated Law Society, Mr. Tertius Lawrence, in the able and interesting address recently delivered by him at Cambridge. Mr. Lawrence, though disposed to take an optimist view of our land laws, suggests several valuable reforms, the most important of which, perhaps, is that the Chancery Division should have power to order the sale of settled estates on the application of the tenant for life only. He further proposes that every settlement of land should be treated as giving the trustees by implication a full power to sell the land. But, as I have already pointed out, such powers are inserted in ninety-nine settlements out of a hundred, but at present with very little result; and it seems idle to create powers unless you can insure their exercise. For my part, I believe that a far more drastic remedy is required; but before discussing it seriously, it will be well to calculate the cost. In plain English we cannot eat our cake and keep it. We cannot combine "free trade in land"—to use a somewhat inaccurate expression, but one which has acquired a popular and intelligible meaning—with that old doctrine about the sanctity of ancestral acres, which for centuries has been viewed as the groundwork of English aristocratic society. It will be for Parliament and the country to decide which of these two things they prefer to have, for it is certain they cannot have both.

I am far from wishing to take away from a landed proprietor the power of making a binding provision for his family after his death. Such a proposal would not only be very mischievous, but very unfair, because it would place a landowner in a position worse than that of a manufacturer or a professional man, who is allowed by law to tie up his Consols or his Railway Stock for the benefit of his wife and children. At the same time we must not ignore the fact that

there is a twofold difference between settled land and settled stock. In the first place the settlement of stock does not affect its saleable properties, nor would even the withdrawal of a large quantity of stock from the market sensibly influence any particular area or locality. In the second place there are no considerations of public policy, which make it undesirable that stock should be locked up for an indefinite period in the hands of a spendthrift or a money-lender. The ownership of stock confers no special privileges, involves no special duties, and necessitates no special outlay. Still, no considerations of public policy could justify a law which would enable A. and his creditors to appropriate the property of B., C., and D. What is really wanted is some cheap and simple process in the nature of that established by the Irish Landed Estates Act, by which real estate, in the hands of limited owners, might at their instance, or that of their incumbrancers, be turned into money, and the proceeds duly applied and invested for the benefit of all persons interested in the land. The result would be that the land would be set free, the income of the limited owner largely increased, and the claims of all other interested persons transferred from the land to the purchase money or the securities in which it was invested. Such a machinery, though on somewhat too costly a scale, already exists, and is daily put into motion in the case of land taken by railway and other public companies, nor have I ever heard that it has caused any complaint or worked any injustice.

It is needless to say that the foregoing necessarily brief observations by no means exhaust the subject of which I have undertaken to treat. The whole of the law regulating the relations between landlord and tenant, including especially the laws of distress and fixtures, the law of rating, the laws relating to game; all these are subjects which no one who seeks to deal with the land question as a whole could safely ignore. But these are but the offshoots from the parent tree, whose branches have overshadowed and whose roots have struck deep into the congenial soil of English society. The difficulties of attacking the growth of so many centuries are indeed great—to those who know the mass of prejudice, and the *vis inertiae* which the most urgent and moderate of land law reforms have hitherto encountered, they may seem insuperable. But we know that in England public opinion, when it is once set going, moves with a force and velocity which no one could have predicted, and of the direction in which it is at present moving there can be no doubt. Let us hope that the work, when it has to be done, may fall into the hands of men, armed with that knowledge which a study of the subject in its practical bearings can alone give, and at the same time untrammelled by the professional and other prejudices which such a study too often engenders.

GEORGE OSBORNE MORGAN.

CARLYLE'S POLITICAL DOCTRINES.

WHEN the inner history of a nation comes to be written, it is a difficult yet necessary task to estimate, among the forces which have moulded its progress, the character and influence of Prophets. The records of most nations are adorned with the names of men of truly prophetic nature, interpreters of strange, rare thoughts, revealers of sudden and unlooked-for depths in human personality, *sacri vates*, who have cast new lights on the meaning of their times, and lifted up their voices in earnest denunciation or solemn warning. It is not indeed easy to probe such men, or weigh them in the critical balances; for it is the essence of their character to escape the logical dissecting-knife, and to triumph over ingenious analyses. Yet they all have much the same traits—a certain intolerance of their immediate surroundings, a certain visionariness of speculation, a retrograde and reactionary impulse, a generous weariness as of those born out of due time. A Plato, in the Greek world, framing ideal aristocracies at a time when matters were ripe for a Macedonian despot; a Mahomet talking of the one God, when the Korish, keepers of the Caabah, and all the official superintendents of the Idols were powerful in the land; a Dante with his mystic visions and bitter indignation against the Florentine magistrates; a Ruskin with all his grand devotion to earnestness and moral purpose in Art—names such as these flash out here and there in the annals of most nationalities. They are terrible talkers, with a magnificent power of oratory and affluence of style, sometimes beating their wings against the bars of Destiny, and losing the self-mastery and control of genius in wild rhapsody and passionate rhetoric. And the irony of history generally puts them in contrast with some small, practical men of the world, who cannot understand their fervour and are inclined to laugh at their enthusiasms. Plato expounding his ideal polity before an astonished Dionysius of Syracuse, or Mahomet bursting into tears before his good, sensible uncle, Abu Thaleb, who begged him the while to be quiet, or Dante at the court of Della Scala without power to be merry or to amuse, undoubtedly appeared strange, half-insane characters to their audience: just as Ruskin, brought to the æsthetic bar for his manifold sins against High Art by Mr. Poynter, is a spectacle which we know not whether to call sad or laughable. History is full of such contrasts.

It will not be easy for the future historian of our time to put Carlyle into right perspective in a picture of the modern age. For he, too, is undoubtedly a Prophet in the sense which has been

described; he has the same kind of reactionary ardour, the same keen vision into the heart of things, the same apparent unintelligibility. He lays the historian under the same obligation to discover his real effect and influence, to find the underlying tendency among much admirable yet unnecessary verbiage. His true biographer will have the difficult task to weigh the exact value of that which, because it appeals to the imagination rather than to the judgment, is precisely the most imponderable quality that can be conceived. And perhaps his hardest toil will be expended over the practical, rather than the theoretical and ethical sides of Carlyle's philosophy, to see what issue in the shape of definite political theory came of all the study of German metaphysics, and the openly professed hatred of things as they are, which characterize the unique personality of the English Idealist.

The influence of the thoughts of Carlyle over the modern intelligence already threatens to be an evanescent one. Whether this be accepted by utilitarians as the best criticism on the pretensions of the system, or whether it be capable of an historical explanation, the fact remains that the young men, for instance, in our universities, are not in the habit of reading Carlyle in the present day with a title of the same fervour which he excited among the generation which preceded them. The case stands with him very much as it does with Coleridge. At a time when English philosophy was, if remarkable for anything, chiefly remarkable for a sort of sublimated common-sense, it was a striking and paradoxical thing that Coleridge and Carlyle should so highly extol the German philosophy in comparison with that of native growth. But one of the latest phases of thought in England is the recrudescence of Kant and the Germans; and whether by means of a translation or manifold commentaries, the modern philosophical student can quote his critique of Pure Reason, or enunciate his fervid belief in the Identity of Being and not-Being with a facile versatility, quite unknown to his English forefather. Thus Othello's occupation's gone: the so-called Hegelian school now takes the place once filled by Coleridge and Carlyle; and Idealism, learnt in Königsberg and Jena, is substituted for that imitation of an imitation, which was professed by the admirers of Herr Teufelsdröckh in the first half of the present century. Yet, though our Idealism be not precisely the Idealism of Carlyle, it is not right to lay hands on our father, Parmenides. The time has not yet probably come when our modern Idealists will, after the reform of our philosophy, proceed to reform our political theories also. Meanwhile it may not be unprofitable to see what were the deductions in the sphere of politics, which seemed to the mind of Carlyle to flow from the position which he assumed in philosophy; for, since they appear to follow with considerable consistency from

his logical assumptions, it may yet be in the power of some student, fond of rash generalisations, to state that the present autocracy in Germany is not a little due to the speculations of Kant and Hegel.

The sequence of thought in Carlyle's *Chartism* and *Latter-Day Pamphlets* has, as the first link in the chain, some one of his philosophical essays, for instance, the essay on Novalis. The year in which *Novalis* was published is 1829, the year of the production of *Signs of the Times*, in which an Age of Mechanism is portrayed in all its ugly colours, and the necessity is enforced of some Dynamics in our treatment of social phenomena. To understand Novalis, says Carlyle, it is necessary to understand Fichte, Kantism, and German metaphysics generally. The points which strike him in German philosophy are, briefly, its views on the subject of Matter, its transcendental character, its ascent beyond the region of the senses, its criticism on the limited functions of the Understanding, and its belief in the majesty of Reason. For the profound and vital distinction between Reason and Understanding, drawn by German thinkers, was wholly new to the English intelligence, which was in the habit of confounding the two in the general intellectual faculties of man. That Understanding had a limited function, that it was bound by what Kant called its Categories, while it was the essence of Reason to soar beyond the limitations of the Understanding, to comprehend or seek to comprehend the Absolute, the Whole, rather than the Relative and the Partial,—these were hard sayings for English ears, whether uttered by a Coleridge or a Carlyle. If accepted, they might help to solve some of the difficulties of Theology, to soften the hard lines of a scientific treatment of man and the universe, as well as to cast new lights on some of the controverted problems of psychology. Even in the sphere of politics, they might admit of some forcible deductions. For the political counterpart of a metaphysical majesty of Reason was a powerful, autocratic Government; which, composed of the best and wisest of the population, should govern the nation, irresponsible except to itself. It too, like Reason in its relations with the Understanding, might arrange to the peace and satisfaction of all, the limited and partial antagonisms of different classes and social interests. Such, at all events, was the deduction of Carlyle, as indeed it, or something like it, had been the conclusion of the Idealist Plato many ages before. Democracy is the ideal polity of an analytic and equalising science; but the metaphysical ideal is an Aristocracy, sage, autocratic and irresponsible, an Aristocracy which should not be confined to birth, but the sacred privilege of worth, in whatever class worth may be found. In the social speculations of Carlyle, it is not therefore surprising to find that the prominent idea is a Rule of Real Rulers—added to which is found the so-called Gospel of Work. For Work is the only crite-

tion of Worth, while Worth is the one indispensable characteristic of the Real Ruler.

There is no want of iteration in Carlyle's treatment of both of these theses. If the reader takes up the *Essays on Chartism*, he will see the Gospel of Labour expounded on every other page. If he studies the *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, the necessity of some powerful government is found to be the one panacea for all the woes of England. "Work is the mission of man on this earth. A day is ever struggling forward, a day will arrive in some approximate degree, when he who has no work to do, by whatever name he may be named, will not find it good to show himself in our quarter of the solar system, but may go and look out elsewhere if there be any *idle* planet discoverable."¹ There is so much truth in this doctrine that one may well be pardoned for asking whether it has not been pressed to an one-sided extreme. The Gospel of Labour is, indeed, common to all prophets; as much the doctrine of Ruskin as of Carlyle. And yet, when one looks at the present condition of England in this day, with all its manifold activities and commercial labours, when one sees men everywhere toiling to raise themselves from the hopeless ruck of the average, eating the bread of carefulness with the one view of becoming richer than their neighbours, it may well be doubted whether, except as preached to landed proprietors, it is a Gospel at all. What is to be the ultimate test of a man's preciousness in this world—what he has made *for himself* or what he has made *himself*? The essential graces of human character—a man's nobleness and culture and purity and self-control—are these all to be sacrificed to his powers of endurance? The mere suggestion of the necessity of self-culture is often regarded as a dangerously selfish, hedonistic doctrine. If the tendency of commercial England be to obliterate it, this is enough to prove that quite as true a Gospel may be found in the recommendation to make some pause in the ceaseless whirl of unrest, lest a man's personality be wholly swept away. If this be Epicureanism, then Epicurus has some message to the present generation as well as Zeno.

But there are many passages in Carlyle which limit the application of the Gospel of Labour; and it is unfair to visit upon the original preacher the conclusions and deductions of over zealous disciples.² The other doctrine is one of far greater importance in Carlyle, and one which is of peculiar interest in the contemporary state of politics in England. That the government of England is in the hands of Rulers that are no Rulers; that the result is

(1) *Chartism, Essays*, vol. v. p. 342. (Carlyle's collected works, library edition, in thirty volumes. Chapman and Hall, 1869. My references throughout are to this edition.) Cf. too *Past and Present*, vol. xiii. p. 198.

(2) As e.g. Mr. Froude, "Siding at a Railway Station," *Fraser's Magazine* (November).

Chartism and other anarchical outbreaks; and that the one remedy is to be found in a real aristocracy, not of privilege but of fact—this is the central dogma of Carlyle's politics. It runs through all his *Lectures on Heroes*; it finds expression in the wish for "Dynamical Forces" in society in the *Signs of the Times*; it is repeated again and again in *Past and Present*; and it forms the dominant keynote in the *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. Here is one out of many enunciations of the doctrine, where Carlyle puts a speech to the Proletariate in the mouth of an Ideal Prime Minister.¹ "Industrial Colonels, Workmasters, Taskmasters, Life-Commanders, equitable as Rhadamanthus, and inflexible as he; such, I perceive, you do need; and such, you being once put under law as soldiers are, will be discoverable for you. I perceive, with boundless alarm, that I shall have to set about discovering such,—since I am at the top of affairs, with all men looking at me. Alas, it is my new task in this new Era; and God knows, I too little other than a red-tape Talking Machine and unhappy bag of Parliamentary Eloquence hitherto, am far behind with it! But street barricades rise everywhere; the hour of fate has come." In contrast with this, Carlyle thus delivers himself on such Rulers as we do possess²—"Till the time of James the First, I find that real heroic merit more or less was actually the origin of peerages; never till towards the end of that bad reign were peerages bargained for, or bestowed on men palpably of no worth except their money or connection. But the evil practice, once begun, spread rapidly, and now the Peerage-book is what we see—a thing miraculous in the other extreme. Our menagerie of live peers in Parliament is like that of our Brazen Statues in the market-place; the selection seemingly is made much in the same way, and with the same degree of felicity and successful accuracy in choice. Our one steady regulated supply is the class definable as Supreme Stump-Orators in the Lawyer department: the class called Chancellors flows by something like fixed conduits towards the Peerage; the rest, like our Brazen Statues, come by popular rule of thumb."

It has been already observed that this doctrine of Real Rulers is the proper political outcome of an idealistic philosophy, which demands that Government should be the outward and visible form of the inward spirit of wisdom and reason—a demand which is best satisfied by an Aristocracy or an Oligarchy. It involves the fierce dislike of Democracy and Popular Suffrage, which runs through all Carlyle's writings, and is synonymous with the belief in the virtues of Hero-Worship. It is curiously connected also with an ignorance or dislike of physiological and sociological laws—a truly Idealistic

(1) *Latter-Day Pamphlets* (vol. xix.) p. 52. Perhaps a better expression is to be found at the beginning of the sixth lecture on Heroes and Hero-worship.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 341.

trait—which finds one expression in the essay termed *Shooting Niagara, and After*, published as late as 1876.¹ For the Hero in Carlyle is a wholly exceptional and fortuitous personage, whose origin and cast of thought can be in no way explained by reference to the laws of heredity or the general contemporaneous condition of society. He is with us one moment and gone the next; “no man can tell whence he cometh or whither he goeth.” On what does the Hero’s influence depend? It has ultimately to be resolved into superiority of material force; and hence a Napoleon must be included in the ranks, with whatever damage to morality may thence ensue. Cæsar, in the later times of the Roman Republic, would be a Real Ruler after Carlyle’s own heart, as, indeed, he is represented by his latest biographer, Mr. Froude. Even Cromwell, one of the prime favourites of Carlyle, found that no other solution of the parliamentary problem was possible except the dissolution of parliament after parliament in the later years of his life. Experience tells us that a power of this sort is divided by a thin and wavering line from a despotism and tyranny, which themselves provoke dangerous reactions. Even “an Anarchy *plus* a Street Constable,” or “a Chaos with Ballot Boxes” is better than that. A free development of a nation’s resources, even though conducted by universal suffrage and a democratic organization, offers greater guarantees of stability and order than the Hero full-blown into “a Saviour of Society.”

A strange irony of fate has ordained that the one statesman in our day who has attempted to give application to doctrines similar to those of Carlyle should be Lord Beaconsfield; indeed, for purposes of instructive comparison, *Sybil* should be read side by side with *Chartism*, and *Coningsby* with *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. In both writers there is much the same view of the only social panacea, if we leave subordinate considerations aside and look only at the main issue. There is the same view of the anarchy into which England was thrown by the Reform Bill of 1832; there is the same belief in the saving power of a new Aristocracy; there is the same radical distrust of Parliament. If we make all due deduction for the differences of style, the following passage from *Sybil* might have had Carlyle as its author:—“The House of Parliament has been irremediably degraded into the decaying position of a mere court of registry, possessing great privileges on condition that it never exercises them; while the other Chamber, that at the first blush, and to the superficial, exhibits symptoms of almost unnatural vitality, assumes on a more studious inspection, somewhat of the character of a select vestry, fulfilling municipal rather than imperial offices.—The Reform Act has not furnished us with abler administrators or a more illustrious Senate.” That is quite in the tone of the *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, which were

(1) *Shooting Niagara, &c. Essays*, vol. vi. p. 387.

published in 1850, while *Sybil* was written in 1845. There is, of course, more plausibility, more sonorous superficiality about Lord Beaconsfield's treatment of Chartism. *Sybil* is full of such sentences as that "the mind of England is with the people," and "the future principle of English politics will seek to ensure equality, not by leveling the Few, but by elevating the Many." There is more of that appearance of sympathy with the lowest orders of the State, which one who would unite the rising nobility with the People, and be himself an old Tory and a Demagogue by turns, must of necessity adopt. Yet even in the dislike of Politics to which Carlyle sometimes gives expression (e.g. "well withdrawn from the raging inanities of politics," *Shooting Niagara*, p. 381), there is a curious echo of Coningsby's advice to Vere to hold himself aloof from political parties which are only factions. And when we turn from the novelist to the Prime Minister, when we think of all the recent history of Lord Beaconsfield, with his systematic disregard for Parliament, his high-handedness, his real rule over his Cabinet, and survey the picture of the one aged statesman who is a bulwark for England against "a despotism ending in a democracy, or a democracy ending in a despotism," it looks almost like the parody and caricature of Carlyle's earnest convictions of England's necessity for Heroes. This is the man whom Carlyle in *Shooting Niagara* called "that clever, conscious juggler whom they call Dizzy," "a superlative Hebrew conjuror," and other choice epithets. Truly the whirligig of Time brings round its revenges.

The courses of modern history have, in truth, taught us to be on our guard against hero-statesmen. It is with them as with the Greek tyrants of old, that, borne into power by a great wave of popular feeling, their subsequent efforts are directed to repress the national energies to which they owed their rise. We can hardly help thinking of a Prince Bismarck—who in many points resembles a Carlylese Hero—with his autocracy, his cynical indifference, his parliamentary gagging bills, his protective policies. The alliance between Germany and Austria is just such a stroke of policy as a "Real Ruler" delights in, as may be seen from the fulsome adulation of it in the mouth of that modern Elizabethan minister, Lord Salisbury. It is just such a stroke of policy also as indefinitely postpones the democratic combination of nations, and is, sooner or later, a severe blow to the democratic ideal of Commerce and Peace. It is no good news of great joy to France, at all events, who is immediately threatened; nor yet to Russia, who is driven to seek fresh allies; nor yet to Austria herself, who may possibly find the fate of the earthenware pot floating with the vessel of brass; nor yet to England, above all, who is tossed like a shuttlecock from her natural connexions with France to an unnatural combination with despotie

empires, and whose commercial expansion may be severely impaired by protective Bismarckian policies. The last point has a peculiar importance in this reference, for it discloses a manifestly weak spot in Carlyle's Real Rulers. They are, in his language, to be Industrial Captains. Modern experience tends to show that whatever else a real ruler may be, he will not be an Industrial Captain. How can he be? The real ruler of Carlyle is a man who laughs to scorn Political Economy and McCroudie's and other Professors of the Dismal Science; in practice, therefore, he must hold such an industrial principle as Free Trade with a singularly weak, vacillating, impotent grasp. Industrial Captain? Nay, rather a Protectionist, as befits a man of strong intuitive dislike of democratic forces—an advocate of Reciprocity, such as, hesitatingly, timidly, with many an anxious look backward and forward, our Conservative Ministers are promising to be.

Possibly we should look for our statesman-hero not in England or Germany, but in France. Gambetta is perhaps the sincerest first minister of a democracy whom we have had since the time of Pericles. He is the veritable *enfant de la République*, borne on a great democratic wave to supreme power, the champion of France when she was crushed inwardly by the deadening influence of the Napoleonic dynasty, and crushed outwardly by the overmastering mechanical superiority of the German army. He has always believed in the republican instincts of France, and she has rewarded him by making him the chief depositary of her power. He is a genuine child of the modern age, and the future will reserve one of the proudest niches in her temple for his honour. Yet Liberalism in France, in the light of recent events, wears a strange air. What is the Ideal of Liberalism? Freedom, assuredly, that every man should have personal freedom from tyranny in his thoughts, his opinions, and his form of faith. Is the Jules Ferry Bill conceived in the Liberal spirit? Is Liberalism also to persecute? It may be said, indeed, that if Liberalism is to be triumphant, it must be organized and it must be scientific; and science in the hands of a Paul Bert naturally hates Jesuitism, and organization in the hands of a Gambetta means a certain individual repression. And yet, English Liberalism giving academic rights to Roman Catholicism, and French Liberalism putting down Jesuitism with a strong hand, form a curious and striking contrast.

It is characteristic of all great men of prophetic nature that we should have to fix their position rather negatively than positively, more by their dislikes than by their likings. Certainly in Carlyle's case the record of his dislikes forms a long series of indictments. This is his dislike of Parliament, his dislike of Statistics, his dislike of Political Economy, his dislike of Parliamentary Radicalism, his

dislike of Popular Oratory, his dislike of Philanthropy towards criminals, his dislike, keenest and fiercest of all, of Democracy and Universal Suffrage.¹ We have left ourselves but little space to refer to all these. But it is the less necessary to investigate the details of Carlyle's criticisms, inasmuch as they all flow from the central doctrine which we have been examining. Given the rule of genuine leaders, and the very conditions of their appointment require them to resist all those cherished charters of popular liberty, to which a Democracy or a Republic look for their ultimate establishment.

A growing disbelief in the efficiency of Parliaments is common to many theoretic politicians, who are by no means agreed on other points. We have already found it both as a theoretical and practical principle in the case of Lord Beaconsfield; and Mr. Keibel in a recent article² has pointed out that even Mr. Gladstone has given expression to discontent in this matter. It is not difficult to understand how such a feeling has grown. Every year sees the House with more work to do and less ability to get through it. Every few years see the *personnel* of Parliament steadily declining, and the benches filled with what Mr. Lowe has called a plutocracy and gerontocracy, to the exclusion of more intellectual elements. It would be difficult to explain the steady, mechanical majorities of the Government of the last year on any other hypothesis. And when to this we have to add that such multiform activities in matters of expenditure, of legislation, of foreign, domestic, and colonial policy, are subject to total interruption and obstruction by the fanaticism of individual members, it can be readily understood that dissatisfaction with the great Council of the Realm should be both felt and expressed. But it is one thing to reform and quite another thing to abrogate. Let us listen to the drastic remedies of Carlyle: "What England wants and will require to have, or sink in nameless anarchies, is not a Reformed Parliament—but a Reformed Executive, or Sovereign Body of Rulers and Administrators. Not a better Talking-Apparatus, the best conceivable Talking-Apparatus would do very little for us at present;—but an infinitely better Acting-Apparatus, the benefits of which would be invaluable now and henceforth. The practical question puts itself with ever-increasing

(1) The following are some passages on these points, taken from *Chartism* (Essays, vol. v.), *Latter-day Pamphlets* (vol. xix.), *Shooting Niagara*, and *After* (Essays, vol. vi.), *Past and Present* (vol. xiii.).

PARLIAMENTS.—*Chartism*, pp. 328, 9, 381, 2, 395, 6; *Latter-day Pamphlets*, 113, 134, 5, 237—40, 273; *Shooting Niagara*, 347, 389. STATISTICS.—*Chartism*, 332—337. POLITICAL ECONOMY.—*Chartism*, 383, 409; *Latter-day Pamphlets*, 53, 4, 182. PARLIAMENTARY RADICALISM.—*Chartism*, 404, 5. POPULAR ORATORY.—*Latter-day Pamphlets*, 209—256. PHILANTHROPY.—*Latter-day Pamphlets*, 60, 61, 73—79, 82, 92—94. DEMOCRACY.—*Chartism*, 371—373; *Latter-day Pamphlets*, 18—29, 144, 153, 320—330. *Past and Present*, 269—274.

(2) *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1879.

stringency to all English minds; can we by no industry, energy, utmost expenditure of human ingenuity and passionate invocation of the Heavens and the Earth, get to attain some twelve or ten or six men to manage the affairs of the nation in Downing Street, and the chief posts elsewhere, who are abler for the work than those we have been used to this long while?"¹ The remedy proposed, then, is not a reform of Parliament, but a great extension of power in Downing Street. And he makes an explicit proposal: "The proposal is in short that the Queen shall have power of nominating the half-dozen or half-score officers of the Administration, whose presence is thought necessary in Parliament, to official seats there, without reference to any constituency but her own only, which of course will mean her Prime Minister's. The soul of the project is that the Crown also have power to elect a few members to Parliament."²

This is the point in which Carlyle comes nearest to Bolingbroke and farthest from the position of Burke. The desire of Bolingbroke in his *Patriot King* was to further, in exactly these powers of appointing ministers, the general influences of monarchy. Burke's *Present Discontents* is an answer to claims of this sort. His Conservatism will not admit of any changes which disturb organically the English constitution—the inheritance, as that constitution is, of past ages of struggle, and the chosen vehicle for the expression of the public will. In other points there is much in Burke to remind us of Carlyle. He, too, pins his faith on a government by aristocracy. He, too, has a scorn for the sceptical and destructive philosophers of the eighteenth century. His denunciation of these atheists and infidels who are "the outlaws of the constitution, not of this country, but of the human race," may be paralleled by Carlyle's feeling that the "last Sceptical Century" was a hideous monstrosity, with its tendency to convert the world into a steam-engine. But Burke had a delicate and profound sense of the bond of sympathetic union which unites a national constitution with all the various interacting elements of a society, and this is absent in Carlyle. So, too, Burke was possessed of a trust in the people which Carlyle could never feel. We could never imagine Carlyle saying, as Burke did, that "in all disputes between the people and their rulers, the presumption is at least upon a par in favour of the people;" or that "he could scarcely conceive any choice the people could make to be so very mischievous, as the existence of any human force capable of resisting it." Very different in spirit is Carlyle's bitter hostility to Democracy. Democracy is to him, by the nature of it, a self-cancelling business; and gives in the long-run a net result of zero. "Democracy never yet, that we heard of, was able to accomplish much work beyond that same cancelling

(1) *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, pp. 113, 114.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 133.

of itself." "It is, take it where you will in our Europe, but a regulated method of rebellion and abrogation." It is the consummation of No-government and Laissez-faire. A Chaos with ballot-boxes: Anarchy *plus* a street constable. "Not towards this impossibility, self-government 'of a multitude by a multitude:' but towards some possibility, government by the wisest, does bewildered Europe struggle."¹

It would not be easy to see more clearly than by such passages as these, how great is the chasm which divides Carlyle from a child of the modern age. Carlyle is fond of speaking of the Eternal Silences and the Immensities; the real, secret nature of Things, and the law of the Universe. These he believes to be on his side—on the side of the Real Ruler, of the aristocracy of fact, of the government by the wisest. Yet it is at least conceivable to one, who knows and feels the forces of the age and the tendency of the time, to speak of a great Democratic future as that which the Eternal Silences and Immensities ordain. Such an one may know that the experiment which has to be tried is a new one, fraught with dangers and difficulties apparently insuperable; he feels the possibility of peril, but he knows the inexorableness of Time. Go into the Future he must; try that experiment he will—*because* the secret nature of things points onward to Democracy, to Universal Suffrage, to the government of a nation by itself, as an imminent and inevitable Future. It is not only the advocate of an oligarchy who can boast the Eternal Silences on his side.

Yet even so, in Carlyle's treatment of this and of kindred themes, there is a quality wholly unique and incommunicable. He is the veritable *Vox clamantis e deserto*; his fervid imagination can convert what to the grosser eye are vacant ideals into concrete, tangible fact; his masterful grasp of the problem, combined with the range and sweep of his passionate, hysterical oratory, can carry even a man of sober judgment off his legs. It is so rare—the union of flashing, blinding eloquence with the strict and consistent treatment of the subject, so wholly overmastering the magnificent, declamatory denunciation mixed with the tender, wistful pitifulness. And there is the dramatic gift, the irony, the wonderful humour, the picturesqueness and pertinency of epithet. "Nature, when her scorn of a slave is divinest, and blazes like the blinding lightning against his slavehood, often enough flings him a bag of money, silently saying: 'That! away; thy doom is that.'" What splendid energy of utterance! Or the comparison of the British statues "rusting in the sooty rain, black and dismal," to a set of "grisly undertakers come to bury the dead spiritualisms of mankind." Or the image of the Utilitarians, Political Economists, and Democrats, "sitting as

(1) *Chartism*, pp. 372, 373.

apes with their wretched blinking eyes, squatted round a fire which they cannot feed with new wood,—which they say will last for ever without new wood,—or, alas, which they say is going out for ever.”

Who can resist such incisive imagery as this? Or to take but one other instance—all having been taken at random within the compass of some fifty chance pages in the *Latter-day Pamphlets*—the lesson of *ennui*, which he draws out in the concluding pages, with its definition—“the painful cry of an impassioned heroism.” The atmosphere which Carlyle makes us breathe is always healthy, stimulating, invigorating; it fills the lungs and the chest with all the life and power of a veritable inspiration; it braces the muscles with the energy of hope and cheerful resolution. He, too, like any republican politician, sees the hollowness of a policy of Imperialism. “What concern,” he asks, “has the British nation with foreign nations and their enterprises? Any concern at all, except that of handsomely keeping apart from them?”¹

And again: “The *prestige* of England on the Continent, I am told, is much decayed of late: which is a lamentable thing to various editors; to me not. Prestige, præstigiū, magical illusion—I never understood that poor England had in her good days, or cared to have, any prestige on the Continent, or elsewhere. The word was Napoleonic, expressive enough of a Grand-Napoleonic fact: better leave it on its own side of the Channel; not wanted here!”²

And if in some parts of his political theory we find that the magnificent Idealist needs to be confronted with the diminutive personage of practice and experience; if we require to supplement the *Latter-day Pamphlets*—say, with Bagehot on the *English Constitution*, or Mill on *Representative Government*—we are but true to the irony of history. Prophets, in the wise arrangements of Nature, always find effective contrast in the presence of Empiricists.

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(1) *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, p. 174.

(2) *Shooting Niagara*, p. 377. For other corrections of Carlyle's Conservatism, see *Past and Present*, pp. 203—205.

ITALY.

CRITICISM on the political tendencies of any nation by an alien, to be either intelligent or efficient must at least be sympathetic; but it is only from a resident alien, animated by a large sympathy with a nation, that appreciative and fairly balanced judgment can be expected. To one who should study in the English papers the workings of English politics of the day, not knowing anything of their antecedents and ignorant of their personalities, the two great parties must seem two factions mutually bent on the destruction of the State, headed by men who, when not utterly incompetent, are incredibly corrupt. I have heard from Conservatives within the past six months charges made against Mr. Gladstone which, had there been an element of truth in them, would have banished him from the society of honest men of all parties; and others against Lord Beaconsfield, the justice of which would make it impossible that there should be an intelligent and honest patriot in the Conservative party. In all my recollection of American presidential elections, though the party journals scarcely preserved the decency of language of the English newspapers, I have never known such vehemence and rancour of private opinion and individual political animosity as I have observed amongst Englishmen during the present crisis.

I cannot put this fact (if I am right in supposing it a fact) wholly on the side of blame; it is at bottom due to the hearty hate and hearty love inherent in the English character and the vehemence with which it undertakes affairs. It is neither my province or my purpose to praise or blame it, only to point out that to a certain extent the same warmth of partisanship perverts the judgment of the average Englishman as to foreign nations. We have seen for half a century, not one party but nearly the entire nation, and indistinctively as to party, maintain as to the Turks not merely that they were necessary to English interests and the Balance of power, but that they were really a benefit to the countries over which they were encamped. And we have for forty years seen England playing Bumble to the poor little Oliver Twist at Athens, and attributing to him all the vices in the human category because he was bold enough to hold out for more, and had spirit enough not to surrender to the fancied importance of English interests. The same jaundice has discoloured all late English judgment of Italian matters, and the only advice England has had to offer Italy for years is to disarm and be quiet; relinquish the foolish fancy for a fleet and a

strong army, put down brigandage, lower her tariffs, and become good customers of England.

There is no disputing the soundness of the advice—under other circumstances—and no denying that the Italian Government has grave national difficulties and abuses which ought to call its attention much more successfully than hitherto, to their encounter and cure. No friend of Italy would desire to hide them, and no honest criticism can ignore them; a critic at once honest and friendly must insist on them, and at the same time point to the circumstances which, as hampering all the tendencies to reform and impeding healthy progress, excuse to a certain extent the partial success of Italy in fulfilling the over-enthusiastic anticipations of her English friends of twenty years ago.

We are in the habit of alluding to Italy as a young nation from which healthy impulse and juvenile vigour and adaptability could be expected. She is reminded that she is the youngest of the great powers (or that she is only the youngest of the second-rate ones), and must be modest and meek and stay in school, while the fact is that she is no more a young nation than an octogenarian in a school-boy's jacket is a young man. Her civilisation is the oldest in Europe, and the roots of popular defects as well as good qualities, of the vices as well as the virtues, of an antiquity to whose beginnings we have as little clue as we have to that of Egypt, are present in the organization which is only an aggregate of little, and for centuries ill-governed, States whose unity, even administratively, is still only nominal and incomplete. The Two Sicilies have a Mafia, a Camorra, and a brigandage which have an unknown past; both they and the Romagna have a degradation of superstition which gives the exact measure of the power of the Church over their masses; and the Tuscan peasant has a fine and perverse *fourberie* which passes the comprehension of a Teutonic nature, and which doubtless he owes to a mental development in struggles against superior force, which run back centuries beyond the Roman conquest of Etruria. Old immoralities and corruption are bedded in the nature of the population from epochs in which the north and west of Europe were in unmitigated barbarism. How demand from this scarcely inaugurated recrystallisation of these old elements, thrown pell mell into the same cauldron with the orderly and laborious Piedmontese, Lombard, and mountaineer of the Veneto, the civic qualities of nations which have had even the few centuries of our own civilisation, and in them grown into order and unity?

And as if the task of re-ordering the inner economy were not enough to task all the energies of a nation which has none superfluous, the malevolence or indifference of all Europe beside forces on the new kingdom external difficulties and problems so grave that

the fact that Italy does not collapse under the pressure is a proof beyond the capacity of any cavillers to controvert, that the Italians are a nation and that theirs is a persistent growth in political strength.

The chief difficulties with which Italy has to struggle in its interior re-ordering, grow out of the antagonism with the Roman Church, its most implacable and dangerous enemy; and the most culpable cause of weakness in her men of State has been the willingness of most of them, of whatever colour, to use the Church, and therefore tolerate its action in reference to political matters, where a sound policy would have grasped the thistle so firmly that it would have been innocuous. No publicist in Italy can be unaware that the Church of Rome is an utterly irreconcilable enemy of the present order of things, and that that secular education which will teach the rendering to Cæsar of the things that are Cæsar's, will never be consented to by the Church whose head claims to be Cæsar: that the struggle to regain the control of the education of youth, re-possession of the confiscated Church estates, and the right to sit in judgment as a necessary element of temporal authority, will never be discontinued while the Church has a temporal footing; and as, fortunately for the kingdom, the influence of the Church is not great enough to make its incitements or its menaces dangerous, at least not with that class of the population which holds the political power, no policy which did not lead to or include actual persecution would alienate that class from the Government, while the inefficiency and timidity of the present policy does unquestionably work it much indirect as well as direct harm. The adherents of the Church abstain by order from any participation in State politics; and of the total number of qualified electors, only about one-third appear at the elections. If this defection were due to the influence of the Church, it would be an instance without parallel of a voluntary abdication of controlling power on the part of the Church, while we see, on the contrary, that all the measures of confiscation, &c., were carried through almost without a struggle, in the face of excommunication and protests, by a third of the constituency; showing conclusively that the thunders of the Church have so far lost their terrors that the complete disarming of it for all evil presents no obstacle which a patriotic Parliament need regard. So long as the power remains in the hands of the present constituents, the only danger from the Church lies in its becoming an ally of an enemy from without, or the instrument of corruption and party divisions within.¹

(1) Should the party which, working by the dubious light of social theories, maintains the principle of universal suffrage, ever succeed, or even partially succeed, in carrying its policy, the power of the Church will be increased, perhaps dangerously, for it is pre-

It is impossible, I think, to live in Italy long and not feel that between the adherents of the Temporal Power, i.e. the Political Church and its organization, and the well-being of political Italy, there is an irreconcilable conflict, and that the end must be the failure of Italy or the retreat of the Church. Under these circumstances, and with unquestionable power in its hands, that Italy should hesitate to bring the Church to a definite and safe position, and that any party or set of men engaged in the administration of government should dally with such an enemy, is a grave weakness in the situation. But what consoles us, for the distant future, is the indubitable evidence that the Church as an extra-moral agency is every day losing its terrors and power over the people, so that Italy is probably to-day of all Catholic nations the least under the sacerdotal power; and if only the imminent external dangers can be met successfully, this will afterwards cease to be a danger.

As for socialism, the red republic, and so forth, with all their concomitants of international and Barsanti societies, they do not constitute a danger to the State by the numbers of their adherents, but only by blunders in the way of treating them. It is probable that the Government would be so reinforced by those who now hold aloof, were it to take up a more energetic way of dealing with obstructives of all faiths, that it would be strengthened rather than weakened by the exercise of its power.

This question of socialistic disorders and treasonable organizations, such as Barsanti clubs, leads directly and by short interval to that of personal security, the gravest, after the Church, question which concerns Italy. It is a fact which Italians should take well to heart, that in large sections of Italy life and property are less secure than in any country under constitutional government in the world, if we except the Spanish-American nominal republics. For this there is no excuse nor palliation. There is, however, an explanation which carries us back to the days when government and governed were two elements at constant war with each other. In no part of Italy, except Piedmont and the old Venetian States, have the effects of those antagonisms been effaced. Not a year ago, speaking with one of the most eminent citizens of Florence of the public insecurity, I expressed my surprise that the orderly and responsible part of the population should show so little activity in aiding justice to trace

ciously in the most ignorant and thriftless part of the population of Italy, that the priesthood exercise the strongest control; and at best the present voters are so incompletely educated politically, and so little interested in the working of their institutions, that common prudence would indicate that until the active energetic minority who are now the Government of Italy can inaugurate a system which shall call out a majority of the men at present entitled to vote, it would be a superfluous invitation of danger to admit to a share in the power those classes whose profounder ignorance makes them only instruments in the hands of the agitator and intriguer.

out the criminals who kept the State in continual alarms, no person in the whole non-official population moving hand or foot to aid the police, as if the matter concerned only some abstract question of law, instead of being, as it was, a case of the most cowardly and murderous attack on the public at large, in which he himself, equally with the most insignificant person, might have been involved. "Why," said I, "don't you help your Government in such cases?" "Well," replied he, "we want to see if the Government is strong enough to protect us." "But," said I, "what is your Government but yourselves, and if your Government is weak, why do you not strengthen it? In England every man in such an emergency would put himself at the disposal of the authorities, and, if necessary, serve as a special policeman." "Ah," replied he, "we have been civilised for twenty-five centuries, and we don't want to learn civilisation from your western world." And this absurd and inconsequent reply closed the discussion. My interlocutor was a brave and patriotic man, ready to serve his country in the army, submit to taxation or any other infliction, but his answer betrays the invincible sense of the inherent antagonism between Government and governed.

Italians have not yet learned that *they are* the Government, and until they have learned this, Italy cannot be a strong nation. Universal Suffrage will not remedy this deficiency, as it inheres in the insufficient political education of the better classes; and the influx of the poor and ignorant into active politics would only, as it has to a large extent in America, alienate still more the unsympathetic element of that *more prosperous* portion of the population. It would, however, make the control of the disorderly class more difficult than it is now, for with the lower classes, still more than with the higher, every convicted offender wins a certain amount of sympathy as a victim of Government which they have never learned to feel except as an oppression. I say, still more than with the higher, because there appears to me to exist in all classes of Italian society a feeling that the criminal is only an unfortunate person who, after all, if things were well administered, might be on the bench and his judges at the bar. And this is not charity to the erring, so much as want of perception of the fact that crime is an universal danger; it is still less due to excess of humanity, for the Italians in general are not, as compared with Englishmen, for example, a humane people. There are certain crimes which can only be eradicated by making them shameful, and so putting them beyond possible sympathy; and this morbid sentiment of Italians does not accept crime as shameful. The duty of enlightened rulers in such cases is to make punishment and treatment of crime a means of education to the public, as well as the criminal. But in Italy we have, unfortunately, seen a Minister of

Justice at the head of the morbid and maudlin school of sympathy for criminals, emasculating justice and undermining the public sense of the sanctity of law, by making impossible the legal punishment of atrocious crimes, or, in the condition of popular feeling in certain sections, exciting that fear of justice which is the only sufficient deterrent from the gravest crimes.

What I can account for in the citizen by his inherited habits of thought and immemorial relations with his government under past régimes, I can neither account nor apologize for on the part of the Government itself, viz. : that in a large part of Italy it is possible to capture and hold to ransom, travellers and natives of the country equally ; and that the laws which exist against carrying concealed arms should be so universally derided, and so universally uncared for by the agents of the public security even with the lowest and most desperate classes. Search is rarely made, and infraction of the law still more rarely punished. The consequence is that murder is of frightfully frequent occurrence in certain sections of Italy, and the fact, pointed out by Italians themselves, that this frequency is increasing, is due more to the apathy of public and official justice, than to any greater impulse to crime or change of condition for the worse. The standing reproach of brigandage is one which nothing but this inexplicable apathy can account for. With an army of six hundred thousand men for whom activity even in hunting brigands is better than idleness, there is no excuse for a brigand remaining at large. And it is not merely security of life that is menaced, but that security of property which is necessary to attract capital to the country, and enlarge or inaugurate the enterprises to the want of which is due the industrial languor of the country.¹ Security for life

(1) As an instance I will note the robberies on the railways, of a frequency which would in any other country put the public aflame, but which, so far as I can see, receive at the hands of the railway or police authorities no attention whatever, though they occur under such circumstances that they can only be attributed to the employés of the railways. As a personal experience, my luggage has been overhauled and pillaged three times in as many years, and on various railways, and when, as a matter of formality, I made complaint to the capo-stazione where I had experienced the worst case, I was laughed at by the officials, and the capo-stazione told me if I felt alarmed about my luggage, to take it with me into the carriage ; and of the numerous cases I have heard of within that interval, I have never heard of detection or even prosecution. It is true they were all cases of robbery of foreigners, and in many parts of Italy all that can be extorted from the "forestiero" is clear gain for Italy, nor are either tribunals or jurors in any case where a foreigner is concerned possessed of that zeal to render justice which characterizes the longer-sighted Frenchmen. Last year I had a case of outrageous imposition practised on me, one which an English justice would have treated in an exemplary way and which I determined to bring to one of the tribunals. A friend in a high official station assured me that I had not the slightest chance of getting justice from a tribunal. It has repeatedly occurred that in making purchases in Florence, having taken a Florentine friend with us to prevent extortion, the friend has been openly and vehemently attacked as "taking the bread out of the mouth of a Florentine to favour a foreigner." These are forms of abuse which, judging from what I have seen

and property is the first and most imperious condition to be secured for the growth of Italian prosperity, and it is precisely the one thing in which Italy compares unfavourably with all her neighbours. That reform in this respect is arduous, I admit, but that it is necessary to the well-being of the State is evident from the fact, shown in many cases, that respectable and influential people hesitate to make themselves the instruments of justice from a fear of the vengeance of the criminals, or as my Florentine friend put it, "that the Government is not strong enough to protect them." That such an element of civic demoralisation should exist without political causes in a country so rich, populous, and easy to govern, is incredible.

The taxation of Italy, though heavier than it was in most of the provinces prior to their union, is not excessive when compared with the resources of the country. But it is ill-arranged, and collected with a wastefulness which has no excuse. The adage—

"No rogue e'er felt the halter draw
With good opinion of the law,"

is as true of taxation as of capital punishment, and Italians are not alone in regarding the tax-gatherer as an invention of the devil, whom it is expedient to evade or defeat in every way possible; but Italians are perhaps extreme in their animosity towards him, and between the wasteful manner of collecting (involving, I am informed, an expense of about 35 per cent. of the gross assessments), the evasions in various ways, in which of course the strongest fish always escape soonest from the net, and the destructive economy of certain taxes, taxation is made more oppressive than it need be, and less productive. As a consequence of that tendency to which I have before alluded, in the Italian to consider himself as the victim of his government, and his interest antagonistic to the official interests; as a further consequence perhaps of traditions of official life handed down from other and less paternal régimes, the antagonism between the agent of the customs and the contributor to the national revenues is one which enlists a maximum of ingenuity and a minimum of conscience. I imagine that very few Italians pay income-tax on more than half their income, and the modes of evasion of other taxes as well as this, and which in many cases are made possible by the complication of the machinery invented to prevent them, would, if they could be carried on equally successfully in the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, bankrupt the exchequer. How far official corruption may aid evasion and consequent unjust distribution of the taxes, I am unable to say, as I have never had any experience in evasion. It must be clear, however, that if those who, being wealthy, are taxed largely, can evade their taxes, the poor, who cannot escape, must pay and felt, alienate more individual sympathy from this nation than any other form of ill-government or immorality.

the more. Yet with it all, abuses and evasion, Italy is not in my opinion oppressively taxed. The proof is that life is not expensive as compared with any other European country. I estimate the cost of living even in Florence at about two-thirds of that of most English or continental cities of the same grade; and I believe that in my own personal acquaintance the incomes of Italians are not more than half what Englishmen of the same relative position average, and I am confident that the life of the Italian in such cases is more comfortable in most respects than that of the Englishman. This might be attributed to poverty in the country, but we know that Italy is not a poor country; it is, on the contrary, a very rich one, and heavier taxation or harder lives would make the population more thrifty and forehanded. Professor Villari's account of the condition of the population of Naples is a terrible picture of poverty, but nothing shows that it is in any way due to a bad or excessive taxation. The *macinato*, or tax on flour, is almost the only one which would touch this population, and this is so slight that it can be cause of no grave misery. As seen in Naples and to a less degree in other towns, this misery is probably due more to the invincible indolence and want of thrift of the population than to any fiscal oppression.

One grave fault, I might say *capital*, is chargeable to the Government, in its use of the lottery as a source of income, or as a permitted amusement of the people. The world has learned by the financial operations of France the value of the little economies of a whole people. It is precisely these economies whose existence in Italy is prevented by the ruinous State lotteries. The whole life of the average Italian peasant and workman is spent in saving to buy lottery tickets; it is demoralised, in ways almost inconceivable, by the entire diversion of all his faculties from legitimate productiveness and small accumulations to the intoxicating dream of a competence acquired by a lucky number. The very beggar in the streets of any of the Italian cities, when he has made up the sum of the smallest fraction of a ticket which is purchasable, rushes off to the government office to invest it in a chance of becoming a nabob. The extent of the diversion of savings to this pursuit may be gathered from the net revenue of 80,000,000 francs derived from it. Better to double the *macinato* than to perpetuate this mania, so utterly subversive of the economy of the State. The Italian lower classes live in a condition of febrile aspiration to wealth without thrift, without interest in the prosperity of the State, and without the possibility of caring for their own future; victims to the most insatiable of all vices, in which their Government, which ought to protect them, is an accomplice. Any financial reform which does not root up the lottery system will fail in giving to Italy that greatest source of national wealth, the habit of small accumulations and of dependence on saving for the future,

and will as certainly fail to give her the economical position her natural resources have prepared for her.

In considering this question, however, and the double difficulty of depriving the people of an amusement of immemorial antiquity, and the revenue of a serious item in the resources of the finance department, we must not forget that it is easier to point out the unsoundness of a policy than to heal it; easier to give up old resources than to find new ones, and Italy, by all its successive governments for two thousand years, has been treated to *panem et circenses* as the remedy for all popular complaints, so that to keep the macinato and sacrifice the lottery would be a reversal too absolute to be readily entertained by a government, or understood by a people who are in small matters at least in the highest degree conservative. I believe that to abolish the Church, drive out the Pope and priesthood, and turn the churches into barracks, would cause less commotion than to shut up abruptly the lottery offices and attempt to stop this kind of gambling. Church and State alike have encouraged and profited by it for centuries, and to treat it from the moral point of view from which we in England look at it, would be visionary to even the most reasonable Italians.

And then the Minister of Finance says to you despairingly—How make up the 80,000,000 the lottery gives us? How indeed! If the Italians had a Chancellor of the Exchequer such as Gladstone was for England, it might well be done. If Italy had a class of public men who had the force of strong convictions, and had clear views of governmental responsibility and conduct, it might be done. If even the mass of the nation had pecuniary patriotism it might be done—and done in some way and at some time it must be.

One great difficulty in all economical changes is that while with few exceptions, ready to fight or endure as he was formerly ready to conspire, in face of any severity of Pope, Kaiser, or Grand Duke, the Italian patriot accepts only under compulsion the little changes in his condition; and though he would under no circumstances go back to the old tyrannies, he will not cheerfully recognise the necessities of the self-imposed new one. The politicians, instead of marking out a definite line of conduct and a definite goal for national aspiration, divide into cliques and sets which hold no principle, and seem to have no higher object whether in taxation or expenditure than to form a ministry which shall include everybody. Party government in the larger English sense of the word is unknown, because no one has the courage to maintain a principle of political economy as basis of a party. Personal bickerings and personal accord, rather than political sympathy, determine the coherence of majority or minority, and a ministry falls or stands according as certain chiefs of sections are content with the positions accorded to

their ambitions. The conciliatory influence of one of the most admirable constitutional sovereigns that Europe has seen, is not enough to reconcile conflicting personal pretensions; and the sterling honesty and well-tryed and proven patriotism of a man like Cairoli does not suffice to secure the discipline as necessary in parliamentary government as in an army in the field. The miserable wrangles and petty jealousies of men, not the antagonism of measures, have paralysed the Government of Italy for months; and this at a time when months may be worth years, and the sacrifices and hard work of years may be put to the test and found useless for the want of those months.

For no one can live in Italy and study her national life without coming to the conclusion that more struggle and more sacrifices are inevitable. Italy is not complete, and until she is, that strain on her resources which military preparation produces cannot be relieved—indeed, it must be increased, for even to be ready to meet an easily possible contingency, the present army and the present fleet require a considerably larger expenditure to maintain or even complete their efficiency. The strategic position of the kingdom is such that not merely disarmament, but a want of readiness to employ the armament, may be fatal to all the work accomplished since 1859. It has grown to be a fashion to vilify Italy as an ambitious power which disturbs the peace of Europe with cravings for domination, and revival of Imperial aspirations out of place in modern times; as a weak Power which exhausts itself in attempting to keep afloat a force beyond its abilities and out of proportion with any justifiable policy. Nothing could be more unjust, or if intended to influence the action of Italy, more impolitic. The position of Italy, *vis-à-vis* of Austria, has been for the past half-century such that no prudent Italian patriot can accept any assurance of the future good-will of the former possessors of the Lombardo-Venetian States. The very constitution, history, and organic habit of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy are such, that it must always be a source of great apprehension to a weaker neighbour. It is what the Americans call a carpet-bagger on an Imperial scale, and has no possible utility for people who are not in need of an esoteric rule. As its existence depends on its rights of conquest, its growth must always be at the expense of its neighbours. It has no *raison d'être* except the incapacity of its subjects to govern themselves. It is purely parasitic, and any subject nationality which retains vitality as such, must struggle to throw off the weight of it; nor is there any possibility of its becoming a permanent institution in the face of the development of self-government, except by its identifying itself with some national organism, after the example of the House of Savoy.

I do not speak with any prejudice or bitterness of the Austro-

Hungarian Monarchy or its functionaries. I have enjoyed its hospitality, and have many friends amongst the officers of the army, navy, and civil service—many more than I have of the Italian; and I recognise fully the services Austria has rendered to civilisation, and perceive those which she may still render. But I state what the history of the Empire will substantiate, that under its present form of organization it is a menace to every weak nationality on its borders, and especially to Italy, of which it has only so recently held an important part. I do not believe a permanent peace to be possible under existing circumstances, and for two imperative reasons, which I will state presently, and a third which in the absence of the other and primary two might disappear. The last is the chronic animosity between the two armies and governments, resulting from a long and bitter past, remembering which no patriotic or prudent Italian would ever consent to Italy's disarming in presence of Austria. I have myself heard Austrian officers declare that they never could be at peace with Italy till they were back in the Quadrilateral, and there is little question that such a feeling prevails as widely in the Austrian official world as the claims of Italia Irredenta in the Italian.

I am not disposed in the least to identify myself with the Italia Irredenta party, or do I indeed know that there is an organization which can properly be called a party, entitled to that appellation. I have before me, as I write, the pamphlet of the Austrian Colonel Haymerle, and that of the Italia Irredenta association in reply, and I find that I do not accept the views of either. I do not even accept the facts of either, as my own personal knowledge, to a certain extent, disputes both. The Austrian attack is sophistical and disingenuous, and prejudiced to a degree that deprives it in some points of any authority. The defence is exalted and exaggerated in its claims, but on the whole far fairer in statement of the actual condition of things. I do not intend to review either, and only mention them to disclaim the matter and manner of one and the other, as a writer entirely neutral and dispassionate.

The reasons which I consider as imperative in their effect on the relations of Austria and Italy are,—1st, that the Trentine is a distinctly Italian province, with as distinctly Italian sympathies, which are expressed as clearly as the well-known antecedents of the Austrian government in similar cases make it prudent for a subject people to express any aspiration: 2nd, that the condition of the northern boundary between Udine and the Valtelline is one which makes constant preparation for war a necessary condition of Italian security and tranquillity. The strategical position which Austria holds in the Trentine is one which no European power would endure under the same circumstances, if it were not helpless. If any condition were to supervene which permitted Austria, with any colour of

justification, to attack Italy with the bulk of her forces, I, for one, have no doubt the attack would be made, and that it would be made by the Trentine. To meet this attack, which might be directed on any point between Venice and Turin, requires fortifications which do not exist, and an army of a force and state of preparation which the Italian army has not attained, nor can attain without the expenditure of more than the Government now spends on it. All thought of economy in military expenditure would, under the circumstances, be imprudence of the highest degree, and the only sound policy, under the circumstances, would be that Italy should prepare for an offensive war, and undertake it on the first opportunity. To wait for an attack at Austria's convenience, is to premeditate defeat and humiliation; for a campaign in which Austria takes the initiative, can hardly but be disastrous to the Italian army. If a foreign power held the Isle of Thanet, her position for an attack on the rest of England would not be so strong as that of Austria is in the Trentine for the conquest of northern Italy. Between Monte Quaterna, the last point of the national frontier, coming from Udine westward, to the Lake of Garda, there are no less than six roads by which attack might be made to the south-east. Three of them are between Garda and the western limit, conterminous with Switzerland, and they nearly all radiate from the upper part of the valley of the Adige, and to all of which Austria holds the passes.

What we have heard from a great many Englishmen is that, under the circumstances, the best thing Italy can do is to be quiet, and give no provocation, and not to waste her money in armies. It is, however, hardly the advice that one man of spirit would give another under corresponding circumstances. He would rather say, "Look into your relations with your neighbour, and if you are convinced rationally that the conflict is inevitable, do your best to get ready for it, and prefer rather to win the sympathy of your friends by a gallantly borne flogging, than their contempt by submitting tamely to a humiliating position."

The question of right and wrong in the case is one which is too complicated for a practical solution. One will ask what right Italy has to claim the Trentine? The only reply is that the Trentine is Italian and doesn't want to be Austrian. On the question of nationality there is no discussion possible. From Peutelstein, in the ridge which forms the southern side of the Pusterthal, and along the mountains that run towards Botzen, all to the south is Italian, and the ethnic as well as strategic limit runs west from Botzen till it strikes the triple confine. But the question is best replied to by another—what right has Austria there? All one can reply is, the right of treaties. But treaty right is one based on force, and to possess permanence or respect, claims must be deeper now-a-

days. Perhaps too much is said at present about the doctrine of nationalities, and I have no intention of discussing questions of abstract right or international law. But as the claim of Italy to sympathy is before me, I venture to say that the desire of Italy to liberate the Trentine is more worthy of sympathy than that of Austria to hold it in subjection, while to the general peace of Europe, which is of universal interest, the removal of *one* of the gravest obstacles to a general pacification and perhaps the most flagrant menace of war, may be important enough to influence materially the sympathies of Europe at large, which is all I have to deal with, and if the necessity of a "scientific frontier" is ever admitted as a just *casus belli*, it must be so here, where it is purely defensive in its scope. But what is more to the point is that, make what treaty one may, there is no evasion of the issue other than by postponement, and, pending the postponement, Italy must be prepared to meet Austria, and will probably be disposed to take advantage of any grave complication of the latter to enforce her claims; and I do not see how fair-minded neutrals can blame her. The question of the Trentine is one in view of which a prudent and courageous Italian government can have but one duty—wait till the time comes to claim it, and if defeated once, get ready to move again. Trent in the hands of Austria means eternal insecurity and perpetual armaments.

The question of Trieste and Istria is not so clear to me. It is true that a maximum of security to Italy requires the completion of the frontier by the Julian Alps; but if the flanks of an army in the Friuli were protected from any movement by the Trentine, it could meet on fairly equal terms one coming from the East, and though the present frontier on that side is one of the most absurd ever contrived, and contains no strong position on the Italian side, it is not much better on the Austrian, and a good army need not be seriously disquieted at the chances of *being attacked* on that side. If the frontier were restored to that of the old Venetian dominion, the position of Italy would be one of the most secure in defence in Europe, so long as she is not attacked by a greater maritime power. This would be the old Roman frontier, and that established by Napoleon for his Kingdom of Italy; but in considering it, there are other interests to be weighed than those of Italy. The loss of Trieste would be to Austria at present too grave an one to be balanced by any gain Italy would get from the acquisition. If the Austrian government had given the improvements effected at Trieste, in the last fifty years, to Fiume, the latter port would be a really defensible and more useful one than Trieste; but as, for reasons which in all probability were connected with the race antagonisms of the Empire, this was not done, Trieste is now the most important point in her Adriatic possessions. But as in a short time the possession of Salonica by Austria

will probably at once deprive all the Adriatic ports of their present commercial importance, and leave Trieste in the condition in which Venice now is, she may then look on its loss with a comparative resignation.

The question of population is far from easy to determine. That the sea-coast cities and towns are Italian in population and sympathy there is no question, and from sources which I consider the most absolutely certain, I am informed that a large majority of the population even of Trieste are friendly to an annexation to Italy, and Trieste is the only city on the coast which was never Venetian. But this is not sufficient. In planning according to the doctrine of nationalities, we must take the majority of the whole province, and I do not believe that any trustworthy statistics exist on this point. What is true is that Italian is the language in which the communes voted to have the official acts published; but this, perhaps, because there were only three available—German, which has few adherents anywhere; Italian; and Croat, which is useless to all the Slavs of other descent; while Italian is more or less known in all the communes. It would not necessarily imply that a majority was Italian, and I am disposed to doubt whether it is. But one thing is clear, that Istria and the Triestine will be either Italian or Slav—German hardly, for they can never become a part of Germany without the absorption of two intervening Slav provinces; which is an undertaking far graver than the result will justify, and would lay the foundation of an eternal feud between the Slavonic and Teutonic States. So far as Germany is concerned, the possession of Trieste by Italy ought to be preferable to its being in the hands of that Slavonic power which will some day unite the Balkan Slav population, especially as it will also hold Salonica, and thereby might make the access of German commerce to the Mediterranean dependent on the goodwill of a power between whom and Germany more probable causes of general difference exist than between Italy and Germany. These are, however, questions for the future, and I advert to them solely to show that Italy has no such need for imminent preparation as exists with regard to the Trentine; nor can she expect that sympathy in reference to a question mainly of acquisition, even if of a kindred population, as to one which is, in addition, one of national security. The question of Trieste and Istria is not ripe yet, and when it ripens, may not fall as Italy desires. I hope sincerely that it may, for nature has so clearly marked out the boundary of the Julian Alps and the Quarnero, that it would be a delightful surprise in the midst of the political incongruities of Europe to see one where nature and the diplomatists agreed.

But so long as the question of the Trentine is open to agitation, it will carry the other with it. For the struggle implied in a forcible

solution of it Italy is only half prepared. Great as are her military expenses, they are still insufficient in proportion to her army. I do not pretend to have an intimate acquaintance with her military administration, but I do know that to economise, the soldiers, even of the first contingent, are not kept under instruction as long as they should be, and that the consumption of ammunition in practice is not enough to make the men tolerable shots during their whole term of service—bad economy! Then rifle clubs are almost unknown, and in the Venetian Alpine country just across the frontier from the Tyrol, where every man is a marksman, one rarely finds an Italian who knows how to use a rifle. Officers bred in the military schools attach far too little importance to sharp-shooting, yet history shows that in mountain warfare it is as important as good manœuvring. The Italian soldier has few equals in Europe, and man for man I am convinced that he is superior to the Austrian. The battle of Custozza is invariably thrown in the face of an Italian who speaks of a war with Austria; but Custozza was a battle which the Italian rank and file have no reason to be ashamed of. As at Balaclava, “somebody blundered;” but an army which loses one-sixth of its number in a steady attack, and retires in order, cannot be said to be lacking in courage or bravery. The brilliant contemporary operations of General Medici in the Val Sugana, interrupted by the armistice, show that Italian troops are capable of splendid offensive movements when properly commanded; and for the rest Custozza is not alone in Italian annals. The quality of subordinate officers I judge not to present the same advantage for Italy, as the Austrian officers are immensely superior to their men, and are a splendid body of soldiers, full of *esprit de corps*, though naturally without the spirit of nationality, and indeed weakened gravely as a whole by the conflict of nationalities amongst them. I have known many of them, especially of the Slavs, and have known very few indeed whom I did not like. Of the Italian officers I know few, but the prevailing impression I receive from those who know them well is that the younger men are excellent officers, but that in the higher grades, personal rivalries and jealousies, and the want of a head who can impose his ideas on the commanding officers and the army, and of a school which shall have developed unity of ideas in the older men, goes far to neutralise the good qualities of the material. The best troops are from the northern provinces, as are the best administrators in the civil service; and the addition of the *irridente* provinces, if it is ever accomplished, will be an additional strength to Italy far beyond the proportional population annexed.¹

(1) I have said nothing of the advantage to Italy resulting from the education gained by her youth in the army—education in manhood and intelligence. This result alone is so important that no Italian should regret the expenditure were it much greater, but the subject is out of my scope.

The quality of the navy is even more underrated than that of the army in the general European estimation. It is judged by Liassa, and probably not one in a thousand of those who on that ground pooh pooh the Italian navy, know the history of Liassa even superficially. We only know that the admiral commanding lost his head, and that no use was made of the Italian superiority of force, and that finally, one of the finest of the Italian ships, having her rudder shot away and being helpless, was rammed (not as I see English journals continually repeat, by a wooden, but by an ironclad ship) and went down, and the complete demoralisation which ensued with the supposed loss of the admiral, compelled the Italian fleet to retreat, though still superior to the Austrian. It was a signal example of the superiority of more man over more men, the incompetence of the Italian admiral determining the value of all his subordinates. The Italian sailor, man or officer, has not the dash and nerve of the English or Russian; lacks that complete recklessness of danger or odds which has achieved such splendid results for the English navy; but I know some officers who might well fill a commission in the English navy. The Italian fleet I have no more to speak of, if even I were competent to speak authoritatively. It is superior to the Austrian in numbers, and equal to it in general efficiency, though it is to be feared that the want of self-abnegation which I have alluded to as a vice of the political and military life, extends to the higher naval as well. Italy has indeed had an united existence so short that it is not to be wondered at that the *solidarité* which professional zeal and old tradition give Austrian commanders and German soldiers of all grades and arms, should be lacking. So long as the central authority is not compact enough to resist the influences of sectional and personal divisions, it can hardly be expected that soldiers or sailors will escape them. The greatest of Italian national weaknesses, and the most disastrous in its effect on the growth and prosperity of the country, is this want of self-abnegation and patriotic humility in her public men. There is lacking no element of national greatness but this; but, this lacking, Italy is what we see her, fully alive and growing, with an unquestionable national vitality, and sufficient strength of character to resist all her outside dangers whether of Church or State—made, not again to be unmade, except it be by her own fermentations, and the selfish ambitions of her own children, but not progressing or strong as her friends would like to see her. A Cavour or a Bismark can hardly be expected (in one nation) oftener than the Phoenix, but in the absence of great men many lesser men answer the purpose, on condition that they form a portion of an administrative unity; what we see in Italy to-day does not resemble this. Let us hope that she will not need to wait for a great disaster to call out her best qualities, and prepare her public men for an indispensable self-effacement.

W. J. STILLMAN.

THE LETTERS OF CHARLES DICKENS.

THE saying of the French lady about the philosopher Hume, whose conversation had disappointed her, *Le pauvre homme ! il a mis tout dans ses livres*, could not be applied to Charles Dickens. Wherever he went, thousands pressed forward to shake him by the hand, and thank him for the rays of brightness which his books had shed into their lives, but he was in his own person as much a centre of joyful radiance as his books. It is not in man to be always radiant ; even Macaulay had his flashes of silence, and Dickens in mixed society where he was not altogether at his ease may sometimes have been dull and disappointing as Hume was to the gay admirer of his philosophy. But among his intimates he was the very soul of mirth, the incarnation of high spirits, the leader of high jinks when high jinks were going forward, the man whose entrance could raise the temperature of a company and make every pulse beat quicker. How inspiring a presence he must have been, the world already knows from Mr. Forster's biography, where we learn how gleefully he threw off the yoke of work—no man ever worked harder—how breezy was his challenge to friends to spend an idle interval ; how boylike he was in his earnestness as a master of the revels among his children. We get a still more vivid sense of this buoyancy and exuberance of temperament from the two volumes of letters which have just been published, edited with pious care by his eldest daughter and his sister-in-law, Miss Hogarth, of whom he makes mention in his will as "the best and truest friend man ever had." The editors have wisely refrained from burdening the text with commentary and explanation. Their great desire, they say, has been "to give to the public another book from Charles Dickens's own hands—as it were a portrait of himself by himself." No formal portrait could be half so vivid. In this book, which was never intended to be a book, we come nearer to the man as he was than any biographer could have brought us.

It has sometimes been imputed to Dickens as a defect in his private character that he was self-conscious, that he was always behaving as if the eye of the world were upon him, that he was never natural, but always posing for effect, showing himself aware that his smallest action would be handed down to posterity. His expression to Mr. Forster, "Put that in my biography,"—after telling him how he jumped out of bed one night to practise a step which he had been learning in view of festivities on the birthday of one of his children,—has often been quoted in proof of this unbecoming immodesty. I

must say that I can never hear such folly talked, without feeling inclined to repeat Charles Lamb's frantic pantomime of surprise when a respectable gentleman asked him whether he did not after all consider that Milton was a poet. How could Dickens have been otherwise than conscious of what was proclaimed by the universal voice? How could he have ignored the fact that his smallest action was noted with interest, when he had seen an audience scrambling for the petals of a flower which had dropped from his button-hole? Probably no human being was ever put in so trying a position as Charles Dickens, when he was suddenly lifted from drudging obscurity into an unparalleled, absolutely unparalleled, blaze of fame, and found himself received everywhere with the honours usually reserved for royal personages, popular ministers, or great generals after glorious victory. He could not take refuge in state ceremonial, for no awe was mingled with the enthusiasm of the multitude; the creator of *Pickwick* and Sam Weller was not a being to be gazed at with distant respect, but a man and a brother to be mobbed, huzzaed, welcomed with affectionate smiles and broad grins of sympathy. It was a trying position, and no man could have borne his honours with more manly and unaffected simplicity than Dickens did. He frankly accepted the situation, and never sought to disguise his delight in his fame. He did not allow it to overpower him into a preposterous affectation of humility, or stiffen him into a frigid assumption of dignity, but he gloried in it and made a joke of it among his familiar friends. In public he took applause and attention as his natural right; in his private letters, in which he gave unrestrained vent to his sense of fun, we find many scenes and dialogues where he figures under such nicknames as "The Inimitable," "The Sparkler of Albion," and the rest.

There was, perhaps, some foundation for the charge of posturing, though by no means in the ill-natured sense in which the charge has sometimes been made. It was one of his humours to posture, one of his relaxations to cast himself and his friends in fantastic parts, and write imaginary dialogues in imitation of plays which they had seen together. There is nothing more striking in the two volumes of letters than the evidence that they furnish of the persistence with which his thoughts ran upon the stage. His passion for acting was of very early date. He has told us how as a boy he used to stalk about his father's house acting out the various characters in Smollett's novels. He organized private theatricals at school, and played as an amateur when he was a clerk in a solicitor's office. He seems to have had a complete knowledge of stage business down to its smallest detail. In the famous amateur company of literary men and artists which was organized in 1845, Dickens, Mr. Forster says, was "the life and soul of the entire affair, stage-director, very often stage-

carpenter, scene-arranger, property-man, prompter, and band-master." And it was not only among amateurs that he could venture to assume authority. When one of his Christmas tales was dramatised, he not only drilled the actors, but made suggestions to the master carpenter about the scenery. According to his own story, a master carpenter to whom he developed some wonderful mechanical contrivance of his, shook his head with a mournful air and said, "Ah, sir, it's a universal observation in the profession, sir, that it was a great loss to the public when you took to writing books!"

Here is an example of the kind of posturing in which Dickens's theatrical passion prompted him to indulge, a letter to his friend Clarkson Stanfield, written from Albaro, during his residence in Italy, in 1844:—

"MY DEAR STANFIELD,—

"I love you so truly, and have such pride and joy of heart in your friendship, that I don't know how to begin writing to you. When I think how you are walking up and down London in that portly surtout, and can't receive proposals from Dick to go to the theatre, I fall into a state between laughing and crying, and want some friendly back to smite. 'Jo-im!' 'Aye, aye, your honour,' is in my ears every time I walk upon the sea-shore here; and the number of expeditions I make into Cornwall in my sleep, the springs of Flys I break, the songs I sing, and the bowls of punch I drink, would soften a heart of stone.

"We have had weather here, since five o'clock this morning, after your own heart. Suppose yourself the Admiral in 'Black-eyed Susan' after the acquittal of William, and when it was possible to be on friendly terms with him. I am 'T.P.' My trousers are very full at the ankles, my black neckerchief is tied in the regular style, the name of my ship is painted round my glazed hat, I have a red waistcoat on, and the seams of my blue jacket are 'paid'—permit me to dig you in the ribs when I make use of this nautical expression—with white. In my hand I hold the very box connected with the story of Sandomingoribilly. I lift up my eyebrows as far as I can (on the T.P. model), take a quid from the box, screw the lid on again (chewing at the same time, and looking pleasantly at the pit), brush it with my right elbow, take up my right leg, scrape my right foot on the ground, hitch up my trousers, and in reply to a question of yours, namely, 'Indeed, what weather, William?' I deliver myself as follows:

"Lord love your honour! Weather! Such weather as would set all hands to the pumps aboard one of your fresh-water cockboats, and set the pursor to his wits' ends to stow away, for the use of the ship's company, the casks and casks full of blue water as would come powering in over the gunnel! The dirtiest night, your honour, as ever you see 'atween Spithead at gun-fire and the Bay of Biscay! The wind sou'-west, and your house dead in the wind's eye; the breakers running up high upon the rocky beads, the light us no more looking through the fog than Davy Jones's sarser eye through the blue sky of heaven in a calm, or the blue toplights of your honour's lady cast down in a

(1). "T. P. Cooke, the celebrated actor of 'William' in Douglas Jerrold's play of *Black-eyed Susan*."

modest overhauling of her catheads: avast! (*whistling*) my dear eyes; here am I a-goin' head on to the breakers (*bowing*).

"*Admiral (smiling)*. No, William! I admire plain speaking, as you know, and so does old England, William, and old England's Queen. But you were saying——

"*William*. Aye, aye, your honour (*scratching his head*). I've lost my reckoning. Damme!—I ast pardon—but won't your honour throw a hencoop or any old end of towline to a man as is overboard?

"*Admiral (smiling still)*. You were saying, William, that the wind——

"*William (again cocking his leg, and slapping the thighs very hard)*. Avast heaving, your honour!" . . .

And so on, in a lively parody of the nautical drama which he knew that his friend would appreciate. Whether he was travelling for business or for pleasure, he always thought fondly of home, and, however busy he was, found time to send something for the entertainment of those whom he had left behind him. Here is another example of his posturing, a document forwarded to his wife after he had delivered a speech for a charitable object at Liverpool:—

"OUT OF THE COMMON—PLEASE.

"*DICKENS against THE WORLD.*

"CHARLES DICKENS, of No. 1, Devonshire Terrace, York Gate, Regent's Park, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman, the successful plaintiff in the above cause, maketh oath and saith: That on the day and date hereof, to wit at seven o'clock in the evening, he, this deponent, took the chair at a large assembly of the Mechanics' Institution at Liverpool, and that having been received with tremendous and enthusiastic plaudits, he, this deponent, did immediately dash into a vigorous, brilliant, humorous, pathetic, eloquent, fervid, and impassioned speech. That the said speech was enlivened by thirteen hundred persons, with frequent, vehement, uproarious, and deafening cheers, and to the best of this deponent's knowledge and belief, he, this deponent, did speak up like a man, and did, to the best of his knowledge and belief, considerably distinguish himself. That after the proceedings of the evening were over, and a vote of thanks was proposed to this deponent, he, this deponent, did again distinguish himself, and that the cheering at that time, accompanied with clapping of hands and stamping of feet, was in this deponent's case thundering and awful. And this deponent further saith, that his white-and-black or magpie waistcoat, did create a strong sensation, and that during the hours of promenading, this deponent heard from persons surrounding him such exclamations as, 'What is it! Is it a waistcoat? No, it's a shirt'—and the like—all of which this deponent believes to have been complimentary and gratifying; but this deponent further saith that he is now going to supper, and wishes he may have an appetite to eat it.

"*'CHARLES DICKENS.'*

The letters now published are full of such spurts of affectionate fun as the above. They contain only the most casual references to the writer's works. Perhaps the most interesting of these is an apology written to his future wife in 1835, pleading business engage-

ments as an excuse for his not going to see her. He has had a visit, he says, from his publishers, and he describes as follows a proposal which they have made to him:—

“They (Chapman and Hall) have made me an offer of fourteen pounds a month, to write and edit a new publication they contemplate, entirely by myself, to be published monthly, and each number to contain four woodcuts. I am to make my estimate and calculation, and to give them a decisive answer on Friday morning. The work will be no joke, but the emolument is too tempting to resist.”

The work which was to be “no joke” was the *Pickwick Papers*. It was no doubt less of a joke to him than to other people, in one respect. From the first he had too much respect for his readers to write without effort. In his counsels to young writers, there was no topic on which Dickens laid more stress than the necessity of taking pains with their work. When Mr. Wilkie Collins published *Basil*, he received a letter of encouraging praise, of which the following sentence was the climax:—

“It is delightful to find throughout that you have taken great pains with it besides, and have ‘gone at it’ with perfect knowledge of the jolter-headedness of the conceited idiots who suppose that volumes can be tossed off like pancakes, and that any writing can be done without the utmost application, the greatest patience, and the steadiest energy of which the writer is capable.”

We know on the best authority that in this matter Dickens “recked his own rede,” and that what seemed to flow in an easy exuberant stream was really produced at an exhausting expense of brain and spirit. The letters, however, do not show us Dickens at work, but Dickens at play, relieved from the strain of facing the public, and tossing off the impressions of the moment for the sympathetic appreciation of his own inner circle. The editors say that “no man ever expressed *himself* more in his letters than Charles Dickens.” No man certainly ever expressed a livelier or more considerate friendship, a purer affection, or a more exhilarating sense of the ridiculous. It is a characteristic circumstance that the most boisterously cheerful letters were written to the correspondents who had most need of cheering. Dickens would seem to have taken particular delight in rousing the melancholy Macready, who was one of his closest friends. Macready’s doleful fears that he was breaking up, and that all his powers were gone, were laughed away with such friendly chaff as the following:—

“My dear old Parr, I don’t believe a word you write about King John! That is to say, I don’t believe you take into account the enormous difference between the energy summonable-up in your study at Sherborne and the energy that

will fire up in you (without so much as saying 'With your leave' or 'By your leave') in the Town Hall at Birmingham. I know you, you ancient oddger, I know you! Therefore I will trouble you to be so good as to do an act of honesty after you have been to Birmingham, and to write to me, 'Ingenuous boy, you were correct. I find I could have read 'om 'King John' with the greatest ease.' "

When Macready was starring in America, and probably feeling very lonely and home-sick, his friend consoled him with a cheerful account of what was passing in his absence:—

"MY VERY DEAR MACREADY,—

"You know all the news, and you know I love you; so I no more know why I write than I do why I 'come round' after the play to shake hands with you in your dressing-room. I say come, as if you were at this present moment the lessee of Drury Lane, and had —— with a long face on one hand, —— elaborately explaining that everything in creation is a joint-stock company on the other, the inimitable B. by the fire, in conversation with ——. Well-a-day! I see it all, and smell that extraordinary compound of odd scents peculiar to a theatre, which bursts upon me when I swing open the little door in the hall, accompanies me as I meet perspiring supers in the narrow passage, goes with me up the two steps, crosses the stage, winds round the third entrance P.S. as I wind, and escorts me safely into your presence, where I find you unwinding something slowly round and round your chest, which is so long that no man can see the end of it.

"Oh that you had been at Clarence Terrace on Nina's birthday! Good God, how we missed you, talked of you, drank your health, and wondered what you were doing! Perhaps you are Falkland enough (I swear I suspect you of it) to feel rather sore—just a little bit, you know, the merest trifle in the world—on hearing that Mrs. Macready looked brilliant, blooming, young, and handsome, and that she danced a country dance with the writer hereof (Acres to your Falkland) in a thorough spirit of becoming good humour and enjoyment. Now you don't like to be told that? Nor do you quite like to hear that Forster and I conjured bravely; that a plum-pudding was produced from an empty saucepan, held over a blazing fire kindled in Stanfield's hat without damage to the lining; that a box of bran was changed into a live guinea-pig, which ran between my godchild's feet, and was the cause of such a shrill uproar and clapping of hands that you might have heard it (and I daresay did) in America; that three half-crowns being taken from Major Burns and put into a tumbler-glass before his eyes, did then and there give jingling answers to the questions asked of them by me, and know where you were and what you were doing, to the unspeakable admiration of the whole assembly. Neither do you quite like to be told that we are going to do it again next Saturday, with the addition of demoniacal dresses from the masquerade shop; nor that Mrs. Macready, for her gallant bearing always, and her best sort of best affection, is the best creature I know. Never mind; no man shall gag me, and those are my opinions."

The description of the scents of the theatre may be compared with the description of the snore of Walter Savage Landor, in a very

spirited letter to that somewhat terrible personage. It is in answer apparently to a mock-ferocious complaint from Landor that he had not written, expressed in strong language. Landor was godfather to one of Dickens's children.

“YOUNG MAN,—

“I will not go there if I can help it. I have not the least confidence in the value of your introduction to the Devil. I can't help thinking that it would be of better use ‘the other way, the other way,’ but I won't try it there, either, at present, if I can help it. Your godson says is that your duty? and he begs me to enclose a blush newly blushed for you.

“As to writing, I have written to you twenty times and twenty more to that, if you only knew it. I have been writing a little Christmas book, besides, expressly for you. And if you don't like it, I shall go to the font of Marleybone Church as soon as I conveniently can and renounce you: I am not to be trifled with. I write from Paris. I am getting up some French steam. I intend to proceed upon the longing-for-a-lap-of-blood-at-last principle, and if you do offend me, look to it.

“We are all well and happy, and they send loves to you by the bushel. We are in the agonies of house-hunting. The people are frightfully civil, and grotesquely extortionate. One man (with a house to let) told me yesterday that he loved the Duke of Wellington like a brother. The same gentleman wanted to hug me round the neck with one hand, and pick my pocket with the other.

“Don't be hard upon the Swiss. They are a thorn in the sides of European despots, and a good wholesome people to live near Jesuit-ridden kings on the brighter side of the mountains. My hat shall ever be ready to be thrown up, and my glove ever ready to be thrown down for Switzerland. If you were the man I took you for, when I took you (as a godfather) for better and for worse, you would come to Paris and amaze the weak walls of the house I haven't found yet with that steady snore of yours, which I once heard piercing the door of your bedroom in Devonshire Terrace, reverberating along the bell-wire in the hall, so getting outside into the street, playing Eolian harps among the area railings, and going down the New Road like the blast of a trumpet.

“I forgive you your reviling of me: there's a shovelful of live coals for your head—does it burn? And am, with true affection—does it burn now?—

“Ever yours.”

Once we find him “dropping into poetry” in his friendly invitations. He was hard at work on *David Copperfield*, which he again and again declared to be his favourite work, when he sent the following verses to Mark Lemon, to the tune of “Lesbia hath a beaming eye” :—

1.

“Lemon is a little hipped,
And this is Lemon's true position;
He is not pale, he's not white-lipped,
Yet wants a little fresh condition.

Sweeter 'tis to gaze upon
 Old ocean's rising, falling billows,
 Than on the houses every one,
 That form the street called Saint Anne's Willers.
 Oh, my Lemon, round and fat,
 Oh, my bright, my right, my tight 'un,
 Think a little what you're at—
 Don't stay at home, but come to Brighton!

2.

Lemon has a coat of frieze,
 But all so seldom Lemon wears it,
 That it is a prey to fleas,
 And ev'ry moth that's hungry tears it.
 Oh, that coat's the coat for me,
 That braves the railway sparks and breezes,
 Leaving every engine free
 To smoke it, till its owner sneezes!
 Then my Lemon, round and fat,
 I., my bright, my right, my tight 'un,
 Think a little what you're at—
 On Tuesday first, come down to Brighton!"

Dickens's relations with his friends show him in a thoroughly pleasing light. When he was living at a distance from London, he bribed them to write to him by sending them long letters about things which he knew would interest them. "Write to me as often as you can," he wrote from Italy to Maclise, "like a dear good fellow, and rely upon the punctuality of my correspondence." Then he proceeded to relate an anecdote about a common acquaintance, his dog Timber, named after Mr. Snittle Timbery:—

"I don't know what to do with Timber. He is as ill-adapted to the climate at this time of year as a suit of fur. I have had him made a lion dog; but the fleas flock in such crowds into the hair he has left, that they drive him nearly frantic, and render it absolutely necessary that he should be kept by himself. Of all the miserable hideous little frights you ever saw, you never beheld such a devil. Apropos, as we were crossing the Seine within two stages of Paris, Roche suddenly said to me, sitting by me on the box: 'The littel dog 'ave got a great lip!' I was thinking of things remote and very different, and couldn't comprehend why any peculiarity in this feature on the part of the dog should excite a man so much. As I was musing upon it, my ears were attracted by shouts of 'Helo! hola! Hi, hi, hi! Le voilà! Regardez!' and the like. And looking down among the oxen—we were in the centre of a numerous drove—I saw him, Timber, lying in the road, curled up—you know his way—like a lobster, only not so stiff, yelping dismally in the pain of his 'lip' from the roof of the carriage; and between the aching of his bones, his horror of the oxen, and his dread of me (who he evidently took to be the immediate agent in said cause of the damage), singing out to an extent which I believe to be perfectly unprecedented; while every Frenchman and French boy within sight roared for company. He wasn't hurt."

One of Dickens's favourite correspondents was Miss Mary Boyle. Their great bond of union was their common love for acting—Miss Boyle was an excellent amateur actress—and Dickens's letters to her are consequently filled with theatrical allusions. The following is a specimen :—

"I pass my time here (I am staying here alone) in working, taking physic, and taking a stall at a theatre every night. On Boxing Night I was at Covent Garden. A dull pantomime was 'worked' (as we say) better than I ever saw a heavy piece worked on a first night, until suddenly and without a moment's warning, every scene on that immense stage fell over on its face, and disclosed chaos by gaslight behind! There never was such a business; about sixty people who were on the stage being extinguished in the most remarkable manner. Not a soul was hurt. In the uproar, some moon-calf rescued a porter pot, six feet high (out of which the clown had been drinking when the accident happened), and stood it on the cushion of the lowest proscenium box, P.S., beside a lady and gentleman, who were dreadfully ashamed of it. The moment the house knew that nobody was injured, they directed their whole attention to this gigantic porter pot in its genteel position (the lady and gentleman trying to hide behind it), and roared with laughter. When a modest footman came from behind the curtain to clear it, and took it up in his arms like a Brobdignagian baby, we all laughed more than ever we had laughed in our lives. I don't know why.

"We have had a fire here, but our people put it out before the parish-engine arrived, like a drivelling perambulator, with *the beadle in it*, like an imbecile baby. Popular opinion, disappointed in the fire having been put out, snow-balled the beadle. God bless it!

"Over the way at the Lyceum, there is a very fair Christmas piece, with one or two uncommonly well-done nigger-songs—one remarkably gay and mad, done in the finale to a scene. Also a very nice transformation, though I don't know what it means.

"The poor actors waylay me in Bow Street, to represent their necessities; and I often see one cut down a court when he beholds me coming, cut round Drury Lane to face me, and come up towards me near this door in the freshest and most accidental way, as if I was the last person he expected to see on the surface of this globe. The other day, there thus appeared before me (simultaneously with a scent of rum in the air) one aged and greasy man, with a pair of pumps under his arm. He said he thought if he could get down to somewhere (I think it was Newcastle), he would get 'taken on' as Pantaloon, the existing Pantaloon being 'a stick, sir—a mere muff.' I observed that I was sorry times were so bad with him. 'Mr. Dickens, you know our profession, sir—no one knows it better, sir—there is no right feeling in it. I was Harlequin on your own circuit, sir, for five-and-thirty years, and was displaced by a boy, sir!—a boy!'"

The humours of the stage were an inexhaustible source of merriment to him. Wherever he went, at home or abroad, the local theatre, if there was a theatre, permanent or extemporised, no matter how small, was one of his first resorts. If he laughed at the poor

strollers, the following incident, recorded in a letter to Mr. W. H. Wills, his trusted coadjutor on *Household Words*, shows that the laughter was not unkindly :—

“ Mark and I walked to Dartford from Greenwich, last Monday, and found Mrs.—— acting *the Stranger* (with a strolling company from the Standard Theatre) in Mr. Munn’s schoolroom. The stage was a little wider than your table here, and its surface was composed of loose boards laid on the school-forms. Dogs sniffed about it during the performances, and *the carpenter’s highlows* were ostentatiously taken off and displayed in the proscenium.

"We stayed until a quarter to ten, when we were obliged to fly to the railroad, but we sent the landlord of the hotel down with the following articles :

1 bottle superior old port,
1 do. do. golden sherry,
1 do. do. best French brandy,
1 do. do. 1st quality old Tom gin,
1 do. do. primo Jamaica rum,
1 do. do. small still *Isla* whisky,
1 kettle boiling water, two pounds finest white lump sugar,
Our cards,
1 lemon,
and
Our compliments.

"The effect we had previously made upon the theatrical company by being beheld in the first two chairs—there was nearly a pound in the house—was altogether electrical."

The steadiness with which Dickens maintained his friendships, is well illustrated by his correspondence with M. de Cerjat. He made M. de Cerjat's acquaintance in the summer of 1846, when he was staying at Lausanne, and ever afterwards made a point of sending long answers to that gentleman's annual congratulations at Christmas. These letters, in which the grave is mixed with the gay, are among the most interesting in the two volumes. Dickens's letters always take a colour from the correspondent that he is addressing. In writing to M. de Cerjat, besides giving lively gossip about common acquaintances, and telling him about his children, he introduced the more serious matters which were engaging his attention, and gave his views about the Russian war, the American war, the Reform question, Papal aggression, and so forth, probably in answer to questions from his correspondent. We find, in a letter dated December 29, 1849, the following reference to the part Dickens had taken in the agitation for putting a stop to the horrors of public executions.

"You have no idea what that hanging of the Mannings really was. The conduct of the people was so indescribably frightful, that I felt for some time afterwards almost as if I were living in a city of devils. I feel, at this hour, as if I never could go near the place again. My letters have made a great to-

do, and led to a great agitation of the subject; but I have not a confident belief in any change being made, mainly because the total abolitionists are utterly reckless and dishonest (generally speaking), and would play the deuce with any such proposition in Parliament, unless it were strongly supported by the Government, which it would certainly not be, the Whig motto (in office) being '*laissez aller*.' I think Peel might do it if he came in. Two points have occurred to me as being a good commentary to the objections to my idea. The first is that a most terrific uproar was made when the hanging processions were abolished, and the ceremony shrunk from Tyburn to the prison door. The second is that, at this very time, under the British Government in New South Wales, executions take place *within the prison walls*, with decidedly improved results. (I am waiting to explode this fact on the first man of mark who gives me the opportunity)."

Readers of Mr. Forster's biography know the history of Dickens's attachment to Gad's Hill Place, the house which was his home for the last twelve years of his life. His early associations with it, and the curious chapter of accidents by which it came into his possession, are still more completely and succinctly given in a letter to M. de Cerjat.

"Down at Gad's Hill, near Rochester, in Kent—Shakespeare's Gad's Hill, where Falstaff engaged in the robbery—is a quaint little country-house of Queen Anne's time. I happened to be walking past, a year and a half or so ago, with my sub-editor of *Household Words*, when I said to him: 'You see that house? It has always a curious interest for me, because when I was a small boy down in these parts I thought it the most beautiful house (I suppose because of its famous old cedar-trees) ever seen. And my poor father used to bring me to look at it, and used to say that if I ever grew up to be a clever man perhaps I might own that house, or such another house. In remembrance of which, I have always in passing looked to see if it was to be sold or let, and it has never been to me like any other house, and it has never changed at all.' We came back to town, and my friend went out to dinner. Next morning he came to me in great excitement, and said: 'It is written that you were to have that house at Gad's Hill. The lady I had allotted to me to take down to dinner yesterday began to speak of that neighbourhood. "You know it?" I said; "I have been there to-day." "O yes," said she, "I know it very well. I was a child there, in the house they call Gad's Hill Place. My father was the rector, and lived there many years. He has just died, has left it to me, and I want to sell it."' "So," says the sub-editor, "you must buy it. Now or never!" I did, and hope to pass next summer there, though I may, perhaps, let it afterwards, furnished, from time to time."

To M. de Cerjat also he sent the following pleasant description of his life at Gad's Hill. He apologised to him as to his other correspondents for writing so much about himself, but he had too lively a belief in their friendship to suppose that there was any subject about which they would be more willing to have the latest intelligence.

"At this present moment I am on my little Kentish freehold (*not* in top-boots, and not particularly prejudiced that I know of), looking on as pretty a view out of my study window as you will find in a long day's English ride. My little place is a grave red brick house (time of George the First, I suppose), which I have added to and stuck bits upon in all manner of ways, so that it is as pleasantly irregular, and as violently opposed to all architectural ideas, as the most hopeful man could possibly desire. It is on the summit of Gad's Hill. The robbery was committed before the door, on the man with the treasure, and Falstaff ran away from the identical spot of ground now covered by the room in which I write. A little rustic alehouse, called the Sir John Falstaff, is over the way—has been over the way, ever since, in honour of the event. Cobham Woods and Park are behind the house; the distant Thames in front; the Medway, with Rochester, and its old castle and cathedral, on one side. The whole stupendous property is on the old Dover Road, so when you come, come by the North Kent Railway (not the South-Eastern) to Strood or Iligham, and I'll drive over to fetch you.

"The blessed woods and fields have done me a world of good, and I am quite myself again. The children are all as happy as children can be. My eldest daughter, Mary, keeps house, with a state and gravity becoming that high position; wherein she is assisted by her sister Katie, and by her aunt Georgina, who is, and always has been, like another sister. Two big dogs, a bloodhound and a St. Bernard, direct from a convent of that name, where I think you once were, are their principal attendants in the green lanes. These latter instantly untie the neckerchiefs of all tramps and prowlers who approach their presence, so that they wander about without any escort, and drive big horses in basket-phaetons through murderous bye-ways, and never come to grief. They are very curious about your daughters, and send all kinds of loves to them and to Mrs. Cerjat, in which I heartily join."

When Dickens was in Ireland, he was greatly fascinated by the jaunting-car, and had one expressly made for himself. In pressing M. de Cerjat to pay him a visit, the pleasure of riding in this car was held out as a main inducement to come:—

"When I was in Ireland, I ordered the brightest jaunting-car that ever was seen. It has just this minute arrived per steamer from Belfast. Say you are coming, and you shall be the first man turned over by it; somebody must be (for my daughter Mary drives anything that can be harnessed, and I know of no English horse that would understand a jaunting-car coming down a Kentish hill), and you shall be that somebody if you will. They turned the basket-phaeton over, last summer, in a bye-road—Mary and the other two—and had to get it up again; which they did, and came home as if nothing had happened."

M. de Cerjat apparently was not tempted, but the car was well known to Dickens's visitors. It was one of the features of Gad's Hill. His dogs, too, once seen were not easily forgotten, particularly a large bloodhound, the hero of the following incident:—

"Last night my gardener came upon a man in the garden and fired. The man returned the compliment by kicking him in the groin and causing him

great pain. I set off, with a great mastiff-bloodhound I have, in pursuit. Couldn't find the evil-doer, but had the greatest difficulty in preventing the dog from tearing two policemen down. They were coming towards us with professional mystery, and he was in the air on his way to the throat of an eminently respectable constable when I caught him."

The bloodhound was useful in keeping off tramps, but he was not always so discriminating, and he came to a tragic end.

"The big dog [he writes to M. de Cerjat, New Year's day, 1867] on a day last autumn, having seized a little girl (sister to one of the servants) whom he knew, and was bound to respect, was flogged by his master, and then sentenced to be shot at seven next morning. He went out very cheerfully with the half-dozen men told off for the purpose, evidently thinking that they were going to be the death of somebody unknown. But observing in the procession an empty wheelbarrow and a double-barrelled gun, he became meditative, and fixed the bearer of the gun with his eyes. A stone deftly thrown across him by the village blackguard (chief mourner) caused him to look round for an instant, and he then fell dead, shot through the heart. Two posthumous children are at this moment rolling on the lawn; one will evidently inherit his ferocity, and will probably inherit the gun."

With dramatic propriety Dickens chose Mr. Wilkie Collins as the recipient of the following ghost story, one of the little night-alarms by which the monotony of life at Gad's Hill was relieved.

"Rumours were brought into the house on Saturday night, that there was a 'ghost' up at Larkins's monument. Plorn was frightened to death, and I was apprehensive of the ghost's spreading and coming there, and causing 'warning' and desertion among the servants. Frank was at home, and Andrew Gordon was with us. Time, nine o'clock. Village talk and credulity, amazing. I armed the two boys with a short stick apiece, and shouldered my double-barrelled gun, well loaded with shot. 'Now observe,' says I to the domestics, 'if anybody is playing tricks and has got a head, I'll blow it off.' Immenso impression. New groom evidently convinced that he has entered the service of a bloodthirsty demon. We ascend to the monument. Stop at the gate. Moon is rising. Heavy shadows. 'Now, look out!' (from the bloodthirsty demon, in a loud, distinct voice). 'If the ghost is here and I see him, so help me God I'll fire at him!' Suddenly, as we enter the field, a most extraordinary noise responds—terrific noise—human noise—and yet superhuman noise. B. T. D. brings piece to shoulder. 'Did you hear that, pa?' says Frank. 'I did,' says I. Noise repeated—portentous, derisive, dull, dismal, damnable. We advance towards the sound. Something white comes lumbering through the darkness. An asthmatic sheep! Dead, as I judge, by this time. Leaving Frank to guard him, I took Andrew with me, and went all round the monument, and down into the ditch, and examined the field well, thinking it likely that somebody might be taking advantage of the sheep to frighten the village. Drama ends with discovery of no one, and triumphant return to rum-and-water."

No light is thrown by these letters upon the causes of the most painful incident in Dickens's prosperous career—his estrangement

from his wife and their final separation in the spring of 1858. There is not even an allusion to it. In view of this unhappy estrangement, a pathetic interest attaches to the earlier letters to his wife, in which he writes to her with the warmest affection. With all the restless desire of change, with all the irresistible craving for new experiences, which drew him hither and thither in eager curiosity, Dickens was eminently a home-centred man, and he must have suffered exquisite pain from the breaking up of his family circle, however much or however little of the blame may rest with himself. He seems to have been never happier than when in the company of his children, and as was his habit in everything he exerted himself to be agreeable to them, to organize games for them, and generally teach them how to amuse themselves. He took pains also, as is well-known, with the serious part of their education, and found time in the midst of his multifarious activity at high pressure to write for them a "History of the New Testament." In these letters there are naturally many traces of his habit of bestowing eccentric nicknames on his children. A postscript to a letter to Mr. Henry Austin, one of the most constant of his early correspondents, runs thus (date Sept. 25, 1842) :—

"P.S.—The children's present names are as follows :

"Katey (from a lurking propensity to fieryness), Lucifer Box.

"Mamey (as generally descriptive of her bearing), Mild Glo'ster.

"Charley (as a corruption of Master Toby), Flaster Floby.

"Walter (suggested by his high cheek-bones), Young Skull.

"Each is pronounced with a peculiar howl, which I shall have great pleasure in illustrating."

The "noble Plorn," variously called in full Plornish-ghenter and Plornish-maroon, the godson of Lord Lytton, was a later addition to the family, and many are the affectionate allusions to his sayings and achievements.

For the benefit of the circle of which these letters contain so many pleasant glimpses, Dickens wrote copious accounts of his adventures during his frequent absences from home. His reading tours, which began in 1858, furnished him with abundant materials. He did not conceal from these confidential correspondents his delight in the enthusiasm with which "the Intimitable" all over England, Ireland, Scotland, and subsequently America was received. There is hardly any sign in his cheery letters of the fatigue which the untiring labour and excitement imposed. He complains now and then of the "tremendous strain," but he has energy enough left when the reading is over to describe any little incident that might amuse his dear ones at home. The following scrap of dialogue occurs in a letter in which he records the extraordinary fact that he had been actually
 red to go to a theatre.

"Here follows a dialogue (but it requires imitation), which I had yesterday morning with a little boy of the house—landlord's son, I suppose—about Plorn's age. I am sitting on the sofa writing, and find him sitting beside me.

"INIMITABLE. Holloa, old chap.

YOUNG IRELAND. Hal-loo!

INIMITABLE (*in his delightful way*). What a nice old fellow you are. I am very fond of little boys.

YOUNG IRELAND. Air yer? Ye'r right.

INIMITABLE. What do you learn, old fellow?

YOUNG IRELAND (*very intent on Inimitable, and always childish, except in his brogue*). I lairn wureds of threo sillibils, and wureds of two sillibils, and wureds of one sillibil.

INIMITABLE (*gaily*). Get out, you humbug! You learn only words of one syllable.

YOUNG IRELAND (*laughs heartily*). You may say that it is mostly wureds of one sillibil.

INIMITABLE. Can you write?

YOUNG IRELAND. Not yet. Things comes by deegrays.

INIMITABLE. Can you cipher?

YOUNG IRELAND (*very quickly*). Wha'at's that?

INIMITABLE. Can you make figures?

YOUNG IRELAND. I can make a nought, which is not asy, being roond.

INIMITABLE. I say, old boy, wasn't it you I saw on Sunday morning in the hall, in a soldier's cap? You know—in a soldier's cap?

YOUNG IRELAND (*cogitating deeply*). Was it a very good cap?

INIMITABLE. Yes.

YOUNG IRELAND. Did it fit unkommon?

INIMITABLE. Yes.

YOUNG IRELAND. Dat was me!"

One incident which he describes as having occurred during his readings at Washington shows how sensitive he was to everything that went on even amidst the vastest audiences, and how liable to be carried away by his uncontrollable sense of the ridiculous.

"The gas was very defective indeed last night, and I began with a small speech, to the effect that I must trust to the brightness of their faces for the illumination of mine; this was taken greatly. In the 'Carol,' a most ridiculous incident occurred all of a sudden. I saw a dog look out from among the seats into the centre aisle, and look very intently at me. The general attention being fixed on me, I don't think anybody saw the dog; but I felt so sure of his turning up again and barking, that I kept my eye wandering about in search of him. He was a very comic dog, and it was well for me that I was reading a very comic part of the book. But when he bounced out into the centre aisle again, in an entirely new place (still looking intently at me) and tried the effect of a bark upon my proceedings, I was seized with such a paroxysm of laughter, that it communicated itself to the audience, and we roared at one another loud and long."

The second appearance of the same intruder is thus described:—

"I mentioned the dog on the first night here. Next night I thought I heard (in *Copperfield*) a suddenly suppressed bark. It happened in this wise: Osgood,

standing just within the door, felt his leg touched, and looking down beheld the dog staring intently at me, and evidently just about to bark. In a transport of presence of mind and fury, he instantly caught him up in both hands and threw him over his own head out into the entry, where the checktakers received him like a game at ball. Last night he came again *with another dog*; but our people were so sharply on the look-out for him that he didn't get in. He had evidently promised to pass the other dog free."

With the enormous crowds at the readings, it is a wonder that there were not oftener serious matters to record. The singular immunity from accidents which he had in the course of his tours was due quite as much to good management as to good luck. Dickens had not only a great business faculty himself, but he had the knack of inspiring his agents with something of his own genius for taking pains and evolving order out of confusion. On one of the few occasions on which any accident was near occurring, at Newcastle, in 1861, his presence of mind came to the rescue. He describes the occurrence as follows, in a letter to his daughter.

"A most tremendous hall here last night; something almost terrible in the cram. A fearful thing might have happened. Suddenly, when they were all very still over Smike, my gas batten came down, and it looked as if the room was falling. There were three great galleries crammed to the roof, and a high steep flight of stairs, and a panic must have destroyed numbers of people. A lady in the front row of stalls screamed, and ran out wildly towards me, and for one instant there was a terrible wave in the crowd. I addressed that lady laughing (for I knew she was in sight of everybody there), and called out as if it happened every night, 'There's nothing the matter, I assure you; don't be alarmed; pray sit down;' and she sat down directly, and there was a thunder of applause. It took some few minutes to mend, and I looked on with my hands in my pockets; for I think if I had turned my back for a moment there might still have been a move. My people were dreadfully alarmed, Boylett in particular, who I suppose had some notion that the whole place might have taken fire.

"But there stood the master,' he did me the honour to say afterwards, in addressing the rest, 'as cool as ever I see him a-lounging at a railway station.'"

It has often been said that Dickens was killed by the intense strain and excitement of his readings. "I seem to be always," he once writes, "either in a railway carriage, or reading, or going to bed. I get so knocked up, whenever I have a minute to remember it, that then I go to bed as a matter of course." The exhausting effect of these exertions was undoubtedly accelerated by the shock which he received in the Staplehurst railway accident in the summer of 1865. His own description of this affair, in which he had so miraculous an escape, is given in a letter to a friend. He always maintained that what he suffered from was not the shock of the

sudden sense of danger to himself but the recollection of the frightful scenes that met his eyes when he had rescued himself from his perilous position.

"I was in the only carriage [he writes] that did not go over into the stream. It was caught upon the turn by some of the ruin of the bridge, and hung suspended and balanced in an apparently impossible manner. Two ladies were my fellow-passengers, an old one and a young one. This is exactly what passed. You may judge from it the precise length of the suspense: Suddenly we were off the rail, and beating the ground as the car of a half-emptied balloon might. The old lady cried out, 'My God!' and the young one screamed. I caught hold of them both (the old lady sat opposite and the young one on my left), and said: 'We can't help ourselves, but we can be quiet and composed. Pray don't cry out.' The old lady immediately answered: 'Thank you. Rely upon me. Upon my soul I will be quiet.' We were then all tilted down together in a corner of the carriage, and stopped. I said to them thereupon: 'You may be sure nothing worse can happen. Our danger *must* be over. Will you remain here without stirring, while I got out of the window?' They both answered quite collectedly, 'Yes,' and I got out without the least notion what had happened. Fortunately I got out with great caution and stood upon the step. Looking down I saw the bridge gone, and nothing below me but the line of rail. Some people in the two other compartments were madly trying to plunge out at window, and had no idea that there was an open swampy field fifteen feet down below them, and nothing else! The two guards (one with his face cut) were running up and down on the down side of the bridge (which was not torn up) quite wildly. I called out to them: 'Look at me. Do stop an instant and look at me, and tell me whether you don't know me.' One of them answered: 'We know you very well, Mr. Dickens.' 'Then,' I said, 'my good fellow, for God's sake give me your key, and send one of those labourers here, and I'll empty this carriage.' We did it quite safely, by means of a plank or two, and when it was done I saw all the rest of the train, except the two baggage vans, down in the stream. I got into the carriage again for my brandy flask, took off my travelling hat for a basin, climbed down the brickwork, and filled my hat with water.

"Suddenly I came upon a staggering man covered with blood (I think he must have been flung clean out of his carriage), with such a frightful cut across the skull that I couldn't bear to look at him. I poured some water over his face and gave him some to drink, then gave him some brandy, and laid him down on the grass, and he said, 'I am gone,' and died afterwards. Then I stumbled over a lady lying on her back against a little pollard-tree, with the blood streaming over her face (which was lead colour) in a number of distinct little streams from the head. I asked her if she could swallow a little brandy and she just nodded, and I gave her some and left her for somebody else. The next time I passed her she was dead. Then a man, examined at the inquest yesterday (who evidently had not the least remembrance of what really passed), came running up to me and implored me to help him find his wife, who was afterwards found dead. No imagination can conceive the ruin of the carriages, or the extraordinary weights under which the people were lying, or the complications into which they were twisted up among iron and wood, and mud and water.

"I don't want to be examined at the inquest, and I don't want to write about it. I could do no good either way, and I could only seem to speak about myself, which, of course, I would rather not do. I am keeping very quiet here. I have a—I don't know what to call it—constitutional (I suppose) presence of mind, and was not in the least fluttered at the time. I instantly remembered that I had the MS. of a number with me, and clambered back into the carriage for it. But in writing these scanty words of recollection I feel the shake and am obliged to stop."

Three years afterwards he confessed how permanent had been the effect of this horrible experience. Writing to M. de Cerjat, in August, 1868, he says :—

"The great subject in England for the moment is the horrible accident to the Irish mail-train. It is now supposed that the petroleum (known to be a powerful anæsthetic) rendered the unfortunate people who were burnt almost instantly insensible to any sensation. My escape in the Staplehurst accident of three years ago is not to be obliterated from my nervous system. To this hour I have sudden vague rushes of terror, even when riding in a hansom cab, which are perfectly unreasonable but quite insurmountable. I used to make nothing of driving a pair of horses habitually through the most crowded parts of London. I cannot now drive, with comfort to myself, on the country roads here; and I doubt if I could ride at all in the saddle. My reading secretary and companion knows so well when one of these odd momentary seizures comes upon me in a railway carriage, that he instantly produces a dram of brandy, which rallies the blood to the heart and generally prevails. I forget whether I ever told you that my watch (a chronometer) has never gone exactly since the accident? So the Irish catastrophe naturally revives the dreadful things I saw that day."

A certain shadow hangs over the letters written in the last years of Dickens's life. The old buoyancy is still there, but its flashes are more intermittent. The tone is on the whole sadder. We cannot wonder at this; rather we must admire the courage with which he defied all warning symptoms, and stuck to his work and his mirthfulness to the last. Nor must it be supposed that the spirit of mirthfulness is the only spirit that is revealed in these letters. I have dwelt upon the lavish way in which Dickens employed his genius to brighten the existence of his own inner circle. But it would have been easy to select from his correspondence instances of helpfulness of a more substantial kind, instances of the readiness with which in the midst of his own engrossing work he turned aside to assist those who needed assistance. The letters now published corroborate Mr. Carlyle's estimate of "his rare and great worth as a brother man; a most cordial, sincere, clear-sighted, quietly decisive, just and loving man."

WILLIAM MINTO.

LOYALTY.

I WAS struck the other day by reading in one of our chief periodicals the following statement: "Under a republic we may have self-government, but there is no loyalty." The writer went on to add two other antithetical sentences: "Under an absolute monarchy we may have loyalty, but there is no self-government. Under a democratic despotism there is neither." Any one of these three statements might serve as a text for a wide range of political reflexions. To choose one line of thought out of many, nothing is more certain than that absolute monarchy is consistent with a very large amount of self-government in local matters, and that some of the most absolute of monarchs have found it thoroughly fall in with their purposes to allow, and even to foster, self-government of this kind. We need not go further than the rule of the Turk for abundance of examples. But the line of thought which I wish now specially to work out is that which is suggested by the first of these statements, that which says that under a republic there is no loyalty.

The statement is a little startling; and yet there is no doubt that it is one which would be very largely accepted. It is quite certain that what a great many people mean by loyalty can have no place in a republic; whether it can have any place in a democratic despotism we may forbear to inquire, till we know better what a democratic despotism is. But some of us may perhaps be inclined to think that the thing which many people call loyalty, and which certainly cannot exist in a republic, is a thing which we might very well do without, whether in republics or in monarchies. But the writer whose words I am quoting is clearly not of this way of thinking. What he means by loyalty is something which is to be wished for under any form of government, but which under some forms of government is not to be had. "It is the great merit of the English Constitution that it is capable of combining the sentiment of loyalty with the principle of self-government." The loyalty then of which the writer speaks is something which in his view is a good thing, something whose presence is one of the distinguishing virtues of the English Constitution, something whose presence is the redeeming feature of absolute monarchy, whose absence is the weak side of republicanism, to set against its redeeming feature. Of the "democratic despotism" we need not speak, as that seemingly has no redeeming feature at all. The position is that loyalty, loyalty in a good sense, at all events in what the writer deems a good sense, is impossible in a commonwealth. It is therefore something of which

the old heroes of Athens and Rome, the later heroes alike of democratic Uri and of aristocratic Bern, were wholly incapable.

This, as I said, is a rather startling position; and it is one which may set us thinking as to the meaning of the word with which we are dealing. As in all such cases, we may learn something by looking to the origin and the history of the word. It so happened in my own case that, just about the time when I stumbled on the passage which I have quoted from the modern writer, I stumbled on a passage in a mediæval writer which threw some light on the matter in two opposite ways. A prince is praising the faithfulness of an old and tried subject—it is Robert of Normandy speaking to the old Roger of Beaumont—and the words he uses are, "*Magnam legalitatem tuam optime novi.*"¹ Here we can have no kind of doubt as to translating *legalitas* by loyalty. And, what is more, we translate it by loyalty in a sense which we suspect to be much the same as that of the modern writer; we understand it as meaning loyalty in a sense for which there certainly is no great scope in a commonwealth. But we further see, if we do not happen to have thought of the matter before, what is the real origin and earliest meaning of the word loyalty. And we see further how far it must have departed from that earliest meaning, even in the eleventh century. We see that loyalty is, in its origin "*legalitas*"—conformity to law. But we see also that it was not in this sense that Duke Robert used the word *legalitas* or its French equivalent. He did not mean to praise Roger of Beaumont for strict adherence to law, but rather for personal faithfulness to his father and to himself. The word which, in its etymological meaning, signified strict adherence to law had come to mean personal faithfulness, and therein personal attachment and devotion, to a personal lord. The duty thought of is not the civil duty which Roger, as a member of the Norman state, owed to Robert as its head, the duty which the subject obeying according to law owes to the prince ruling according to law. It is the personal duty which Roger the "man" owed to Robert his lord, the personal duty arising from the personal obligations incurred by the act of homage. The former kind of duty could not be better expressed than by *legalitas* in its primitive meaning. When the latter kind of duty could be expressed by *legalitas*, it showed that the meaning of *legalitas* must in common use have gone widely astray from the meaning suggested by the origin of the word.

We are thus far dealing with Latin and French; but it is worth while to stop for a moment to see how the case of the mere word stands in our own language. "*Rex*" and "*lex*," "*roi*" and "*loi*," are words which have a lucky rime both in the older Latin

(1) Orderic Vital, 686 C. ed. Duchèsne.

and in the later French form. And the rime is kept in the adjectives which the English tongue has borrowed from both forms. We have "regal" and "royal," "legal" and "loyal." And alongside of these we have the native word formed from the native substantive, which in one case is, by great good luck, a Teutonic cognate of the Latin word. Legal, loyal, lawful, stand beside one another as three kindred words. It is a mere accident of language that by regal and royal we cannot set the kindred "rikely" or "rikeful," but that we have to complete our company of three by a word from another source, kingly. Now the groups of substantives, rex, roi, king, lex, loi, law, have no perceptible difference of meaning; they freely translate one another in their several languages. But the use of our language leads us to look for a certain difference of meaning in the adjectives formed from the Latin, the French, and the English substantive. Regal, royal, kingly, do not mean exactly the same thing; the three words express three different shades of meaning. But it is only different shades of meaning which they express; the same general idea runs through all; not one of the three is in any way false to its etymology. But the words which etymologically answer to these in the other series, legal, loyal, lawful, do not stand in this relation to each other. "Legal" and "lawful" indeed do express different shades of the same idea: but the central word fails us; "loyal" seems to have gone off on quite another tack. Royal, royalty, never lose the memory of their derivation from "roi"; but loyal and loyalty do very soon lose the memory of their derivation from "loi." The notion of law seems to have wholly passed away from the words loyal and loyalty. Instead of the old notion of legalitas, two new notions seem to spring up. Loyalty suggests personal attachment to a prince. It also suggests faithful—perhaps something more than faithful—fulfilment of a promise. As commonly used, it carries us quite away from the somewhat homely, perhaps somewhat republican, style of virtue suggested by the word legalitas. It lands us instead among virtues of the more elegant and ornamental class. We are in short carried, if not into the actual presence, at least into the near neighbourhood, of the ideas of "chivalry" and "honour."

Now words are the signs of things, and a change in the meaning of a word of this kind seldom takes place purely at haphazard; the change is pretty sure to mark some change in laws, in manners, or in habits of thought. Legalitas is not a classical word; it is not a very common mediæval word; but there is evidence enough to show that it was in use in its natural sense of conformity to law.¹

(1) See the references in Ducange. The passages actually quoted do not so much mean conduct in conformity with the law as the position of a "legalis homo"

And the one passage which I have quoted is enough to show that it had very early, in its Latin form, adopted the later meaning of loyalty, while we may doubt whether loyal and loyalty were ever used, either in French or in English, in the original sense of conformity to law. In French it is not too much to say that the substantive "loi" itself did to some extent change its meaning along with its adjective. And it must be noticed that the usual meaning of the word loyal is not the same in English and in French. In English it commonly has a reference, expressed or understood, to faithfulness to a king or prince. When applied to anything else, it is in a secondary or metaphorical sense. Loyal, loyalty, without any qualification or special reference, commonly means faithfulness to a sovereign. In French the usual meaning is more general; it implies faithfulness—faithfulness, one might say, of a special kind—but not at all necessarily faithfulness to a sovereign. And, as I just hinted, the word *loi* itself to some extent changed its meaning. "*Par sa loi*" is an old French phrase for "*en bonne foi*," "*en honnête homme*."

Now, as was just before said, this change of meaning must have had a cause. And it is not hard to see in the history of the times concerned what that cause is. The change of meaning from legalitas to loyalty was simply the index of a gradual change in men's general sentiments which specially marks what are commonly called the middle ages. It marks how the idea of law, the idea of duty towards a community owed by every member of that community, was displaced by the idea of personal obligation owed by one man to another man. The French sense of personal good faith, the English sense of personal duty to a sovereign, both bring in the strictly personal idea, as distinguished from the idea of duty towards the community on the part of its members. We see the difference if we contrast such phrases as "good citizen" and "loyal subject." The phrase of "good citizen" brings in no thought of personal obligation due from one man to another; it brings in no thought of personal obligation arising from anything like a personal promise. The good citizen practises good faith, as he practises every other civil virtue; but he does not discharge his civil duty as a matter of good faith. He discharges it as a duty which, if not higher, is at least earlier, than good faith. He obeys the law, not because he has promised to obey it, but simply and directly because it is the law, because it is the binding rule of the community of which he is part. In obeying the law he may easily have to obey particular persons; he may have to obey the lawful commands of a

who has done nothing to forfeit the rights which the law gives him. But the two ideas run into one another, and the idea of conformity to law is a necessary stage before we reach the idea of faithfulness to the personal lord.

personal magistrate, king, president, consul, or any other. But he will obey them, not because of any duty which he personally owes to the magistrate personally, but because the magistrate represents the community, and claims obedience as exercising an authority which the community has delegated to him. But in the conception of the "loyal subject" all is personal. Obedience is yielded by a person to a person, because of a personal obligation between the two. And at the bottom of this obligation lies the notion of a promise. The promise need not have been actually made in every case; but the idea of a promise, the idea of homage, fealty, allegiance, in some shape or other, affects the whole conception. This particular man may not have done homage or sworn allegiance; but on the one hand he may, in many conceivable cases, be called upon to do so; and, if he never is so called upon, still the relation in which he finds himself is one which was originally created by the existence of a promise, actual or implied. The whole notion of a personal relation, of personal duty, of personal loyalty in short, to a personal sovereign, as distinguished from obedience to the law of the community and to the magistrate—that is, to the sovereign in a monarchic state—as the representative and minister of the community, springs directly from the relation of homage, the relation of a "man" to his lord. This is a purely personal relation, and a relation in which a promise, expressed or implied, is the essence of everything. It is a relation of good faith on both sides; the man owes faithful service to his lord; the lord owes faithful protection to his man. Each is dishonoured if he fails to discharge that duty faithfully—loyally. That is to say, the personal obligation of good faith has taken the place of the general obedience to law. The law of the community has given way to the personal obligations of individuals. Law, in short, has vanished; personal good faith remains as the nearest approach to it. That is to say, legalitas has been changed into loyalty; "par ma loy" has become the same thing as "par ma foy."

Now all this is part of the same set of ideas and feelings of which I spoke some years back in this Review in an article headed, *The Law of Honour*.¹ It is part of the same change which I have elsewhere tried to trace out² with regard to the two rival conceptions of the state and its chief, one in which the king or other ruler is looked on directly as the head of the community, and one in which the idea of the community pretty well passes away and the king or other chief is looked on mainly as the personal lord. As a matter of fact, neither idea ever altogether dislodged the other; the two have gone on side by side; but one has been dominant in some times and places, and the other in others. I leave out the third view of king-

(1) See *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1876.

(2) See *Norman Conquest*, v. 381.

ship, that which clothes the king with a garb of religious sanctity, an idea which, I need not say, has, under different forms, had no small influence both in heathen and in Christian times. For on the one hand this religious character of the ruler is peculiar to the king,—in the one case Zeus-born or Woden-born, in the other case, the Lord's Anointed—while the other two aspects of the ruler may be equally shared by rulers of a lower rank than that of king. And, on the other hand, the religious view of kingship does not stand apart from the other two views; it is not implied in either of them, but it is consistent with both of them. Now, taking these two conceptions of the position of the ruler, and of the duty owing to him, the substitution of the idea of faithfulness to the person for the idea of obedience to the law of a community is part of the same range of ideas as the substitution of the standard of honour for the standard either of abstract right or of the law of the land. As in this latter case, the change of standard does not necessarily imply any different course of action. As religion, morals, law, and honour do in many cases prescribe exactly the same outward acts, so—for it is simply one case in point among others—the good citizen and the loyal subject will often be led to exactly the same acts. In a state governed by a king and where the king rules according to law, it will necessarily be so. For the good citizen will obey all the king's lawful commands, and such a king will issue none but lawful commands. But the two standards may clash, and they often have clashed; several periods of English history, pre-eminently the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, are largely made up of instances of their clashing. And when they do clash, it will be found that personal loyalty, like the law of honour, is really the possession—the virtue, if we choose to call it so—of a class. Personal loyalty, like personal honour—personal loyalty being one form of personal honour—is primarily the possession or the virtue of the knight or the gentleman. This does not imply that it cannot be practised by anybody below the formal rank of gentleman; still it is a gentleman's virtue. It is specially looked for from those who are placed high enough for some kind of actual personal relation towards the sovereign not to be wholly out of their reach. If it is practised by others, it is the kind of conduct which draws forth that ambiguous kind of compliment which pronounces certain persons who are not gentlemen by rank to be gentlemen by nature or by conduct. To look for personal loyalty specially in one class is instinctive; and the instinctive feeling has influenced the popular estimate of one important period of our history. It is a very common belief that the Cavaliers were gentlemen and that the Roundheads were not gentlemen. It is easy to show that any such sweeping statement as this is historically false. Many gentlemen, not a few noblemen, drew the sword for the Par-

liament. And yet the popular notion, like most popular notions, is not without an element of truth in it. It instinctively grasps the fact that the King's side was the natural side for loyal gentlemen as loyal gentlemen, while the side of the Parliament was the natural side for good citizens as good citizens.¹ The King's army was primarily a gentleman's army; it was an army which took its character from gentlemen, an army whose virtues and vices were the virtues and vices of gentlemen, an army, in short, made up of gentlemen and of those who were influenced by gentlemen. The Parliamentary army, on the other hand, though there was no lack of gentlemen in it, took its character from other sources. It was pre-eminently the army of men who served, not from the more ornamental sentiments of honour and loyalty, but from a deep and steady conviction of right, according to some theory of right, religious or political. The character of that army, that which distinguishes it from most other armies, is the presence of those specially God-fearing and law-abiding classes who did not claim to be gentlemen, but who pre-eminently claimed to be honest men. Notwithstanding the presence of not a few gentlemen, knights, nobles, on the Roundhead side, the virtues and the failings of the typical Roundhead are of a kind exactly opposite to the pre-eminently knightly or gentlemanly virtues and failings of the typical Cavalier.

We thus find that the loyal man and the law-abiding man—the votaries of “*legulitas*” in its later and in its earlier sense—are not only two distinct characters, but are two characters which, though they may very easily coalesce, may also very easily become actually hostile. We see that personal loyalty to the personal ruler—a thoroughly good and generous feeling whenever it is not preferred to the dictates of any higher duty—belongs to the class of graceful, ornamental, what we may call knightly or chivalrous, virtues, virtues which have more in common with generous instincts than with deep convictions of right. Montesquieu puts forth a truth when he says that honour is the principle of monarchies—not of mere despotisms, whose principle is fear—while virtue is the principle of commonwealths.² Montesquieu's way of putting this truth is not the way in which we should put it nowadays; but he has got hold of the truth none the less. And in this sense we cannot deny that the assertion which we set out by quoting is perfectly true. Loyalty in this sense, loyalty to a personal ruler, loyalty whose source is a formal or implied personal promise of fidelity, cannot in strictness exist in a commonwealth. There is no object in a republican government to

(1) I use the word “citizen,” because I cannot find a better; though it is not strictly applicable to England, and it always has a foreign sound. We have lost something in the word *landholder*.

(2) *Esprit des Loix*, l. iii. c. 3, 5.

which this particular kind of feeling can attach itself. The highest republican standard falls back from loyalty to "legalitas" in the strictest sense.

ὦ ξείν', ἄγγελον Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.

Here it is assumed that the highest praise that can be given to self-devotion even unto death is to mark it simply as obedience to the law.

But though in this, and in other cases like this, there is no room for loyalty in the strict personal sense, there is room for a feeling of exactly the same kind. To the citizen of a commonwealth his city has often become a kind of personal being—the deification of *Roma* is the most highly developed form of this feeling—a being which can call forth a feeling somewhat different from simple obedience to law, and which comes much nearer to devotion or loyalty to a personal object. In this sense there may be loyalty, even of the personal kind, in a commonwealth. The commonwealth itself may become the object of the same kind of personal feeling as that which in the other case gathers round the personal sovereign. So there may in the same way be, in a secondary sense, loyalty to a cause, to a party, to a political leader, to a military commander, a personal feeling of essentially the same kind as loyalty to a sovereign, and quite distinct from simple obedience to law. But in every such case the feeling is dangerous. There is always the fear lest devotion to a party or to a leader may clash with the higher duty to the commonwealth itself. Not a few rebel leaders, from Sulla and Cæsar onwards, have been the objects of a feeling on the part of their followers which, as far as the feeling itself went, must have been very much the same as that of loyalty to a lawful sovereign. It is essentially the same feeling both in its good and its bad side. Loyalty to a party, a leader, a general, just like loyalty to a king, is a perfectly healthy feeling as long as it is kept in check by the higher principle of obedience to law. As soon as it leads to disobedience to the law of the land, much more when it leads to disobedience to the eternal law of right, it has passed from virtue into vice; loyalty has rebelled against "legalitas."

But, though the sentiment of loyalty, as it has so far been defined, may, like any other sentiment, be abused and lead men astray, it is clearly in itself one of the better sentiments of our nature. Exactly as in the case of the whole class of sentiments which are akin to it, it is a taking sentiment, more taking at first sight than the higher principle with which it sometimes clashes. When we rule that loyalty, honour, chivalry, any other of the whole class of kindred ideas, is inferior to any of the class of ideas with which we have sometimes to contrast them, we do it to some extent against the

grain. When we see it said that loyalty cannot exist in a commonwealth, our first impulse is to deny and resent the assertion, as a libel upon commonwealths. The whole class of what we may call chivalrous sentiments are distinctly attractive as long as we see only their attractive side. They are attractive because they are, or seem to be, elevating, unselfish—perhaps even because they are in some sort uncalculating and unreflecting. The loyalty of the seventeenth century cavalier was undoubtedly in itself an ennobling feeling, a feeling leading men to high-minded and unselfish action. All that can be said against it is that it was largely misapplied, that self-devotion to a personal sovereign changed from a reasonable worship to blind superstition the moment it led a man to cleave to the personal sovereign in opposition to the law. For the state itself is, or ought to be, capable of kindling a devotion quite as pure and unselfish as any that can be kindled for the personal sovereign. The loyalty of the higher type of cavalier was the old feeling of faithfulness due from a man to his lord, intensified when the king was the only lord and when all such feelings gathered round him only, and further intensified by the doctrine of the sacred character of the king as the Lord's Anointed. A moment's thought will show that the doctrine of the king as the Lord's Anointed is logically inconsistent with the doctrine of hereditary right and with the lawyer's inference that the king never dies. But, as in many other cases, two doctrines which are logically inconsistent are easily reconciled in practice, if they both tend to exalt the same object. Faith to the lord, reverence to the crowned king, something too not unlike the clansman's devotion to the hereditary chief, all joined in the hearts of the gallant men who furnish the best type of the cavalier. There were among them men who deemed themselves bound by honour to fight the King's battles, even though, as some of them distinctly did, they condemned those actions of the King which had made any battles needful. We may deem their course wrong in policy and even in morals; but there was at least nothing mean, nothing paltry, nothing cringing, about it.

But now comes the question, Is all loyalty of this kind? Is loyalty in the sense in which the word is most commonly understood loyalty of this kind? Is it a loyalty of this kind which most people would understand in the position that there can be no loyalty in a commonwealth? We have seen that a feeling essentially the same as loyalty in the better sense may exist in a commonwealth, and that the commonwealth itself may be the object of it. But it is equally true that there is another kind of so-called loyalty which cannot exist in a commonwealth, and of which we may surely say that it is one of the good points of a commonwealth that it cannot exist in it. There is a feeling which very largely exists, which I do not for a moment

believe is shared by the writer whose words I have taken as a kind of text, but which would certainly affect the sense in which many people would understand his words. Many people would understand the position that there can be no loyalty in a republic as meaning that there can be no political duty in a republic. It may sound strange; but this is really what many people think. They can conceive no object of political devotion, no object even of political duty, except a personal object. They most likely would not put forth this doctrine in so many words; but it is easy to see from their way of speaking and thinking that they practically hold it. They would certainly be amazed at the doctrine that loyalty is possible in a commonwealth, because they are amazed at the doctrine that the opposites of loyalty are possible. They cannot understand that there can be treason or rebellion in a commonwealth. I have myself known people very much amazed when I have spoken of the act of Louis Napoleon in 1851 as "rebellion." They could not make it out at all; how could a Buonaparte rebel? What was there for him to rebel against? He was a prince: people might rebel against him, but he could not rebel against anybody. Perhaps in this particular case their minds may have been a little confused by the strange belief, which really seems not uncommon, that Napoleon the Second succeeded Napoleon the First, and that Napoleon the Third succeeded Napoleon the Second, by unbroken and undisputed hereditary succession, no less than the divinest Stewart or Bourbon. But there was also, alongside of the belief that it was impossible for a Buonaparte to rebel, the further feeling that it was impossible for a mere republic to be rebelled against. It is quite certain that, if the man of December had displaced a king to whom he was bound by the same ties of allegiance as those by which he was bound to the republic, most of those who applauded or accepted his act would have looked upon it as a guilty rebellion. This feeling that a republican government has, so to speak, no position, that no kind of duty, seemingly no kind of courtesy, is owing to it, comes out in the strangest ways. It was shown in many things at the time of the amazing outburst which just now followed the death of young Buonaparte in South Africa. The adventurer avowedly went out to join in the slaughter of men who had done him no wrong, in order thereby to make political capital which might help him some day to disturb the peace of his own country. We know how the avowal of such motives would have been spoken of in the case of a communist; in an "Imperial Prince" it is looked on with other eyes. It was most likely without any purpose of insult, without any thought of the real meaning of the words which he uttered, that one of the conventionally "illustrious" class calmly speculated in public on the possibility of the young conspirator

becoming the ruler of France, and on the certainty that he would have been made a good ruler if it had so happened. That is to say, he discussed the possibility of the free government of a friendly country being overthrown and a tyranny being set up in its stead. We should hardly think it civil if the President of the French Republic should openly discuss the question which Fenian convict would make the best President of a British Republic. We cannot fancy that any English prince would, during the time of the tyranny in France, have openly discussed the claims of any republican exile to be the chief of a future republican government. We cannot now fancy such an one openly discussing the claims of some exiled prince, even of real princely descent, to supplant a friendly sovereign on his throne. In all these cases the discourtesy, the something more than discourtesy, would be seen at once. But it would seem that the discourtesy is not seen when it is only a commonwealth and its chief magistrate which are the objects of it. It is assumed that a prince, even a prince whose principedom is of so brassy a kind as the principedom of the Buonapartes, is a being of another clay, and entitled to quite another kind of treatment, from the chief magistrate of a commonwealth and from the state of which he is the head. It would seem that the commonwealth is looked on as possessing no claim to duty and loyalty on the part of its own citizens, and as therefore entitled to a very scant measure of respect on the part of its allies and neighbours among other nations.

We may take an example from another hemisphere. During the American Civil War, many people were not a little offended at the name "rebel" being applied to the Confederates. I do not mean those who defended the right of secession on any intelligible, however fallacious, political theory. I mean those who, just as in the French case, simply could not understand how there could be rebels where there was no king to rebel against. It is certain that many people, irrespective of any view as to the points at issue, thought that it was rather fine to rise up against a republic, especially a federal republic. That the Confederates were themselves as much a republic, and a federal republic, as their Northern enemies, that they were just as far removed as their Northern enemies from loyalty to any king, did not seem to make any difference; anyhow it was rather a good thing than not to revolt against a republic, a federal republic, a democratic federal republic. To many minds it seemed an unanswerable proof of the worthlessness of republican, especially of federal, systems, that those who were dissatisfied with the working of the federal republic in which they found themselves at once set up another federal republic on the same model. If they had revolted against a king in order to set up another king, the same minds would

have looked on it as an unanswerable proof of the incomparable merits of kingly government.

The unlucky truth is that into a large number of minds the great ideas of the law and the state do not enter at all. Not a few people seem unable to conceive obedience or attachment to anything but a person. The notion of loyalty to a person seems with them to have wholly displaced the notion of duty to the community. One may be inclined to doubt whether a loyalty of this kind would be likely to bear up against any very strong temptations. It may be that, in any hour of trial, a ruler is likely to receive the most really loyal support from those who support him as the lawful chief of the state, drawing all his powers from the law of the state. It is quite certain that a great deal that passes for loyalty now-a-days, as it is quite different from lawful obedience to the state and its chief—"legalitas" in short—is also quite different from the cavalier loyalty of the seventeenth century. This last, as I have already said, has a taking and ennobling side to it. A great deal of what is now called loyalty is certainly anything but ennobling, and it is hard to conceive the kind of mind to which it can be taking. The strictly civil notion of lawful obedience to the holder of the highest office in the state—the chivalrous or feudal notion of faithfulness to a personal lord—the religious notion of reverence for the Lord's Anointed—seem all alike to have given way to a feeling which cannot be distinguished from mere grovelling worship of rank. It is a cringing feeling; it is the feeling of those who cringe a good deal to a lord and who cringe a good deal more to a prince. Not a little lies in this last word. People seem utterly to have forgotten the difference which, on any theory of kingship, exists between the king himself and any subject, even though that subject be his own child. A king's son is not the chief of the state; he is not the personal lord of his father's subjects; least of all is he the Lord's Anointed. He is simply a subject of the highest rank, who may perhaps some day become all these things, but who is none of them as yet. Yet we constantly hear members of the royal family spoken of in words which any intelligible theory of loyalty would reserve for the Sovereign only. Some of the instances are very curious. I remember, it may be a few years back, the *Times* speaking, quite casually and with no thought of proving anything by the expression, of the Archbishop of Canterbury as "the first subject" in the kingdom. What was meant of course was that the Archbishop of Canterbury takes precedence of all persons not of the royal family.¹ But the writer was so used to think of the royal

(1) In theory it is not easy to define the "royal family." Would a person descended from the Electress Sophia through ten generations of subjects be a member of it? Practically it is perfectly well defined, because for so long a time there have been no descendants of the chosen stock further off than the near cousins of the actual sovereign.

family as something altogether different from other human beings, that it did not come into his head that the Queen's children, grandchildren, and cousins, are just as much her subjects as any other of her people. The Archbishop is the first in rank of ordinary mortals, of persons of whom it is lawful to speak freely and without bated breath, the first of those whose sayings and doings may be criticized without disloyalty. Therefore he seemed to the writer to be the "first subject" in the kingdom. So it is with a crowd of phrases "royal visit," "royal marriage," and the like, when there is no king or queen in the case, but simply a subject who is near of kin to a king or queen. Test such a phrase as this by the analogies of language. Take the highest hereditary rank among ordinary mortals. No one would call a visit from a duke's son or daughter a "ducal visit." "Royal family" is perfectly good sense; so is "ducal family;" that is, in either case, a family which supplies kings or dukes, a family whose head from the time being is always a king or a duke. But people talk, not only of "royal visit" and "royal marriage," but of "royal lips," "royal presence," and what not, when they are all the while talking of a subject, sometimes of a commoner. The phrases are used in a way which is quite unconscious and objectless. But it is just because the phrases are so unconscious, so objectless, that they are the more worthy of remark. They are the index of a kind of feeling which could hardly have existed in any earlier time. And they are the index of a feeling which is surely inconsistent with true loyalty of any type. The feeling with which any form of true loyalty looks on the personal sovereign in any of his characters is here, so far as it can be said to exist at all, transferred from the sovereign to a certain class of his subjects. The truth is that is a wholly different feeling. I repeat that the old cavalier loyalty, however mistaken and misleading we may hold it to be, was in itself not an abasing but an ennobling feeling. It did not necessarily lead to any habitual tampering with truth and morals. But the kind of words and deeds which are now called loyal are essentially debasing and not ennobling, and they directly lead to tampering with truth and morals. In a government like ours it is doubtless necessary that there should be one person, the actual sovereign, who is placed above the reach of political praise or blame. But this is on the understanding that the public acts of the sovereign are the acts of the minister, and that the minister is open to political praise and blame. It does not seem to follow that this peculiar position need go beyond the actual sovereign. But, if a whole class of persons are to be placed beyond the reach of criticism, they must at least abstain from all those acts which in persons of other classes are open to criticism. They must keep themselves from any share, direct or indirect, in any public matter. They must hold no office or commis-

sion ; they must give no vote in the only house of Parliament in which they are likely to be found.¹ Such exclusion is surely not a good training for anybody ; but freedom from public criticism can only be had on the condition of abstaining from all public action, direct or indirect, open or secret. It is against common fairness that there should be a class of people who may act, if not directly and openly, at least indirectly and secretly, but whose acts may not be freely spoken of like the acts of other men.

But the main evil is not political, but social and moral. What is now called loyalty, that is, the feeling of abasement before all persons of the highest rank, and not only before themselves but before their very names, has undoubtedly a corrupting tendency. It cannot gender to truthfulness or to a high moral tone of any kind, that there should be a class of persons who are to be, if not judged, at least spoken of, according to a different standard from that by which other people are judged and spoken of. And it becomes almost worse if the distinction should rather be that they are to be spoken of in public in a different way from that in which they are spoken of in private. It cannot be good either to speak in another way from that in which we think, or to school ourselves to think in a different way from that in which our untutored conscience bids us to think. It cannot be good that we should be expected to admire books which will undoubtedly be of use to antiquaries, and even to historians, in ages to come, but which now serve only to gratify a morbid love of gossip. Least of all can it be good that it should be acknowledged that any class of persons has a right to break the law. As straws show the way of the wind, a petty and perhaps untrue story will illustrate my meaning. I once read in a newspaper a tale how a person, described as an eminent barrister, was in a railway carriage with another passenger who insisted on smoking against rule. The barrister remonstrated and threatened an appeal to the police. The offender showed him a card by which it appeared that he was a kinsman of the sovereign, though, it is fair to add, not of the nearest kin. The story added, "Of course no further objection was made." Most likely the story is false. But, if it be false, it is all the better as an illustration. It shows what a great many people would hold to be the right thing to do in such a case. It is assumed that the "illustrious" person has a right to do what he chooses, to break the law and to annoy others, and that ordinary mortals have nothing to do but to bow down to his whims.

Now all this has really nothing to do with loyalty in any sense.

(1) As the law knows no classes but Peers and Commons, it would seem that a son of the sovereign who has not been created a peer might be chosen to the House of Commons as well as another man.

It has nothing to do with reverence for an office, nothing to do with faithfulness to a person. It is simply a cringing worship of rank which puts on the name of a better feeling. The real evil of it all is the unavoidable tampering with the moral sense. A man is in no way abased by kneeling in a formal ceremony before his liege lord, still less if it be his liege lady. He is abased if he accustoms himself to speak or to think of any person, on the mere ground of exalted rank, according to a different standard from that which he would use towards the rest of mankind. The doctrine of utter separation between "royal personages" and the rest of mankind is, in its present shape, a very modern one. It has absolutely nothing in common with that instinctive feeling towards illustrious descent against which it is vain to argue, because it is inborn. Those who now cringe to a Royal Highness do not do it because he has in him the blood of William and Cerdic. It has nothing in common with the ancient doctrine of the kingliness of the whole kingly house. According to that doctrine the most distant member of the kingly house was indeed as kingly as the nearest. But criticism at least was not shut out when the nation chose the worthiest of the kingly house to be the actual ruler. It has nothing in common with any of the later doctrines of loyalty, civil, feudal, or religious. In truth it shuts out all special loyalty to the actual sovereign; it shuts out all exclusive reverence to the sovereign's office, all exclusive devotion to the sovereign's person. It puts instead of Him a cringing worship of mere rank, which, when it is shown to the highest rank of all, can cover itself under fairer names than when it is shown to even the highest rank among ordinary human beings. The only thing to be said for this kind of self-abasement is that it is at least disinterested. It sometimes rises to be a kind of unconscious and unrewarded self-devotion. People go to stare at a prince, they like to hear the pettiest details about a prince, without the least hope that the prince will ever do anything for them or even become aware of their existence. As for those who are brought nearer to the charmed circle, one can understand a man turning courtier in the days when he had a chance of getting the estate of the next beheaded duke. It is at first sight hard to understand why anybody turns courtier now, when the most unwearied drudge seems to rise no higher than a C.B. But the thing does seem to be a kind of self-devotion, and, as such, a kind of virtue; and it is to be supposed that, in this case also, virtue is its own reward.

In this sense certainly loyalty can find no place in a commonwealth. It is hard to practise this kind of loyalty even towards a President; it is quite impossible to practise it towards a Federal Council. But we may be at least allowed to ask whether the commonwealth loses anything by the absence of loyalty of this kind.

Some have thought it an advantage of the Swiss system, as distinguished, not only from kings but from presidents, that the Federal Council is never born, never dies, and never marries. There is therefore no place for the wonderful gush of so-called loyalty which takes place whenever a royal personage does any of those things. There may be men in a commonwealth whom every man may deem it an honour to speak to; it is perhaps no loss that there is no one of whom it is officially set down that he "honours" every one whom he speaks to.

In a word, loyalty in the etymological sense, "*legalitas*," obedience to law, is man's highest earthly duty. Loyalty in the secondary sense, faithfulness to a personal lord, while inferior to this highest duty, is still a good and ennobling feeling, whenever it is not allowed to clash with the higher duty. But the so-called loyalty which forgets the law, and the personal lord as well, in mere purposeless cringing and self-abasement, has simply no right to the name. It has nothing in common with the devotion of the Greek who gave his life in obedience to the law of his commonwealth. It has nothing in common with the devotion of the ancient Englishman who deemed it the noblest end to

" . . . Lie thane-like,
His lord hard by."

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

FROM BELGRADE TO SAMAKOV.

On the 20th of last May I landed at Belgrade with two friends, who, like myself, were anxious to gain some political information concerning Servia. In truth, Belgrade may be said to deal in nothing but foreign politics; the Prime Minister is also the Foreign Minister, showing that this department of the Government is considered the most important. Servia owes this great misfortune to two causes—to her having been a part of the Ottoman Empire, and therefore included in the policy represented by those ominous words, “the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire,” and to her geographical position. She is a near neighbour of Hungary—of savage, jealous, frightened Hungary, whose arrogant, semi-civilised Magyar population finds itself surrounded by a population of Slavonians vastly outnumbering its own, and which is rapidly increasing, not only in numbers, but in wealth and political intelligence. By way of checking the Slavonian patriotism which so alarms the Magyars, these have adopted a system of repression, which, of course, has only aggravated the evil; and when Slavonian officials receive orders to adopt the Magyar language within a few months, or quit their posts, it is hardly to be wondered at if they become disloyal to the Magyar Government, and long for the time when they may be joined to their free Servian brethren. The independent Servians, too, in their turn are objects of terror and hatred to all good Magyars, and that from more causes than one—they helped materially to harass the Magyars in 1848 during their struggle with the Austrian crown. Had a conciliatory policy been adopted from the first, this complication would not have arisen; but the Magyars have ever been an arrogant and tyrannical race, like their cousins the Turks, and had the former embraced Mahomedanism, would doubtless have been equally barbarous. Like the Turks, they have some good qualities; they are brave in battle and intensely patriotic, but, unlike their Moslem relatives, they have frankly adopted Western civilisation. Lately the German Court party seems to have stolen a march on the Magyars, who were averse to such a Slavonian increase of the empire as that involved in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. As long as Servia has Turkey and Hungary for neighbours, her Foreign Minister will never want for abundant employment.

There is absolutely nothing in the shape of public buildings at all worth seeing in Belgrade. The palace of the Prince is a modest mansion; by no means equal to a Belgrave Square house. He alone

has the distinction of sentries before the doors. There are no official residences for the ministry. Each functionary lives in his own house, often of the most modest character. A territorial democracy cannot understand the need of large salaries for ministers, and will not endure the taxation necessary for such. I may here name the amount of the salaries of some of the Servian authorities. The Prime Minister receives £600 per annum; the other ministers have each £500. Each senator has £400. The Judge of the Cour de Cassation receives £340 per annum; the other first-class judges have each £280, those of the second class £240. The President of the Court of Appeals receives £300 a year; the other members of the court £200.

The Servians seem to have arrived at the perfection of economical government, and, on the whole, the system seems so far to have worked well; but there are not wanting warning voices which say that it is unsafe to expose judges to the temptation of bribery. The great safeguard so far has been the extremely simple and primitive mode of life followed by the citizens of Belgrade. The Corps Diplomatique are driven to entertain each other by turns; no balls or dinner parties are in vogue amongst the natives, at least not such as we Europeans are accustomed to. There are family fêtes now and then to celebrate the saint day of the head of the household, and to these I have at times been admitted as an intimate friend, and found them charming. I have also not unfrequently dined with Servians, and found their hospitality perfect; but a Servian would never attempt to rival the luxury of a *dîner Russe*, and as such are the fashion amongst the European diplomatists of Belgrade, some of whom have large private fortunes, he naturally abstains from this form of hospitality.

There is no such thing as rank out of the official circle. The Prime Minister is, as often as not, the son of a peasant; several of the senators are either shopkeepers themselves or have brothers in trade. On one occasion, whilst making a long stay with my family in Belgrade, I had engaged a young man servant. He had stipulated for certain hours of freedom, which were accorded, and I afterwards discovered that he was an undergraduate of the university, and was attending classes there. I then heard that this was a very usual practice. The ambitious son of a peasant often comes to the capital, enters himself at the university, lives hard, eking out a subsistence by engaging himself as servant in a family. Certain distinguished ministers of European reputation were named as having thus begun their careers, and, moreover, married the daughters of their masters. I have even heard vulgar-minded European diplomatists sneer at such men on account of their origin, as if all countries and all persons were to be measured by the aristocratic standard of England, Germany, and Austria.

When I had last been in Serbia, less than two years before, the very name of England stank in the nostrils of the Serbs—and no wonder. We were, as a nation, the undeclared enemies of a people fighting at desperate odds against a savage foe which threatened to break down their defences and desolate their country. The British Government was threatening and cajoling by turns, while its consuls were giving information concerning war material, and getting it stopped here and there. Fortunately the Servians were able to appreciate the perfidious nature of British diplomacy, and, unlike the unfortunate Greeks, could not be menaced by ironclads, so Serbia pursued her course according to what she conceived to be her interests. On this my latest visit, much of this unfriendly feeling had evaporated, strange to say, by the war successes of the Serbs. Hitherto, owing to the peculiar landlocked position of their country, these people knew of no manufactures but those doled out to them by the Austrians. Of all European countries, Austria is pre-eminent in her fabrics for the cheap and nasty, so that the Serbs knew of no port-manteaus, boots, or cloth but of the flimsiest sort. When their armies had penetrated considerably beyond Nish, they suddenly came within the circle of British trade, and came upon depôts of British goods that had been brought through Salonika. They were astonished and delighted with the solidity and finish of the articles, and naturally conceived a great desire to do business with the nation whose policy was so execrable, but whose goods were so undeniably sound. Fortunately the new British Minister, Mr. Gould, instead of occupying himself exclusively with *haute politique*, which in these parts means concocting wonderful webs of imaginary Russian intrigue, applied himself seriously to the framing a treaty of commerce and pushing the material interests of his country. Strange to say, he has not yet been removed, but he has certainly modified considerably the bitter feeling towards England engendered by a consistent course of snubbing a rising people in favour of Turkish pashas.

Loud had been the outcry in the Philo-Turkish papers of England against the brutal treatment experienced by the Mahomedans in the conquered provinces. Cruelties invariably follow war. *Væ victis*, as the unfortunate Afghans may exclaim. A terrible hardship which was but imperfectly made known to Europe, was experienced by the Albanian Moslems inhabiting that part of Old Serbia which lies to the south-west of Nish. These Albanians are pre-eminently a warlike race, and had given much trouble for many years to the Serbs by their raids across the frontier, especially during the Turco-Serbian war. Unlike the Turks, the Albanians are respectful to women and true to their plighted word, but they are in other respects ruthless depredators and cut-throats. On the occasion of the second Servian war, when the armies of the Principality formed the right wing of

the Russian host, the Albanians could no longer hold their own, and so the men retreated, leaving for the most part their families behind, who were not molested. After the war the Albanians petitioned to be allowed to return to their villages and become good and peaceable subjects. The Prince and his Ministry were much inclined to entertain favourably their request, but they felt the question to be pre-eminently a military one, and so it was referred to General Protich, the commander of the district. He conceived himself bound to take a purely military view of the question, and so he disclaimed all responsibility for the safety of the district unless the Moslem population were removed. The Ministry, on their part, durst not take the responsibility of deciding to keep this population in the face of such a professional opinion, and so the unfortunate Albanians were cruelly sacrificed. They were driven from their villages into Turkish territory, there to increase the misery of the hapless people still living under and being plundered by pashas, caimakans, and brigands. A Nemesis was to follow: the Albanians, rendered desperate, organized large and bloody raids into Servian territory, occasioning bloodshed and much misery and expense, and even yet the Serbs dare not diminish the very considerable military force that guards their Albanian frontier. Within the last few weeks, however, these Albanians have been permitted to return.

On such a question as this, much is to be said on both sides. No Christian of the Balkan peninsula can forget the treachery of the Moslems of Montenegro inhabiting the banks of the Rieka, who were ever intriguing with the Porte against the liberties of their country, until the bloody episode of 1702 delivered the country. No Moslem, even in India, submits willingly to the rule of the Infidel, and he considers it a sacred duty to rebel when there is a fair opportunity of a successful rebellion. On the other hand, it is averred by those who know these interesting people intimately, that the plighted word of the Albanian is sacred, and that the Servians might safely have trusted their new subjects.

Of late the Italians have taken great interest in the Albanians. Italian officials declare that the Albanians will never consent to be Hellenized, and that Europe will make a great mistake if she ignores the Albanian nationality. Most assuredly the greatest efforts have been made of late, both by Turks and Italians, from much the same interested motives, to create an Albanian question. The latter have an idea of claiming a share of the sick man's patrimony, especially as their old enemy, Austria, has aroused their jealousy by taking the rich provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both Turks and Italians know too well that if any part of Albania be absorbed by Greece it is gone for ever, as Albanian villages enclosed in free Greece are completely Hellenized. But these people are neither numerous nor

advanced enough to claim a separate political autonomy. The Albanians are but an unorganized collection of warring clans or tribes, without even a written language. Large portions of them have been already Hellenized, and have given to Greece some of her leading public men, and they are likely to be absorbed still more, both by Greeks and Slavonians. •

On leaving Belgrade we took the Austrian steamer to Semendria, leaving about six in the morning and arriving at eight. After a comfortable breakfast at the one fairly good, but not over-clean, hotel, we got into a post carriage, a very roomy, light, covered cart on springs, which latter are sorely tried on the very imperfect roads of Servia. In the matter of roads, one of the surest signs of civilisation, Servia long took the lead in European Turkey, but Midhat Pasha, Governor of Bulgaria in 1860, commenced and carried out a splendid system of roads which certainly eclipsed those of Servia. Of late years the Principality has stood still in respect of roads. I have known the country since 1864, and observe in this respect no improvement. The high-roads have been fairly well made, and then allowed to get dilapidated; numbers of by-roads have been laid out, ditches cut along its sides, and then the work has stopped. These serve pretty well in dry weather; in the winter they are well-nigh impassable.

We travelled the first day to Yagodina, a journey of about eight or nine hours. As we were known to have been Servian sympathisers during the late war, the inhabitants determined to do us honour in their own simple and hearty fashion. As we drove up to our quarters we saw a little crowd assembled before the door, and when we alighted the Natchalnik or Prefect, in undress uniform, came forward and saluted us, bidding us welcome, on which one of the notables made us a formal speech or address full of compliments, and then each member of the deputation shook hands, respectfully uncovering the while. And here I may remark that the most perfect democracy is in Servia associated with a more than Oriental politeness, especially to strangers. What rather unpleasantly strikes the stranger from the West is the Oriental treatment of women. In driving along the road I have frequently observed women about to cross, suddenly stop until my carriage or cart had passed, although there was ample time for them to have traversed the road in safety. On asking the meaning of this I was told that the woman waited until I had passed from respect of my sex. During the late war a zadrooga or family community would sometimes be deprived of all the men, and when this happened, the eldest boy, a lad perhaps of fifteen or sixteen, would be installed in the place of house father, and be obeyed. There seems to be nothing more absurd in this than what occurs when a boy king is raised to a throne. .

We had a prosperous journey after leaving Yagodina, varied by such incidents as the breaking of a spring, or a wheel flying off, for these post carriages are very badly attended to and roughly treated, but none of the accidents delayed us, the broken vehicles were hastily patched up, the driver exclaimed "haidé," and we were off again.

How marvellous was the contrast which this road presented now to its appearance during the war, when all was bustle, haste, and apparent confusion. The last time I had been here Yagodina and all the towns and hamlets on the road were crowded with wounded, who were but poorly cared for, as Servia possessed no ambulance system worthy of the name, and her wounded soldiers were tended by a curious medley of surgeons of all nations, some of them capable men, others very much the reverse. The smell of carbolic acid, and odours infinitely worse, the groans of agony, the sights and sounds of woe connected with the crowds of squalid refugees, can never be effaced from my memory, and as we drove through these well-remembered localities, now so calm, not to say dull, it may be surmised that the road was full of suggestive landmarks. Shortly after leaving Yagodina we passed by the ruins of a huge army bakehouse, where the bread was made for so many thousand daily rations. Passing Parochin, where we had to receive another deputation, and lunching at Razan, the foulest and most horrible dépôt during the war, now a peaceful and not unclean-looking village, we presently reached a small white house standing in a field on our left, which was Tcherniaieff's head-quarters during the war. Just three years before I had stood on an eminence near and seen about a dozen villages all in a blaze, fired by the Circassians. I well remember my indignation at the time at this brutal method of warfare, forgetful of past episodes in modern English history, and not foreseeing that a few months later our own soldiers would be firing the villages of Afghans and the kraals of Zulus, to punish them for the crime of resisting an unjust invasion. The history of the Servian war has not yet been written, nor am I by any means competent for the task; nevertheless, I may make some remarks concerning the struggle in passing.

The Servians on the outbreak of the Herzegovina insurrection were prepared with a plan of campaign wholly differing from that which Tcherniaieff forced upon them. While strengthening as far as possible their Eastern frontier, they intended to throw all their forces into Bosnia, where they were sure of cordial co-operation from the Christians of the province, while the insurgents of Herzegovina, and the gallant warriors of the Black Mountain, would divert much of the Turkish force. There is no doubt that this plan of campaign was infinitely more promising than that actually pursued. Unprepared as were the Turks, the Servians would probably have occupied

a large portion of the province, and the Turks would have found it difficult to expel them. In the neighbouring mountainous region of Herzegovina, the insurgents had held their own for many months. But Austria; would she have interfered? Events proved that the Austrians dared not stir except with the full consent of Europe. Austria dreads both her own people and her neighbours; she would have feared to provoke the Hungarians or the Russians.

But the Pan Slavist party in Russia had their own plans, and were determined that Serbia should be merely a catspaw. I verily believe that the Russian Government was most averse to the war, and feared being drawn into it. Russia was not ready for it, but the Pan Slavist Committee in Moscow thought the moment too good to be lost, and they felt confident of dragging their Government after them. If Russia were to come into the strife, it was essential that Bulgaria should be the main seat of the war, and they were determined that Serbia should prepare the way. There is little doubt that the Russian Consul-General at Belgrade belonged to the Moscow Committees. The Metropolitan, too, is a decided Russian Pan Slavist, and these worked with Tcherniaieff. They managed to change the field of combat from Bosnia to Bulgaria. There are not wanting Servians of great weight who firmly believe that they were the victims of a Russian intrigue, that Tcherniaieff took good care that his troops should not win, but that the war should drag on until the Russians came into the field. I have talked with such persons, and they cite as a great argument the facility with which he abandoned Alexinaz at the close of the first war. A simpler explanation would be that he failed in resolution, or that the evacuation was an error of judgment; certain it is that Alexinaz seemed prematurely and unnecessarily abandoned.

Another grave reproach hurled at Tcherniaieff by a leading Servian amused me immensely. He said that when the headquarters were swept and garnished after Tcherniaieff's departure, more than one hundred unopened telegrams from the Servian ministers were found under his bed. I can well imagine the commander of an army engaged in deciding momentous issues on the spur of the moment, being pestered with incessant telegrams from a knot of civilians containing impossible suggestions and vexatious interferences; and no military men will blame him for throwing the dispatches aside as unworthy of notice. I can see no sign of treachery in this. The Servians did not fight in this first campaign as well as had been expected, though their unwarlike conduct has been greatly exaggerated. During the war a number of the correspondents of our Conservative papers retired to Semlin, just opposite Belgrade, and there fraternised with Hungarians, who hate the Serbs with an intensity of hatred that is indescribable. These corre-

spondents were not ashamed to send home by telegraph and otherwise all sorts of libels concerning the Servian army, such as that they shot from behind their Russian officers, and that they refused to carry the wounded Russians from the field unless well paid for doing so. The latter absurd calumny would have been more probable concerning the soldiers of almost any European power. The Servian peasant is well to do, and remarkably proud in the matter of fees. I have known one refuse a ducat offered for a real service. It must be borne in mind that the army had scarcely a leaven of disciplined troops in the ranks, and that the officers were few, uninstructed, and inexperienced. At Saitchar, about the middle of July, 1875, there were eighteen battalions engaged under Leschianin, with only thirty-nine officers, including the General's staff, where there ought to have been five hundred; and in August there were at Alexinaz three battalions, with only one officer. The ranks were composed of hasty levies of farmers and shopkeepers, and these, armed chiefly with old-fashioned muzzle-loaders, some of them even flint and steel smoothbores, were opposed to an immense army of professional soldiers fully supplied with officers and armed with the best modern weapons. The marvel is that the Serbs held their ground so long. Surely that could not be a nation of cowards, which with a comparatively small force held at bay the armies of the Sultan, recruited as they were from Europe and Asia, from the valley of the Nile, and from the dependencies of Tunis and Tripoli.

It is unfortunately true that the Russian officers and Servian patriots did not get on very well together, and there were several reasons to account for this. In the first place the Russian officers, though brave to a man, were not a *corps d'élite*. In all countries with a large standing army, even in our own with a small one, there are numbers of professional soldiers out of employ who have somehow or other lost their commissions; they naturally are ready to fight for any cause; all they want is employment. I met one brave officer in Servia who had fought for the English in India, for slavery with the Confederates in America, for freedom with the Cretans, for legitimacy in Spain, and lastly for freedom in Servia. The mass of the Russian officers, however, in nowise resembled this gentleman. Their sole idea was to fight the Turk for the emancipation of the Christians; but they had been accustomed to well-drilled regular soldiers, fearing their officers and obeying them implicitly. When these officers were brought into contact with free and independent Serbs, with scarcely an idea of discipline, there naturally ensued difficulties of a grave kind, amongst which the difficulty of understanding each other's language was not the lightest. Not unfrequently soldiers who showed no great readiness in obeying a dangerous order were kicked and cursed, and they resented it by

desertion or otherwise. Self-mutilation was far too common. I never saw an army with so many fingers blown off: Sobriety was not strictly practised amongst this class of officers, and when they were in their cups they exasperated the Serbs beyond measure by their behaviour to their women. This is but an old story, and the Serbs were not the first to complain of the free-and-easy demeanour of warriors called in to help against a common enemy.

When I was last in Servia Alexinaz was the frontier town, now Nish enjoys that honour. This city, as the reader may remember, was captured by the Servian army in the second war, declared under such peculiar circumstances, when Servia is said to have covered herself with ignominy. She had been beaten, doubtless, and had after all been saved by the European powers from the consequences of her defeat, not even having to pay the expenses of the war. This being the case, there must have been very good reasons for her being so treated; one can hardly suppose that the Turks had suddenly become magnanimous, and these reasons were probably not creditable to the Turks; moreover, the European powers were so far the allies of the Servians. But, after all, the Servians were technically and morally in the right in declaring war a second time. If two warring nations make peace on certain specified conditions, and if one of the parties flagrantly violates one of the chief of the conditions, surely the other is justified in declaring war again. The Servians in 1875 avowedly went to war to protect the Christians, and one of the conditions of the peace was that the Christians in Stara Serbie were to be unmolested. No sooner was peace declared than hordes of Bashi Bazonuks were again let loose on these unhappy people, and crowds of them had to cross the frontier for protection. The Servians durst not resent this infraction of the treaty at the time, they had not the force to do it, but they bided their time, and when Plevna fell they stated in their declaration of war that this violation of the treaty was the main cause of their resuming the war. One gets so accustomed to Turkish atrocities, and broken Turkish promises, that such an old offender becomes, to a certain extent, privileged, and one becomes oblivious of his crimes.

At Alexinaz we were the guests of the brave and hospitable old English Tatar who has the finest house in the little town, and considers it a duty to entertain English travellers. Fortunately these are few and far between, or his profuse hospitality might be abused. He speaks a few words of English, but cannot carry on a conversation in the language; he is quite an antique specimen of the Tatar of a past generation, and still persists in wearing the old Turkish costume, though all his neighbours have donned the European dress for the last thirty years. He also wears an old flint and steel pistol in his belt, which I regarded as part of the costume, and nothing more.

On examining it, however, I found it loaded and primed, though, as a matter of fact, he was no more likely to have occasion to use it in Servia than he would had he lived in England. He is full of strange reminiscences of the days when he was employed in carrying dispatches between Constantinople and Belgrade, and sometimes Vienna. The rides he made at times were incredible examples of endurance; and he relates in triumph how, on one occasion, during the Crimean war, he achieved a feat which so won the approbation of the Ambassador, that he presented the Tatar with one hundred pounds. During the late war Prendich was obliged to abandon his house and fly to Belgrade, where I met him looking very woebegone. The Turks occupied his house, which they left in so foul a condition that it required some weeks of cleansing before it could be inhabited.

On leaving Alexinaz we travelled over a very bad sandy track, that could scarcely be called a road. About three miles off is the old frontier, and when I last travelled from Alexinaz to Nish, there was a Turkish guard-house, where I had to deliver my passports, and there was a strong wooden fence as far as the eye could reach, which indicated the frontier. All this was now destroyed; the guard-house was in ruins, and there was scarcely a trace of the fence. After passing Alexinaz, there seems to be a distinct change of climate, not a great one, but still sensible; this is shown by the fauna of the region. That beautiful bird, the *Apiaster*, begins to appear in flocks, and the roller becomes common, together with insects and butterflies indicating a warmer region. About half an hour from Nish we descried a phenomenon, nothing less than a handsome carriage containing the Natchalnik, or Prefect, who had come out expressly to bid us welcome. It will be a pity when the Servians become too Europeanised to continue these charming old hospitable customs. The Natchalnik greeted me as an old friend, who had worked with him amongst the refugees three years before.

The scene on entering Nish was much more striking than any we had hitherto met with, as we were brought into contact with genuine Asiatics for the first time. Less than twenty years ago these Asiatics were first met with at Belgrade, for the Turkish colony there were not Moslem Slavs as in Bosnia, they were genuine Osmanli Turks, as were all the Moslem colonies throughout the Peninsula, with the exception of the Pomaks in Bulgaria, the Albanian Moslems, and the Bosniaks, not to speak of a few gipsies, Greek Moslems, and the like fragments of races. Nearly all the Moslems of Nish were Osmanlis. Most of these fled from Nish when the Servians took possession, but not a few remain and try to reconcile themselves to the galling change, rendered especially so by their former haughty and cruel bearing towards the crouching rayahs who are now, if not their masters, at least fully their equals.

There was no hotel in Nish, at least none that was considered decent enough for us. Hotels will soon be introduced, for they are remarkably numerous throughout Servia. We were soon lodged in the house of a wealthy Christian, a native of the place; nor was it long before we learned that the change of masters had given profound dissatisfaction to the wealthy Christians, whatever the poor population thought of it. I soon ascertained at least one cause of the dissatisfaction. Our host, for example, owned under the Turkish régime six villages. He was their landlord, and, as far as I could make out, the peasants were his slaves, being only allowed enough barely to live on, the rest going into the landlord's pocket. He complained that the new Government was pursuing a career of spoliation, for they had already robbed him of these villages. I inquired further into the matter, and found that this was not far from the truth.

The Servians, on assuming the government, found nearly all the Christian peasants in a state of serfdom of the most abject kind, the landlords being wealthy Moslems and Christians. The Government at once called on these landlords to show their title deeds; where these were valid the holders received a higher rent from the Government, calculated so as to purchase their seigniorial rights after a certain lapse of years, after which the peasants would possess the land, subject to a trifling land-tax to the Government; but if the landlord had no title to show, the villagers were at once set free from their thralldom, and then, of course, a cry of spoliation was raised. Some minds seem absolutely incapable of conceiving the idea of a peasant having any rights, even in his own labour. The Christians who have gained wealth under the Turks are too often men of the baser sort, and villages have been handed over to them by pashas in the most irregular manner, and with utter disregard to the rights of the peasantry.

I learned in Nish the reason why there had been so large an exodus of the Moslems when the Servians took possession. These Turks were mainly composed of those who had left Belgrade and the six other towns and villages where there were garrisons in 1863. The Ottoman Porte had been paid compensation by the Servian Government for the houses and lands abandoned by these people. This compensation money having once found its way into the Constantinople treasury, was of course spent instead of being given to the owners, but the Government had forced the rayahs to build houses for the immigrants, and they were furnished with daily rations from the dimes. The Servians on their entry found that they had quite a population thus to feed, consisting of idle men with their women and children, who would have starved had the distribution ceased. The Moslems naturally found themselves in a false

position. They felt sure that the Servian Government could not be depended on for paying a debt for which they were not responsible, while they had a valid claim on the Turkish Government, who, at least, owed them the interest of the money paid into the treasury, so they migrated mainly into Macedonia, where, doubtless, they are living on the Christians of that unhappy province, which our Government succeeded in thrusting back into slavery.

Nish is a genuine Turkish town—filthy, inconvenient, mean, and dilapidated; but there were complaints, not without reason, that the Servian Government were in too great a hurry to carry out their improvements. Whole streets were being pulled down, pavements torn up, and every one rendered utterly uncomfortable, so that, as might have been expected, there was much grumbling at these radical reforms which, so far, had only taken the aspect of destruction, while the Government had “harassed every interest.” I made some inquiries concerning slavery amongst the Turks. Unlike what prevails among the Turks farther south, the inevitable negro slaves are absent from these families, their places being occupied by gipsy servants. But a few years ago all the well-to-do families in Roumania possessed gipsy slaves.

Perhaps the most remarkable sight is one just outside the gates of Nish; this is the famous tower of skulls, a tower about fifteen feet high and eleven feet square, built of stone and rubble, in which have been inserted several hundred skulls. My companion counted two hundred of these niches on one side; scarcely any of the skulls now remain, the Servians having removed them, but the Government has fenced round the tower, which is to be kept as a monument of Turkish rule. This tower was built about the beginning of the present century after the suppression of a revolt. A large number of villages were utterly destroyed, all the men, women, and children being massacred precisely as in Bulgaria in 1875; the Turks, exulting in their bloody deed, built the tower to commemorate it. The descendants of these triumphant butchers are now crouching beneath the rule of the children of the despised *rayahs*. Servia still contains thousands of citizens who have a vivid recollection of the dark days of Turkish rule. An old lady told me she well remembered being sent for a pitcher of water when a child, and she passed between two rows of patriots impaled along the principal street, some dead, some living in exquisite torture. With the recollection of such scenes told in every family circle, it was hard for the Servians to subordinate their political aspirations to British interests.

We were glad to leave the peculiarly hot and stifling town of Nish and bathe in the delicious air of the mountain pass of Plotché. The weather at the end of May was delicious, the nightingales warbled from every bush. The population in this part, never

numerous during Turkish rule, is sparser than ever since the war. The ruins of villages are passed from time to time, to each of which belongs a tragedy. We seldom saw travellers excepting here and there a solitary peasant, but at the top of the pass we overtook two young men in decent European dress, indicating that they were Bulgarians of the bourgeois class. We entered into conversation with them, and learned that both had suffered from the Turks; one had lost his father who had been murdered, the other had lost seven of his nearest relatives, massacred during the troubles of 1876. Shortly after this we fell in with some Bulgarian peasants, all of whom had their tale of woe; their houses had been burned and themselves plundered; one village had owned one hundred and twenty oxen, of which but twenty remained.

We lunched at Ak Balanka, a curious place, containing a small mediæval fortress, which is now used as a Government store-house; the authorities had built for us a charming harbour of freshly-cut boughs, in which we had our meal. I found the native wine excellent, and inquired the price at which it was sold, and learned that 100 okas would cost 5 francs, a quantity sufficient to fill about 200 of our wine bottles. Provisions here are not expensive; bread costs 20 centimes the oka ($2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.), mutton 30 centimes the oka, lamb 50; the largest turkey costs 10 piastres, or 1s. 8d. Although still in Servia we were evidently amongst Bulgarians here. All the villages on the right bank of the river have been destroyed. It is sad to see how complete has been the destruction of the forests all through this country; the Turks were constantly driving the peasants to brigandage or to rebellion, and were as frequently burning the forests that gave them shelter.

We reached Pirot on the evening of the same day, and were given a good house to lodge in by the Natchalnik, as there are as yet no hotels worthy of the name, the only place being a very rough restaurant kept by a Zinzar, who has occasionally a bed for travellers. We had our supper here, however, in the restaurant; there were five of us, and our bill amounted to 35 francs, which amount was promptly paid. One of our servants, a Bulgarian, thought the amount exorbitant, and so showed the bill to the Natchalnik, who was apparently of the same opinion, for he at once made the man return 16 francs, and fined him 5 francs for his extortion. Pirot is famous for the manufacture of those bright carpets of quaint design which go by the name of Kelim carpets in London. They are light in texture and very enduring, at least they were so before the advent of aniline dyes, which have ruined the reputation of all Eastern carpets of modern fabrication.

On the following morning as we were just on the proposed frontier of Servia, and about to enter the new Principality of Bulgaria, we

saw a large crowd drawn up on both sides of the road near a little hamlet. This crowd was composed of genuine Bulgarian peasants. As we approached they stopped our two carriages and vociferated loudly, their bearing towards us having a mixture of respect with peremptoriness. When we had listened for some moments to a babel of incomprehensible sounds, I managed to single out one of the leaders, and requesting silence of the rest, prevailed on him to explain the meaning of our being thus arrested on our journey. The crowd demanded neither our money nor our lives, they were neither brigands nor insurgents, but they demanded the right of choosing their allegiance, and they peremptorily objected to being Bulgarians politically, whatever they were ethnologically, and they asked us to put down their villages (and they were a deputation representing about two hundred villages) within the Servian frontier. This was truly a strange request to be preferred to three innocent unofficial travellers, and I need not add we lost not a moment in strenuously repudiating any official character whatever. Bulgarian peasants, with none but Bulgarian experiences, of course could not swallow such a monstrous assertion; we could not be "toujarlar," or merchants, who of course travelled in the most economical fashion, and they had probably never even conceived the idea of private folks travelling for amusement and instruction. Moreover the Servian Government, in their usual hospitable fashion, had given us one or two pandours, or gendarmes, not for protection, for the road was perfectly safe, but for help in case of a carriage breaking down, a very common accident, so that no asseverations on our part, in a country where the Turkish authorities were not always veracious, could make these peasants believe that we did not belong to the frontier delimitation commission. Instead of having a sort of fight or at least a quarrel with these 300 peasants, we quietly stopped and had some coffee at a little roadside hut, and heard their story, protesting that we heard it as simple travellers only. "We are Serbs," they exclaimed, both in the Bulgarian and Turkish languages; "we are Serbs, and we don't want to be Bulgarians. The Bulgarian Government is *slaba* (weak, not well considered), whereas we know how good the Servian Government is, how it can protect us, and how little it taxes its subjects."

The Servian Government, whatever may be its defects, is alarmingly popular over its own frontiers. It is well known that each village enjoys a large amount of self-government, and that the people cannot be taxed beyond the sum consented to by themselves. Occasionally, indeed too often, a considerable amount of petty tyranny is exercised by Natchalniks and Kmets, and much difficulty and even danger is experienced in getting such rogues removed; but after all life and property are secure, and taxation mar-

vellously light, and such evils as they suffer from grow lighter and rarer with each decade, and are in strong contrast to the intolerable evils experienced by the unhappy rayahs who have again been thrust under the Turkish yoke by the British Government. This popularity of the Servian Government is indeed alarming to those who are governing people of the same race and blood on a totally different system; but statesmen, far in advance of Turks, appear even yet to rely on scientific frontiers and costly military preparations, rather than on endurable taxation and good government.

We had a most enjoyable drive through a rich but thinly-populated country in beautiful May weather, over plains covered with high grass hiding innumerable quails, whose low soft chirp was frequently heard, while larks soared in the clear sky, and high overhead sailed the imperial eagle who but a few months ago had feasted richly on many a bloody field of battle.

About four in the afternoon we arrived at the Bulgarian Custom House, where our luggage had to be examined. All travelling Englishmen know what a nuisance this ordeal is even in the least rigorous custom houses, and we naturally anticipated a very rigorous search, involving much unpacking and packing amongst bran-new officials endowed with much authority, who but a few months before were rayahs subject to the buffets of Turkish *zaptichs*. One of our examiners had his ears slit, having been thus marked by Bashi Bazouks, who had left him for dead. Our anticipations were not realised. Our waggons were stopped, we entered the custom house, were offered seats, cigarettes, and coffee, and were politely told that the examination was a mere form, as tourists like ourselves would naturally not be smugglers; not a box was opened. This village of Alkali Slivnitza had been almost entirely Turkish, but all the Turks had fled. We heard here that there was a sort of cross emigration going on. The Turks were leaving Bulgaria in great numbers and settling in Macedonia, where the Christians as usual were compelled to build houses for them, and to become practically their slaves, so that they, too, fled into free Bulgaria, as their condition had become worse than before the war of liberation. The custom house had been in service about two months, during which time it had received 42,000 francs.

We reached Sofia that night about eight o'clock, and had some difficulty in finding a hotel, as the place was still crowded with Russians. In the whole course of my travels I have seldom seen a fouler city than this, the capital of Bulgaria. It is mainly built of wood, and the houses, even the best of them, swarm with vermin, and the streets are narrow lanes, very filthy and execrably paved. I need not say more than that it is a Turkish city, and will doubtless be subject to the same course of treatment that Nish is undergoing,

though probably more gradually, as the mass of the Bulgarians know of nothing better, whereas the Servians have as a model their own capital of Belgrade, which may rank with a third-class German town.

A large Moslem population numbering thirty thousand Osmanli Turks lived in Sofia, of whom but few remain; there has been an enormous exodus, only the poorest remaining, who, as far as I could learn, are perfectly well treated by the Bulgarians. The largest mosque was close to the hotel where we lodged. I went to see if any harm had been done to the temple, but saw none. I observed, however, a very significant change in the attitude of the worshippers. Usually all the doors of a mosque are thrown wide open, and the worshippers are frequently going in and out, several of them washing themselves outside. Nothing of this sort was seen, only one door was made use of, and men slipped in and out in a very quiet, unobtrusive fashion. I went from the mosque to the cathedral, so called, a rather good-sized church. Here all was changed from what I had seen about six years before. Mass had just concluded, and the people in their gayest apparel were streaming out of the church, looking proud and satisfied, glorying in their release from their degrading slavery. Presently a company of Bulgarian militia marched past, fine stalwart men, well drilled, and looking like thorough soldiers. It is well known that during the Turkish war several Bulgarian regiments were organized and led into action by Russian officers, and they behaved like veterans. While I was watching these, a sudden and loud peal of bells rang out, most significant of liberty, for in a Moslem town bells are forbidden. This was a fine peal recently sent from Moscow, and the childish delight of the people knew no bounds. The bells were hung in an improvised wooden belfry, and a crowd of the peasantry from neighbouring villages gathered round to gaze with delight upon these new and noisy symbols of their liberty. But six years before I had seen these people crouching under the lash of the zaptieh; on this, my second visit, the glorious sensation of deliverance shone from every countenance. The sight was affecting enough.

I called at the house of one of the wealthiest Bulgarians who had escaped hanging. He gave me a thrilling account of his troubles during the reign of terror. He had been of course suspected of disloyalty, then arrested; his house and garden were rigorously searched for arms, the searchers appropriating anything of value that they came across. In the absence of all proof of conspiracy he was heavily ironed, together with all the Christian notables of the town, and thrown into a very filthy prison. After some weeks of this misery he was, with his companions, taken to Constantinople, where he remained about sixty days, suffering indescribable torture. He was

eventually released and restored to his family—a far happier fate than that which awaited the majority of the rich Bulgarians, numbers of whom were plundered for the benefit of the Turkish pashas, and then hanged. Nearly all the mosques in Sofia are in ruins, but the large one which remains uninjured is amply large enough for the remnant of the Moslem population, about three hundred. One of the largest churches in the peninsula was erected here previous to the Turkish conquest, it was then converted into a mosque, and has now been reconverted. Nearly all the other mosques are destroyed, or at least are ruinous. The large khan too is in ruins, a fine solid building that was ruinous long before the late troubles, as Sofia, like all other cities throughout the Turkish Empire with the exception of the capital, has been rapidly diminishing in size. It is said that the population of Sofia was once one hundred and fifty thousand, and that of late years it has scarcely reached forty-five thousand.

I inquired carefully as to the treatment of the Moslems wherever I went, and was assured by every one that they were not molested as a rule, though there were undoubtedly isolated cases of maltreatment here and there, which were made the most of by the Jews and Turkish party. One case I heard of in which a Bulgarian had brutally assaulted a returned Turk. He was remonstrated with, on which he answered, "That man murdered my father and my brother, and grossly maltreated and robbed other members of my family. I never could get any redress, so on suddenly meeting him I could not keep my hands off him." Sundry instances of this sort have doubtless happened, and will happen for some time to come. Time alone can assuage those feelings of revengeful indignation that the Turkish rule always excites. On this question the *Norodni Glas* remarks, "Europe will always be telling us, You suffered much, therefore you will never obtain pardon. This same Europe asks of us a greater degree of moral strength and self-abnegation than any civilised nation has ever yet been capable of. A Bulgarian mother must not frown upon the murderers of her children, and a Bulgarian widow must show courtesy to those who betrayed her husband to an ignominious and cruel death, nor must a son make unkind remarks regarding those who butchered his father."

Most of the Moslems left before the advent of the Russians, when there was a panic throughout the country; and no wonder, for the Moslems, feeling confident of driving the Russians over the Danube when the too adventurous Gourko fell back after his first unsupported raid, at once fell on the Christians with deadly ferocity, Suleiman Pasha, it is said, fully intending to reduce the Christian majority, so that a reign of terror and of horror ensued, such as Europe had not seen since the Middle Ages. When, therefore, the Russians, after the fall of Plevna, advanced in force, driving before them the

wreck of every Turkish army they encountered, the Moslem citizens regarded them as a Christian army of vengeance, and naturally expected that the cup of bitterness they had caused the Christians to drain to the dregs would be offered to them in their turn. Hence the conscience-stricken crowd fled in vast hordes, taking with them all the property they could carry off, both of their own and of their Christian neighbours.

I left Sofia and took the mountain-road to Samakov, a city high up in the mountains, where malarious fever, so rife in the plains, is unknown. When I was last at Samakov, blasting furnaces turned by water power were to be seen all over the plain; these were mostly owned by Turks, who derived from them a large amount of iron, with which this elevated plain abounds. The sand on the roads may be termed iron sand, and a torrential river, the Isska (sparkling), is divided into a number of streams which supply motor power with which the iron works are carried on. All, or nearly all, these mills were now silent, in consequence of the late political convulsion. Russian troops occupied Samakov, but they were preparing to depart. A magnificent cavalry regiment was here, which must have produced a great impression on the natives, who had never seen a horse more than fourteen hands high; the men and officers too formed an immenso contrast to the slouching ruffians that now form the Imperial Ottoman cavalry, once as fine a body of men and horses as any in Europe, but, like everything else in the Empire, deteriorated within the last half-century. Samakov is one of the healthiest towns in Turkey, for not only is it situated in an elevated region in an alpine atmosphere, but as springs of pure water are found everywhere, the people have the inestimable privilege of good drinking water; moreover, water from the Isska is carried in small canals through most parts of the town, and these rushing streams carry off all dirt: cesspools are unknown.

Here, being ill, I received the most valuable and abundant hospitality from the American Mission Station, and at the same time much valuable information. The missionaries told me that the chief offence of the Turks was the frequent outrages on Christian women, for which no redress was ever possible. It so happened that close by the station there lived an old woman who, when a young Christian girl, had been forcibly abducted, and had been in her ravisher's harem ever since. At this time numbers of refugees were crowding the buildings of the Mission Station; these were for the most part Protestants who had fled from Macedonia, which province, thrust back under the yoke of the Turks by British diplomacy, was and still is in a state of anarchy. One of my missionary friends had, with his family, barely escaped with his life from Yeni Saghra, where wholesale massacres had occurred, but at Eski Saghra the slaughter was still worse, as the town had been made a sort of city of refuge,

numbers of villagers having fled from remote places exposed to Baahi Bazouks and Circassians, to seek refuge in this little town, which was surrounded, burnt, and utterly destroyed; from ten to fifteen thousand Christians are supposed here to have perished. The planting of the Circassians in Bulgaria, a measure intended to keep the Christians in order, and suggested, it is alleged, by a late British ambassador, who thought it would tend to maintain "the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire," was, according to the testimony of many competent observers, the most immediate cause of the active discontent of the Bulgarians. Up to that time the Bulgarians had been the most loyal of the rayahs, or, to speak more correctly, the least discontented. They were assuredly the most industrious, and, until within the last ten years, perhaps the least enlightened. But when a crowd of fanatical savages were thrust amongst them, and they were ordered to build houses and furnish seed, corn, and oxen for them, and then found they were harbouring thieves and ruffians, the discontent of the rayahs became very active, and they were more ready to listen to those "agitators" whom British Consuls are never tired of denouncing as the cause, and not one of the consequences, of the rayahs' disloyalty to the benign rule of the Sultan.

Doubtless other causes were at work, and some of these, too, measures to support "the integrity and independence" of our unhappy protégé. The Crimean war broke in upon the darkness of a region hitherto unknown to civilisation. The presence of foreign armies, the traffic and the knowledge of the world consequent thereon, had an immense effect in awakening the dormant faculties of these people. Then came the ecclesiastical rebellion against the tyranny of the Greek Church, and lastly the influence of the American missionaries. These excellent people avoid politics as much as possible, but in spite of themselves they have had a considerable political influence in Turkey. They bring light into the dark places of the earth. I don't speak of religious light, which may be a disputed question, for many religious people, of a different persuasion, honestly believe they do more harm than good; but they give an immense amount of secular education, and, above all, set an example of simple living, and of an austere, highly civilised mode of life. Their educational efforts at first roused the jealousy of the bishops and priests, and to counteract them they set up rival establishments, so that, owing to these interlopers, a great educational impulse was felt throughout the land, and no educated people can be content to live the lives of rayahs.

The priestly party amongst the Christians, who had always hated the missionaries, confidently predicted that the orthodox Russians would quickly send these heretics over the frontier, and the

Americans were greatly in doubt as to their future treatment. Their satisfaction and the surprise of their enemies were great, when the Russian authorities not only protected them, but also showed them marked respect. The Russian uniform was frequently seen in the little Protestant congregation—for many Finlanders and other Protestants were to be found in their ranks.

Long before the liberation, the clergy had lost much influence, not only in consequence of the growing enlightenment of the people, but chiefly because the bishops were associated with the Turks in the government of the province, and were in partnership with every pasha that fleeced their flocks. The National Assembly awakened these ecclesiastics somewhat rudely to the changed temper of their flocks; moreover, the most eloquent and liberal of the members were almost invariably those who had received an American education from the missionaries, these not being always Protestants. A newspaper, the *Zornitsa* (Morning Star), edited by Dr. Byington, is said to have had great influence amongst the Bulgarians, having had a large circulation.

I had an ample explanation of the intolerance shown to the Jews by the Christians of the East. During all these horrors they played the part of jackal to the Turkish lion. They hunted out and betrayed the Christians; they were the most zealous volunteer spies; and they were always ready to purchase the plundered property of the rayahs. The dislike of the Eastern Christians to the Jews is not merely the result of religious intolerance.

My observations during this tour over a part of Eastern Europe, already familiar to me, amply confirmed my hopes as to the future of these provinces. Unquestionably the only true solution of the vexed Eastern Question, as far as the Balkan Peninsula is concerned, lies in the resuscitation of these peoples. Experiments already made during the last sixty years have been successful. Greece is an example, Serbia is a remarkable one, and Bulgaria bids fair to be another. These two will probably coalesce in the future. Lord Salisbury stated in his Manchester speech that these nationalities have no administrative traditions. No assertion could be more inaccurate. During the whole of the Turkish occupation they have had an organized self-government, with all the habits and traditions engendered by it. The ambition of neighbouring powers will be checked and arrested by these little states if they have fair play, and England's best policy is to foster and encourage them.

HUMPHRY SANDWICH.

BUDDHA'S FIRST SERMON.

THE Buddha's First Sermon is especially worthy of attention from the fact that it presents to us in a few short and pithy sentences the very essence of that remarkable system which has had so profound an influence on the religious history of so large a portion of the human race. And it is the more noteworthy since the scheme of salvation which it propounds, the Kingdom of Righteousness of which it is called the Foundation, are supported by none of those conceptions which underlie the teachings of other religious founders, are entirely independent of the belief in a soul, of the belief in God, and of the belief in a future life.

The First Sermon occupies among the Buddhists a position similar to that held among the Christians by the Sermon on the Mount, and the day on which it was delivered is as sacred in the Buddhist Church as the Day of Pentecost in most of the Churches of Christendom. It is somewhat strange, therefore, that so little stress has been laid upon "The Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness" by writers on Buddhism. But the reason is not far to seek. A mere translation of the sermon would be scarcely intelligible without an elaborate commentary; and it is a most difficult task to give a clear and simple account of a system so utterly foreign to the habitual conceptions and modes of thought of Western minds. If in my present endeavour to make a dark subject plain, I seem to dwell too long on more familiar topics, and to keep the reader too long from the sermon itself, I can only hope that the end will, in some measure, justify the means.

Buddhism is often described as a philosophy rather than a religion; and a pessimist view of life is generally supposed to underlie its philosophy. It is somewhat difficult to tell what the word "pessimist" means in popular phraseology, so different and so contradictory are the vague, inaccurate meanings in which it is often used. It is most generally, perhaps, intended either to brand the man who is everlastingly complaining, and whose mental vision is blind to everything but misfortune and disaster; or to express contempt for the man whose weak heart takes fright at the ills of life, who thinks that all is evil and must remain evil, and who gives up in despair instead of trying manfully to take up arms against the sea of trouble, and by opposing end them. It is no wonder that so one-sided a view, so unworthy a character should be unpopular; and pessimism will scarcely obtain a hearing until it succeeds in removing the misconceptions involved in, and sustained by, such applications of the term.

Neither the great Indian thinker and reformer, nor the modern advocates of pessimism, have advanced any such views as are thus stigmatized with what has become an opprobrious epithet. Their pessimism is confined to the answer which they give to the question, "Is life worth having?"—a question which they answer from two points of view. First, that of life in general, the sum total of existence; secondly, that of life in particular, the life of the individual. On the first point pessimism is a denial of the Christian doctrine that if we rightly consider all things that have been made, we must conclude, in the words of the First Chapter of Genesis, "Behold, it is very good." If a pessimist be an adherent to the theory of a personal first cause, he would deny that the Creator could at the same time have been both omnipotent and benevolent; and in any case he would maintain that the sum of the happiness of all creatures is in part outbalanced by the sum of their misery. It is this opinion, whether true or false, to which the term pessimist is by some writers strictly confined; but it may, I think, be fairly applied also to the corresponding opinion on the second point, so closely do the two questions depend upon each other.

On this second point the pessimist would answer, that the sum of the happiness enjoyed by each individual is far outbalanced by the sum of the troubles and evils and sorrows to which he is subject. To form a correct judgment on this question it is necessary to look away from one's own case, to think of the thousand millions of the toiling multitudes who spend lives of poverty and labour, and to try to answer from an impartial point of view whether, for them, life is really a thing they would have chosen had they had the choice?

To this question, as to the last, it is not intended here to offer any reply. I would only point out that a pessimist, in the stricter sense of the term, need not give to it a negative reply; and that any answer that can be given is purely a matter of speculative inquiry, and has but little bearing on practical life. For whatever the answer to it may be, one thing is abundantly clear, and must be granted by optimist and pessimist alike—and that is, that whether life be worth having or not, whether a wise man ought or ought not to have chosen it, had he had the choice, life at all events we have, the choice has not been given us, and the only right thing for each of us to do, our bounden duty to ourselves and to humanity, is, here and now, wisely and manfully, to make the best of it.

As discussions on pessimism are too often vitiated by an ignorance of what is the real question at issue, so discussions on the future life are too often vitiated by a neglect of the curious history of the doctrine. It is impossible to estimate rightly the value and significance of the modern Christian belief on the subject without

understanding the long history of which that belief is only one of the latest phases. It was a long time before men believed in a future life at all, and even now it is by no means universal. It was longer still before some began to believe in an endless life hereafter, and to make a distinction between heaven and hell. In later times the belief became general that heaven was the reward that the good might look to as their compensation for the unjust distribution here of happiness and woe. In our own time the inheritors of these beliefs have sought to defend their hopes of heaven, and to justify their views of hell, by new modifications of the older theories. An orthodox dissenter attempts to prove that eternal life begins with faith in Christ, and that the unbelieving are doomed not to punishment, but to death. A clergyman, who claims to be orthodox, attempts to rob of its sting the horrible doctrine of hell by promising the unconverted, not, indeed, exemption from punishment, but the hope of penitence and pardon; and an earnest and eloquent Comtist attempts the task of infusing an entirely new meaning into words by which the ancient creed was expressed. But those who have made themselves free from the inherited beliefs, and who attempt to come to some conclusion on the scanty evidence at their command, either cherish a vague and lingering hope (as John Mill did in his later years), or feel that the evidence is insufficient even for that.

Now on the question of future life, opinion had reached in India, in the fifth century before Christ, a similar stage to that we have now reached here in the West. The affirmative doctrine had had a similar history, and was, in some form or other, universally held by all except a few of the most advanced materialists; while its defenders put forward regarding it views as various as the many modifications of the doctrine now taught among ourselves. On the two pessimist questions as to the value of life, the Indians were already somewhat more advanced than Europeans now—whether more accurate or not it is not necessary to consider—for pessimists were in as great a majority there as they are now in a minority here.

It was then that there arose the mightiest thinker India has produced, and one of the greatest and most original thinkers on moral and religious questions whom the world has yet seen, and he propounded a scheme of salvation without any of the rites, any of the ceremonies, any of the charms, any of the various creeds, any of the priestly powers, without even any of the gods in whom men so love to trust. This, at least, is a service which may explain, if it cannot justify, the blind idolatry with which he was subsequently regarded, and by which his teachings were overshadowed and destroyed. But the Buddha had his answer, too, to the questions we have now been discussing, and it will be for the reader

to judge to-day whether that particular and positive part of his system was as original and as far-reaching as the negative side of it undoubtedly was.

The importance which he at least attached to his answer may be estimated not only from the fact that it formed the subject alike of his first and of his last discourse, but from the name which he gave to its fundamental ideas—the Four Noble Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path.

The sermon is preserved to us in the Pāli text of the Buddhist Pitakas in the so-called Sūtra of the Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness,¹ and is certainly among the very oldest records of the Buddhist belief. The following is a literal translation:—

“There are two extremes,” said the Buddha, “which the man who has devoted himself to the higher life ought not to follow—the habitual practice, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, and especially of sensuality (a low and Pagan² way of seeking gratification, unworthy, unprofitable, and fit only for the worldly minded); and the habitual practice, on the other hand, of asceticism [or self-mortification], which is not only painful, but as unworthy and unprofitable as the other.

“But the Tathāgata³ has discovered a Middle Path, which avoids these two extremities, a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment—in a word, to Nirvāna. And this path is the Noble Eightfold Path of

Right views,	A harmless livelihood,
High aims,	Perseverance in well-doing,
Kindly speech,	Intellectual activity, and
Upright conduct,	Earnest thought.”

And here I would pause a moment to observe how strange a fact it is that such a scheme of salvation should have been deliberately propounded at all at so early a period in the history of our race; how almost incredible and how painful a fact it is that after having been once widely accepted and eagerly followed, it was yet overshadowed, smothered, lost, and chiefly through the very love and adoration which were felt towards its propounder. A similar fate attended the Buddha's Kingdom of Righteousness as attended that new and strange Kingdom of Heaven founded afterwards in Galilee—a brief period of splendid though limited success, and then many centuries of battling creeds and bitter dogmas, religious persecutions, pious legends, and vain idolatries; the sky filled with myriads of semi-deities, the hollow creations of a sickly imagination; the teacher

(1) The Dhamma-cakka-ppavātana Sutta of the Anguttara Nikāya in the Sutta Pitaka; found also in its proper context at the commencement of the Mahā Vagga of the Vinaya Pitaka. On the Sanskrit version see Léon Feer in the *Journal Asiatique*, vol. xv. pp. 364—366.

(2) *Gamma*, a word of the same meaning and the same derivation as our word pagan.

(3) That is, the Buddha. He is so called as being the successor and imitator of the many previous Buddhas.

deified, his teaching forgotten; and at last the lowest depth—a return in the very monasteries of his religion to the “low, pagan, and unworthy extremes” of sensuality on the one hand, or self-torture on the other.

It is true that through the centuries of its decline, the Kingdom of Righteousness, like the later Kingdom of Heaven, has not been without its mighty kings and faithful subjects; it has been the source of the support of all that is good within its realm, and its history is not yet done. But it is necessary to realise how little mankind were prepared to receive it, and how grievously, on the whole, they misunderstood it, in order to realise how far it was raised above the ordinary grasp of average men, and how truly it deserves its name of the Noble Path.

But to return to our sermon and to a more recondite and metaphysical part of it, the way in which it attempted to sum up all the conditions which are productive of sorrow:—

“Birth,” said the Teacher, “is attended with pain; and so are decay and disease and death. Union with the unpleasant is painful, and separation from the pleasant; and any craving that is unsatisfied is a condition of sorrow. Now all this amounts, in short, to this, that wherever there are the conditions of individuality, there are the conditions of sorrow. This is the First Truth, the truth about sorrow.

“The cause of sorrow is the thirst or craving which causes the renewal of individual existence, is accompanied by evil, and is ever seeking satisfaction, now here, now there—that is to say, the craving either for sensual gratifications, or for continued existence, or for the cessation of existence. This is the Noble Truth concerning the origin of sorrow.

“Deliverance from sorrow is the complete destruction, the laying aside, the getting rid of, the being free from, the harbouring no longer of this passionate craving. This is the Noble Truth concerning the destruction of sorrow.

“The path which leads to the destruction of sorrow is this Noble Eightfold Path alone—that is to say, right views, high aims, kindly speech, upright conduct, a harmless livelihood, perseverance in well-doing, intellectual activity, and earnest thought. This is the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the destruction of sorrow.”

There followed a few words of personal explanation, but here the real sermon was, in fact, ended; so that it had at least a merit often accounted great in sermons—that of brevity. In this respect I shall try to imitate it while explaining the deeper meaning of these pregnant sentences. For, as in all such cases, a mere translation into English words is quite inadequate to convey the ideas expressed in the original. Where the conditions of individuality are there is sorrow, is the summing up of the First Truth. Now sorrow is a word easy enough, too easy, to understand; but behind the expression, individuality, lies a fuller meaning than is at the first sight apparent.

Let us picture to ourselves a river, deep and rapid, hurrying on its course through and past a bridge. A man standing on the bridge

will see, as the water whirls along past the buttresses or pillars of the bridge, that eddies form and bubbles take shape. For a moment they seem to have a separate existence, they move hither and thither as though endowed with life. But almost immediately they are seen, as people say, to burst; the thin film which gave them their individuality is dissolved, and they have a separate existence no longer.

Or let us imagine ourselves on the battlements of some hill-fortress watching a horseman as he urges his horse far below over the distant plain. The driver is full of the consciousness of his individuality, and the horse seems to scorn the earth from which it thinks itself so separate. But to the watchman above horse and driver seem to crawl along the ground which it is beyond their power to leave; they seem to be as much a part of the great earth as the horse's mane, waving in the wind, is a part of the horse itself.

And the watchman, according to Buddhism, is right. Never for one moment do men escape beyond the influence of the rest of existence which is ever drawing them back into itself. For a brief interval, and by a great effort, they may resist the force of gravitation; and so also for a brief period, by a continual effort, they may resist the powers of the great non-self in the midst of which they live and move and have their being. But each effort leaves them weaker for the next. Before long the dream, the struggle of life will be over; the thin film which separates them, which gives them individuality, will dissolve, and, like the bubble in the river, they will fall back into the great permanent stream of existence, and as separate entities their place will know them no more.

Now it is the effort, the struggle necessary to maintain individuality which, according to the Buddha, is the essence of sorrow; and the conditions of this individuality are the conditions also of sorrow. At birth, at the starting into life of the individual, there is a mighty effort; Nature is arrayed, as it were, against itself, and there follows a pain, severe because the effort is severe. With a bound and a leap, full of the strength born with the pain, the individual starts along his course. But the new strength soon flags and becomes exhausted. To maintain itself as a separate being, the effort must be continually maintained; but the effort is pain—the pain of decay—and dies out at length in its last flicker in the pain of death. And in its course from birth to death, whenever the individuality, the separateness, is brought most distinctly into play (in the severance from what it loves, for instance, or in the union with what it hates), there, with the assertion of the individuality, is found also the production of pain. This is the first Noble Truth, the truth about sorrow.

I can scarcely ask the reader to acknowledge the accuracy of a theory which must be so new to him and so strange. But it is surely not premature to claim for it the credit of being a bold and most

original attempt to deal earnestly with perhaps the greatest problem that the human mind has ever grappled with, and to maintain that it contains at least a great amount of truth.

The second Truth carries the argument somewhat farther. These being the conditions of sorrow, what is its cause? Its cause, says the teacher, is a strange and almost irresistible craving felt by every individual—a craving it seeks to gratify in various ways, but especially in the lust of the flesh, or the lust of life, or the attempt to escape from the consequences of its separation.

The protest against sensuality is common to all religions and all philosophies, and the universal existence of this first form of the craving will not be disputed. On the second point a few words of comment are necessary. The protest against the craving for existence includes the desire for that future life of which we have been speaking. And necessarily so, for what can future life be unless it is a continuation of individuality? Without that no future life is conceivable. Even in the very highest heaven of heavens the individual must be separate, finite, conscious, or its life would cease. If finite, how will it maintain itself against the infinite without the effort which there, as here, will show itself in pain? If finite, how can it be otherwise than ignorant? But if ignorant, capable of error, and liable therefore to the fruits of error, painful here and painful also there. No future life, in short, is possible without just those conditions which are inseparable from sorrow, and the craving for continued existence will be a hindrance, not a help, on the only path to the only true salvation.

The third protest is directed against the doctrine, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." "If you have so far accepted my system," a Buddhist teacher would say, "as to have discarded the current pagan notions of a soul, cast not therefore all scruples to the winds, devote not yourself therefore to the gratification of your baser capabilities. This would indeed be to escape one evil only to fall into a greater. You must get rid, indeed, of the delusions regarding your individuality, but it would be as vain to attempt now to escape from that individuality itself as it would be wrong to attempt to escape from its responsibilities. And it is only the base and cowardly whom the struggle against the lust of life, or the sense of the evils of existence, can drive to suicide or to despair." The only true corollary from the second Truth is the third. You must conquer the evils of life, which are due to this strange but undeniable craving, by the destruction of the craving from which they spring. And this is to be done in no other way than that laid down by the fourth Truth—the cultivation, namely, of the opposite condition of mind, of the equanimity that will result from kindness, from self-culture, and from self-control.

With the Noble Eightfold Path the argument begins, and with it the argument closes. It is at once the foundation and the top stone of the stately bridge which the great teacher tried to build over the mysteries and sorrows of life. The eight divisions of the Noble Path contain the answers which he would give to the deepest questions that theologians have raised, and they are the description in detail of the only salvation that in his opinion is worth contending for—this middle path of intelligent self-culture which he declares “will open the eyes and bestow understanding, will lead to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to complete enlightenment—in a word, to Nirvāna.”

We are thus brought to the question of Nirvāna; and I should not be doing justice to the subject before us if I passed the question by. I purpose therefore, as clearly and shortly as I can, to explain what is meant in the earliest Buddhist writings by this goal to which the Noble Path will lead, the highest aim for every wise and earnest man to seek. But before doing so, it is right to let the reader know that he will not have to grapple with any deep and difficult metaphysical reasoning. He will already have climbed the hill in mastering the doctrine of individuality, and, having mastered that, will have only to make a comparatively easy descent on the other side.

Every one, according to the Buddha, ought to be walking along the Noble Path; but the entrance is narrow and the path is long. There are lions, too, in the path, and few are they who conquer all its difficulties and reach the end of it. The chief of these difficulties are ten in number, and are called the Ten Fetters or Hindrances.

These are, firstly, the Delusion of Self; and it is instructive to find that this is made the first of the series, the very entrance to the Noble Path. So long as a man is wholly occupied with himself, chasing after every bauble that he vainly thinks will satisfy the cravings of his heart, there is no Noble Path for him. Only when his eyes have been opened to the fact that he is but a tiny part of a measureless whole, only when he begins to realise how impermanent a thing is his temporary individuality, has he even entered upon the narrow path. After what has been said above, the meaning of this First Fetter will be easy to grasp.

The Second Fetter is Doubt, Indecision. When a man's eyes are opened to the great mystery of existence, the impermanence of every individuality, he must make up his mind to follow the teacher, to accept the truth, and to enter on the struggle, or he will get no farther.

The Third Fetter is Dependence on the Efficacy of Rites and Ceremonies. No good resolutions, however firm, will lead to anything unless a man gets rid of the low, pagan, and degrading error of ritualism; of the belief that any outward acts, any priestly powers,

any holy ceremonies, can afford him any assistance of any kind. It is scarcely surprising to find this doctrine so close to the entrance of the Buddha's Noble Path, but it is interesting to learn the curious fact that it is under this Fetter that the modern Buddhist ranks all those representations of Christianity that have been urged upon his acceptance by missionaries of different schools. When he has broken this Fetter, and not till then, a man has reached the state of Conversion, he has fairly "entered upon the stream," and sooner or later he will win the victory.

The next Fetter consists of the Bodily Passions, and the fifth is Ill-will towards other individuals. With the long battle against the powerful temptations of these great foes to progress, two entire stages of the path are occupied, and to have conquered them is to have reached the fruit of the third stage of the Noble Path.

Then begins the acquisition of what is called the Highest Fruit, the result of the breaking of the last remaining fetters: First the Suppression of the desire for a future life with a material body, and next of the desire for a future life in an immaterial world. By the first of these the hope and belief of the early Christians is anticipated, and its wisdom denied; by the second a modification of that early belief often held by modern Christians is equally repudiated and condemned.

The next on the list are Pride and Self-righteousness. These are the last Fetters but one to be broken—the temptations to which the most advanced are the most liable; the failings which, with one exception, it is most difficult for men to conquer, and to which superior minds are peculiarly liable—a Pharisaical contempt for those who are less able and less holy than themselves.

Lastly (and the fact is again most instructive and most interesting) is placed the Fetter of Ignorance. When all else has been conquered this will ever remain, the thorn in the flesh of the wise and good, the last enemy and the bitterest foe of man.

Of course the order in which the Fetters are given is not intended as an actual representation of the order in which a man always conquers his weaknesses and errors; but it is an attempt in a general way to suggest the course the Buddhist must pursue, and to compare with one another the difficulties with which he will meet in his progress along the Noble Path. As the Eight Divisions of the Path show the qualities of mind he should sedulously cultivate, so the Ten Fetters show the temptations he should most earnestly contend against. From the two combined the reader will be able to gather a very accurate idea of the state of mind called in Buddhist writings *Arahatship*, or the FRUIT of the Noble Eightfold Path. It would be easy to fill pages with the awe-struck and ecstatic praise lavished in Buddhist writings on the condition of mind in

which this state has been fully reached, the state of a man made perfect according to the Buddhist Faith, when the Noble Path has been traversed and all the Fetters broken; but everything that could be said is implied in the word by which this state of mind is designated, the word *Nirvāna*.

There have been many mystic and long-drawn discussions as to whether *Nirvāna* means the annihilation of the soul, or an eternal existence of the soul in a state of trance. It can mean neither, for the simple reason that the Buddha did not teach the existence of any soul at all in the Christian sense; and the confusion which gave rise to these varied interpretations was entirely in the minds of the interpreters. They took for granted that the *summum bonum* must be in a future life. That any one could seek for a salvation to be perfected here, on earth, did not occur to them. That the highest aim of man could be considered to consist only of an inward subjective change, during this life, was an idea so strange that it was beyond the grasp of those who were accustomed to think the highest happiness could only be obtained in heaven, when all the *outward* conditions of men's existence would be changed. When they were told, therefore, that the Buddhist salvation was *Nirvāna*, they not unnaturally presumed it to be some sort of future life; and in attempting to apply to a future life and to a soul expressions meant to apply to a state of mind to be reached here on earth, and used by thinkers whose system was independent of the idea of soul, they inevitably fell into those curious errors and misconceptions which make their discussions of *Nirvāna* as wearisome as they are unreliable.¹ These misconceptions might, perhaps, have been avoided had the disputants gone to the original Pāli texts, instead of to second-hand authorities; but probably such errors are inevitable whenever two systems, whose elementary principles are so radically opposed, come first into contact.

The fact is, that in spite of the general belief to the contrary, Christianity is at heart more pessimist even than Buddhism. To the majority of average Christians this world is a place of probation, a vale of tears, though its tears will be wiped away and its sorrows changed into unutterable joy in a better world beyond. To the Buddhist such hopes seem to be without foundation, to indulge in them is only possible to the foolish and the ignorant; while thus to despair of the present life, thus to postpone the highest fruit of salvation to a world beyond the grave, is base, unworthy, and unwise. Here and now, according to the Buddhist, we are to seek salvation, and to seek it in "right views and high aims, kindly speech

(1) The etymology and meaning of the word *Nirvāna* play a great part in the discussions referred to; but *Nirvāna*, of course, for the reason stated, cannot be the "going out" of the soul: it is the going out in the heart of the three fires of lust, anger, and delusion, and of the craving from which they arise.

and upright behaviour, a harmless livelihood, perseverance in well-doing, intellectual activity, and earnest thought."

One question remains which ought to be cleared up. Has then the Buddhist salvation, the salvation of a religion which once counted among its adherents half the human race, and which has even now more followers than the Roman Church, the Greek Church, and all other sects of Christians put together—was this a salvation without any reference at all to God? Strange as it may seem, it was so. Doubtless the doctrine would have changed, certainly its expression would have changed, had it been formulated in modern times, and in the West, where the faith in one God has driven out the faith in many. But the popular gods of India—as numerous and as varied in character as their relations, the gods of Greece and Rome—seemed to the Buddha to form no exception to his rules. They were liable to all the evils inseparable from individuality. Their characters were such that they themselves stood in need of salvation, and to salvation the only way, for men and gods alike, was along the Noble Eightfold Path. Hindu thinkers, indeed, before the time of Buddha had evolved a unity out of the many popular impersonations of the forces of nature, had postulated under various names a Primeval Being of whom all the other gods, and all men, and all matter were but the sportive and temporary manifestations. But this belief was still confined to the schools, and the Buddha denied the cogency of the arguments by which it was supported. He only regarded the newer and purer divinities, born of Hindu philosophy, as more well-meaning and more powerful than the gods of the multitude. But they were alike liable to error, dazed with the delusion of individuality, and in need of salvation; and the Arahāt, the man who had reached Nirvāṇa here on earth, was, in spite of his lesser material advantages, in spite of his less favourable outward conditions, better, and wiser, and greater than they. This was one of the most important tenets of early Buddhism, and very fairly represents the position which the gods have always occupied in the varying creeds of Buddhist believers. We find it not only in the earlier books, but in later and popular representations of Buddhist belief; and I annex a curious story from the Jātaka Book as evidence of the form which this belief had afterwards adopted among average Buddhists in India.

But to return now from this theological digression to our sermon. Without attempting to estimate its value as a permanent solution of the questions with which this paper opened, it may fairly be contended that it marked a great advance on the systems of salvation supported by its principal opponents in India, and that some of its most essential doctrines are not without their value even now. But its chief value, after all, is historical. It shows us that in India, as

elsewhere, after the belief in many gods had given rise to the belief in one, there arose a school to whom theological questions had lost their interest, and who sought for a new solution of the questions to which theology had given inconsistent answers in a new system in which man was to work out his own salvation. In this respect the resemblance, which Mr. Frederick Pollock has pointed out, between Nirvāna and the teaching of the Stoics, has a peculiar interest; and their place in the progress of thought may help us to understand how it is that there is so much in common between the agnostic philosopher of India, and some of the newest schools in France, in Germany, and among ourselves.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

ON TRUE DIVINITY.

Long ago Brahma-datta was king in Benares, in the land of Kasi. At that time the Bodhisatwa was conceived in the womb of his chief queen, and on the naming-day they called him Prince Mahingsāsa. When he could run alone, another son was born to the King, whom they called the Moon Prince. And when he could run alone the mother of the Bodhisatwa died, and the King appointed another lady to be chief queen. She became very near and dear to the King, and in due course she had a son, whom they called the Sun Prince. When the King saw his son, he said in his delight, "My love, for this son I will give you whatever you ask!" But the Queen postponed her choice to some more suitable time, and so kept the gift in reserve.

And when her son had grown up, she said to the King, "Your Majesty, on the day my son was born, offered me anything I would ask. Give me the kingdom for my son!"

"My two sons," said the King, "are glorious as pillars of fire! I cannot give your son the kingdom." And he refused her. But when he found her beseeching him again and again, he thought, "This woman may devise some mischief against the boys." And sending for his sons, he said to them, "My children, when the Sun Prince was born I pledged myself to grant a boon; and now his mother is demanding the kingdom for him. I am not willing to grant this; but womankind is cruel—she may plot some evil against you. Do you retire into the forest, and when I am dead, rule over this city, our family's hereditary right." Thus weeping, and lamenting, and kissing their foreheads, he dismissed them.

Now the Sun Prince himself was playing in the palace yard, and saw them descending from the palace after taking leave of the King, and perceiving how the matter stood, he said to himself, "I, too, will go with my brothers," and went away with them.

They entered the Himalaya Mountains, and the Bodhisatwa, leaving the path, sat down at the foot of a tree, and said to the Sun Prince, "Dear Sun, go to yonder pond, and first bathe and drink yourself, and then bring us too some water in the leaves of the lotus plant."

Now that tank had been granted to a water-sprite by Wessawana (the king of the bad fairies), Wessawana saying to him, "All those who go down into this pond, save only those who understand divinity, are your prey; but you have no power over those who do not enter the water." Thenceforward the evil genius asked all those who went down into the water what were the divine beings, and devoured those who did not know.

Now the Sun Prince went to the tank, and without hesitation descended into the water. And the evil genius seized him, and asked him, "Do you know what beings are divine?"

"The gods," said he, "are the Sun and the Moon."

"You don't know divinity!" was the reply; and dragging him down, he put him in his cave.

The Bodhisatwa, finding that the Sun Prince delayed, sent the Moon Prince. The evil genius seized him, and asked him, "Do you know what beings are divine?"

"Certainly I do! The divine being is the far-spreading sky,"¹ answered he.

"You don't know divinity," said the genius; and seizing on him too, put him in the same place.

And when he, too, delayed, the Bodhisatwa, thinking some accident must have happened, went there himself. Seeing the mark of both their footsteps, as they had gone down, he was convinced that the pond must be haunted by a demon, and took his stand with girded sword and bow in hand. The water-sprite, seeing that the Bodhisatwa did not enter the water, took the form of a woodman, and said to him, "Well, my man, you seem tired with your journey. Why don't you get into the pond, and bathe, and quench your thirst, and then go on merrily eating the edible stalks of the water-lilies?"

When the Bodhisatwa saw him, he knew "this must be the demon," and he called out, "It is you who have seized my brothers!"

"Certainly, it is I!"

"What for?"

"I have been granted all who go down into the pond."

"What, all!"

"All, save only those who know theology."

"And is, then, theology any good to you?"

(1) Literally "the four directions." The elder of the lads is more advanced in his theology.

"Yes, it is."

"Well, if so, I will teach you divinity."

"Speak, then, and I shall hear who have the nature of gods."

"I would tell you who they are," said the Bodhisatwa, "but I am all unclean."

Then the demon bathed the Bodhisatwa, and gave him food, and brought him water, and decked him with flowers, and anointed him with perfumes, and spread a seat for him in a beautiful bower. The Bodhisatwa seated himself with the demon at his feet, and saying, "Give ear, then, attentively, and hear who it is that have the real attributes of gods," he uttered this stanza:—

"Pure men, and modest, kind and upright men,
These are the so-called divine beings in the world."

The genius, when he had heard the discourse, was converted, and said, "Oh, Pundit, I have received peace through you! I will give you one of your brothers; which shall I bring?"

"Bring the younger."

"Pundit, you know all theology, but you act not up to it."

"Why so?"

"Because in passing over the elder, and telling me bring the younger, you do not pay the honour due to seniority."

"I both know theology, O demon, and walk according to it. It is on his account that we came to this forest. For him his mother begged of our father the kingdom, and our father, unwilling to grant the boon, permitted us for our own safety this life in the forest. That lad came here all the way with us. Should I now say, 'A demon has eaten him in the wilderness,' who would believe it? Therefore is it that I, fearing reproach, tell you to bring *him*."

"You speak well, teacher, most well! You not only know theology, but walk according to it," said the water-sprite, honouring the Bodhisatwa with believing heart; and he brought his two brothers and gave them over to him.

Then the Bodhisatwa said to him, "Friend, it is by the evil you have done in a former birth that you are born as a demon, feeding on the flesh and blood of others. Yet now you still sin. This your sin will prevent your being saved from hell. Henceforth, therefore, put away sin, and do good." And he succeeded in subduing him.

After converting the demon, he continued to dwell in that very spot, under his protection, until, one day, when observing the stars, he found out that his father had died. Then, taking the water-sprite with him, he returned to Benares and assumed the sovereignty, and appointed the Moon Prince heir-apparent, and the Sun Prince Commander of the Forces. And for the sprite he had a residence prepared in a pleasant spot, and made arrangements so that he should get the best flowers and food supplied to him. And ruling the kingdom in righteousness, he passed away according to his deeds.

HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE transactions of the present month between England and Turkey stamp the break-down of that course of policy which was entered upon after the Conference of Constantinople. The circle is completed, and the same minister who pressed for reforms in 1876, has found himself still pressing for reforms in 1879. But what has happened in the interval? It is no longer the same Turkey, powerful with the strength of the *status quo*, of unbroken dominion, and of unknown resources, but the wreck of a state, stripped of territory, its resources pledged to Russia, its military force practically destroyed, its doom finally sealed. If the Porte, at the close of 1876, could only have foreseen the events of the end of 1879, if it could only have seriously realised that England either could not or would not stir to rescue her, a thousand calamities would have been spared to Europe and the world. It is because she was then encouraged not to believe that she would thus be left to her fate, that a whole chain of calamities has followed, leaving the whole of Europe a scene of distraction, jealousy, and suspense almost intolerable. To have put pressure on Turkey three years ago would have extinguished a little fire which has since grown into conflagration. Among other effects it would have prevented the outbreak of the spirit of international hatred between England and Russia, which still promises us a host of evils, and prevents any approach to a stable settlement of the questions which torment the world.

Nobody can dwell with satisfaction on the repulse with which our latest diplomatising in this thorny field has been met. It seems to be certain that the Sultan has promised so much of reform as consists in appointing Baker Pasha to command a force of police; that the appointment has been formally made; but that there is no force to command; and that the Pasha might as well have remained where he was. The English demands have had the effect that might have been expected, of sending the Porte into the arms of the Czar. So far as the story is yet known, it is difficult to imagine a result of greater discomfiture and confusion.

Let us look at the matter rather more widely. So far as Turkey is concerned, it is doubtful whether English interference can result in any substantial good to her populations. There is no case recorded in history where decaying government, so far gone as Turkey now is, has been reformed and strengthened by pressure imposed from without, even when that pressure has been imposed by a foreign Power with friendly intentions. All such interference weakens the central authority, iden-

tifies patriotism with resistance to reform, and breeds intrigue with other Powers, whose motives are believed to be interested and sinister. We may tease the Porte with angry remonstrance, and the fleet may make a hundred of its absurd voyages from Malta to Vourla. There will be no reform, and the only effect will be to hurry the break-up of the Ottoman Power. At present nothing is more undesirable than any such haste in this direction. The break-up of Turkish authority in Europe was desirable just because it came in a spontaneous and inevitable course. The movement came from the populations, and where the British Government made their great and fatal mistake—Lord Derby being here not any more clear-sighted than his colleagues—was in not admitting this to their minds. They will make a mistake at least as great and as fatal if they precipitate the ruin of the central Government in Asiatic Turkey. The mere presence of Russia, with her grasp firmly held upon points of such commanding importance as Ardahan and Kars, must in itself, as Lord Salisbury told the English ambassador at Constantinople eighteen months ago, “exercise powerful influence in disintegrating the Asiatic dominions of the Porte.” If England is to concern herself at all in the future of Turkey—a question which in their present humour Englishmen seem to consider beyond discussion, but which posterity will probably think that we ought to have discussed very carefully—then it is at least certain that we should do nothing to weaken such force as may still be left in the Turkish system.

Nothing can be more mischievous than any action that tends to break up the present framework, bad as it is. It is under shelter of this framework, if at all, that the strong men and rising forces in these provinces will find their only chance of slowly preparing a system that may one day supersede the present crumbling and dangerous fabric. The state of things is frightful, no doubt. Every correspondent and every traveller tells the same tale of disorder, violence, and terror. But this confusion is no new thing. There are, on the contrary, some parts of Turkey in Asia where material prosperity has increased. That there are elements of social strength and powers of political reconstruction among these populations, all the evidence goes to show. The men who went up to the parliament at Constantinople from Beyrout, from Broussa, from Smyrna, were the kind of men who might well work good local institutions of their own, and there is no reason why they should not find out for themselves the best way of using such institutions. We cannot do it for them. All that we can do is negative—to abstain, directly or indirectly, from breaking up the system under which they find a kind of provisional shelter. As it is, things look as if we were repeating in Turkey the game which has been so disastrously played

in Afghanistan. Things look as if, out of jealousy of Russia, we were doing our best to replace a government more or less organized, by sheer chaos. To persist in this is to lead the way to one of two results. After the Turkish government has been sufficiently weakened, either the Russians will march into the inheritance and destroy the germs of self-government in Turkey, or else England will carry on a furious struggle to prevent it. It is difficult to believe which of the two results is the more detestable.

A pithy account of the outlook has lately been given by a traveller who is no enemy to Turkey, and no adherent of a tranquil and abstaining policy on the part of Great Britain. "The history of the past," he says, "is sufficient to prove the utter fallacy of assertions, promises, and treaties; Turkey will perish in mal-administration; Russia, who is now marching upon Merv in spite of former assurances, as she advanced on Khiva under similar pretexts, will at the moment of her own selection assuredly break through her boundaries in Asia Minor. The position of England will be contemptible. We have thrown down the gauntlet to Russia by an ostentatious alliance with Turkey, but we hesitate to insist upon the overwhelming necessity of British official and military officers to organize the civil administration and an army of defence; thus, when the sudden emergency shall arise, Turkey will be utterly unprepared; the various races that comprise her Asiatic dominions will already have been poisoned by intrigue, and the only defence that can be offered to a Russian advance will be afforded by Turkish neglect, which has left the country devoid of roads."¹

The situation is so serious that it is no wonder if extraordinary designs are imputed to the English government for rescuing themselves from it. Mr. Forster at Leeds even supposed that they intended to make the refusal of the Porte to fulfil their part of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, a plea for the abandonment by England of her part—the Turks being thus formally left to their fate. This is scarcely probable. It is not in the vein of our government of adventure. What is more likely is resort to some plan of comprehensive violence in a destructive sense. There are ominous words in the air about deposition and partition.

One thing is perfectly clear, though it may be very unwelcome, and though Lord Salisbury's wantonly irritating speech at Manchester leads one to fear that he is shutting his eyes to it; and it is this. No scheme for the re-settlement of Asiatic Turkey, however far it may go, will be of any avail which rests on the permanent exclusion of Russia. The public and press of England may rage as they

.(1) Sir Samuel Baker's *Cyprus as I saw it in 1879* (Macmillan & Co., 1879), p. 451. A book well worth reading, on the whole subject.

please. The rebuff from the Austro-German alliance is as much as Russia is likely to endure, and the very effect of that movement which drives her for a time away from Turkey in Europe, will make it less possible for her to acquiesce in her own effacement in Turkey in Asia. Her right to a voice in the settlement is as good as ours, and we shall only be battling against the nature of things if we attempt silently to exclude her with a high hand.

There are rumours that the British government intend to occupy Herat in a conjunction of some kind or other with Persia; and this is duly rejoiced over by those who think that any step which will cause annoyance at Saint Petersburg, must be advantageous to England. We cannot accept that proposition as the basis of a serious policy. The assumption that if you can only throw Russia back at every point, at Merv, at Tirnova, at Constantinople, and inflict diplomatic defeats on her from Berlin and Vienna to Teheran, then peace will follow—this is an assumption not to be safely taken for granted. Nothing in the history or position of Russia warrants the belief that she is likely to acquiesce in these limitations and repulses. She acquiesces for the moment, or so long as may be necessary, but she always returns with the steadiness of a natural force, and she does so because the forces which push her forward among the crumbling systems of Turkey and of Central Asia are in fact natural forces.

It is constantly made a matter of bitter reproach to English liberals that Russia desires their return to power. English liberals need feel no remorse at such a circumstance, if it be true. A Russian statesman may well see two things: first, that the readjustment of the Eastern world will have to be settled between Russia and England either pacifically or by war; second, that it can only be settled pacifically with a new government in England. It need not, for that matter, be a particularly liberal government, but there can be no reasonable discussion of the elements of the problem, on the part of Russia, with a minister who has shown Lord Beaconsfield's spirit or has used Lord Salisbury's language. If war, a war sooner or later, is to be avoided, the men must be changed. No Russian statesman believes in his heart that Lord Hartington or Lord Granville, or Mr. Gladstone either, for that matter, would surrender a single point in any debate where English security is concerned. But Russia may expect, that if the liberals were in power, the decencies of international speech would be better respected; that a situation bristling with inherent difficulties would not be exacerbated by insults; that ministers would not reply to pacific letters from the Czar by windy menace; that she would have to deal with serious men, gravely and firmly carrying out a steadfast and serious policy, which would be none the less a policy of British interests, because

it recognised that those interests are not served by undertaking the responsibility of the whole of Asia on our shoulders.

That the least good has been done by the recent movements nobody of any party believes. The rash and unwise minister who presides at the Foreign Office—*le roseau peint en fer*—must himself be aware that reforms in the sense aimed at in the Anglo-Turkish Convention cannot be secured by the strongest representations that the English Ambassador is capable of making. Promises have been made, but they have been made by men burning with resentment that such promises should be exacted, intent on making as light of them as possible, and knowing in their hearts that they cannot in the nature of things be carried out. How far a conspicuous farce of this kind adds to the dignity of Great Britain before Europe, we fail to see. And, on the other hand, what nobody can fail to see is that our solitary intervention in a matter which is obviously no more our concern than it is the concern of the other western Powers, has kindled ill-feeling towards us in France, and aggravated the soreness already caused by Lord Salisbury's inconceivably foolish exultation at the alliance of the two great military monarchies of Central Europe.

It was expected by some people that Lord Beaconsfield's speech at the Guildhall would contain an intimation that there was a point beyond which Her Majesty's Government could not permit Irish agitation to proceed. The ministerial message, instead of being one of menace to Irish disaffection, proclaimed the existence of ministerial sympathy with Irish distress, and Lord Beaconsfield dimly foreshadowed the possibility of the concession of liberal relief out of imperial funds. At that very moment, however, the contingency of coercion must have presented itself to the Premier's mind. The arrest of Messrs. Davitt, Daly, and Killen was no sudden or hurried step. Wise or unwise, it was the act of a Government which had deliberated on the expediency and had calculated some of the consequences of such a measure. Other considerations than the security of life and property in Ireland weighed with the Cabinet. Thus far Lord Beaconsfield and his colleagues had justified the policy of Mr. Parnell and his friends by yielding in every instance the substance of their demands. It was natural, therefore, that the tactics of agitation should be continued, the more so that there are elements of equity and internal strength in the present movement which have been too generally ignored. But the time had arrived when the Government saw reason to doubt the political expediency of indefinite surrender. Jingoism may find a convenient and useful subject for its treatment in Ireland as well as in Russia. The Cabinet had been taunted with its deficiency of vigour towards Mr.

Parnell and his followers. The constituencies, it was said, were on the look out for something more stirring than Irish University Bills. It was even suggested that the best thing which the Premier could do would be to dissolve Parliament on the strength of an anti-Irish cry. Something must be done; and the consequence of this decision was the seizure of the three men now in prison. There was no particular reason why these in preference to any others should have been selected as illustrations of the sure, if tardy, processes of retributive justice. The language used by them was not specially defiant of the sanctity of custom or the dignity of law. The method thus exemplified may in itself be justifiable or the reverse; the one thing certain is that it bears the appearance of having been fortuitous and arbitrary. Nor is it known whether the persons now in custody received any preliminary warning. A strong Government can afford to delay the actual infliction of a punishment, till unmistakable notice has been given that if the offence is continued punishment will not be delayed.

As it may be allowed that none of those concerned are exempt from responsibility in the matter, so it cannot be denied that the entire episode is profoundly to be deplored. It occurs at a moment when the one thing to be desired is that the English public should form a sober and just estimate of the extent and causes of Irish distress. It is ill arguing with a man who has lost his temper. If, so far as relates to Ireland, Englishmen have not lost their temper, they are surrounded by an atmosphere which is certain to distort their views, exaggerate their prejudices, and heat their passions. We believe, indeed, that the conditions of Irish life are better understood in England now than they have ever been. The recent discussion on the relations of landlords and tenants, and the qualities of either class, must have produced results of the highest value. It is not denied by the Prime Minister or by any one else in England that there is dire suffering in many different parts of Ireland, or that if this calamity is due in some measure to exceptional causes—such as the abnormal inclemency of the season and the failure of successive harvests—it is also the outcome of sinister agencies which are perpetually at work. In England these are not in operation; and the deplorable and inveterate mistake which Englishmen commit is that of judging Ireland by the standard of their own domestic experience. There is no similarity, there is little or no analogy, between the agricultural conditions of the two countries. That this is so will be plain to every one who has read the useful and suggestive correspondence on the subject which has recently appeared in the *Times*. The well-to-do English citizen has learned that there is in Ireland a race of small tenant farmers with holdings of from thirty to

ten acres, who have no resources save in the land, and who are absolutely overwhelmed with debt. They owe money to the small local banks, which have of late years increased at an abnormal rate; they owe money to their tradesmen; they owe money to each other. Thus the pecuniary position of a considerable majority of those who have the cultivation of the soil of Ireland in their hands, is not only lamentably, but to an Englishman inconceivably, bad. There is no more resemblance between the agricultural distress which exists in Ireland and that which exists in England than there is between the destitution of the beggar in the street and the impecuniosity of the luxurious spendthrift, who, if he has no balance at his banker's, always contrives to dine in comfort, and is seldom at a loss for ready money.

This is far from being the only distinction between the agricultural classes in the two countries. Material suffering in Ireland is aggravated and inflamed by the consciousness, or at least by the idea, of moral wrong and traditional grievance. Englishmen do not understand the earth hunger of the Irish peasantry, for the simple reason that they have never thoroughly grasped its historical causes. There are instincts which are part of the national heritage of Irishmen, that Englishmen cannot or will not comprehend. The history of land tenancy in Ireland is without anything corresponding to it here. Less than two centuries and a half ago the Irish kern had as real an interest in, as genuine a share of, the Irish land as the greatest territorial magnate among his countrymen. He was a member of a sept, and the fact of this membership caused him to be a participator in the soil. The property owned by the chief of the clan, who was the nominee of the clansmen, differed in extent but not in degree. This is one of the secrets of the deeply rooted passion of the Irish peasantry for land. The instinct is one of those fatal survivals which constitute the standing difficulties of practical politics. No solution of the Irish land question can be satisfactory or permanent which ignores this circumstance. It is as much an historical fact as the sentiment which carried the repeal of Roman Catholic disabilities, or the abolition of the Protestant Establishment. These were the considerations that Mr. Mill had in view when, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, May 17, 1866, he begged his hearers to reflect what a different history Ireland has had from either England or Scotland, and ask themselves whether that history must not have left an impress deeply engraven on Irish character. He went on to say—

“Consider, again, how different, even at this day, are the social circumstances of Ireland from those of England or Scotland, and whether such different circumstances must not often require different laws and institutions. People often ask—it has been asked this evening—why should that which works well

in England not work well in Ireland? or, Why should anything be needed in Ireland which is not needed in England? Are Irishmen an exception to all the rest of mankind, that they cannot bear the institutions and practices which reason and experience point out as the best suited to promote national prosperity? Sir, we were eloquently reminded the other night of that double ignorance against which a great philosopher warned his contemporaries—ignorance of our being ignorant. But when we insist on applying the same rules in every respect to Ireland and to England, we show another kind of double ignorance, and at the same time disregard a precept older than Socrates—the precept which was inscribed on the front of the Temple of Delphi: we not only do not know those whom we undertake to govern, but we do not know ourselves. No, sir, Ireland is not an exceptional country; but England is. Irish circumstances, and Irish ideas as to social and agricultural economy, are the general ideas and circumstances of the human race; it is English circumstances and English ideas that are peculiar. Ireland is in the main stream of human existence and human feeling and opinion; it is England that is in one of the lateral channels.”

This distinction between the two countries shows itself in other ways than those which have been already mentioned. It was exceedingly desirable that the case of the landlords should be heard as completely as it has been. It is well that Lord Powerscourt should remind us that so far from Irish landlords declining to expend money on their land, the weekly statements of loans obtained from the Board of Works show that large sums are constantly being laid out on drainage, building, and the reclamation of waste lands—these sums being, of course, over and above all private expenditure. Lord Powerscourt further denies that any improvements of consequence have been executed by those representatives of the class of peasant proprietors who already exist in Ireland. It is also edifying to hear from the Knight of Kerry the principle on which he has dealt with applications for reduction of rent on his own estate. When the tenant can show that the rent complained of first came into operation when prices of farm produce were much in excess of those of the present day, and that the rent was assessed fully up to those high prices, he assents to the appeal for reduction; but when the rent was fixed at a time when prices were lower than at present, the appeal is refused. In this gentleman's opinion the general adoption of such a plan would have prevented two distinct evils. The “tenant would not have been left in a state of uncertainty which made him an easy prey to the blandishments of Mr. Parnell;” and “many landlords would have been prevented from falling into the detrimental mistake of making a lazy, blind, all-round abatement at the same percentage to all their tenants.” It is also well that testimony should have been adduced which seems to show that Irish distress is not quite so severe as it has sometimes been represented, and it is extremely instructive to hear that Lord Conyngham's tenants in the county of Clare, having received notice that, his estate being about to be broken up into lots, the occupiers may become purchasers,

attended in a numerous body and expressed their willingness to buy at the rate of twenty-two years' purchase of the rent, while some offered as high as twenty-five years' purchase.

But what do such instances as these prove? Not that the distress in Ireland is not as severe as we have been given to understand, not that the entire class of Irish landlords has been calumniated; but that the former is not without compensating circumstances, and that the latter are not wholly bad. The reality and, for all practical purposes, the magnitude of the evils with which we are called upon to deal are the same as ever. A policy must be based not upon a catalogue of exceptions, but upon the actual rule. It is not that Irish landlords are naturally worse than English; the truth is that the conditions under which they possess their land render it impossible that the relations between themselves and their tenants should be uniformly satisfactory. In the first place, there are owners of property who, on the strength of the intense desire of tenants to remain in their old homes or to acquire some addition to their holdings, exact exorbitant rents, or refuse to show any forbearance when the pinch comes. Secondly, there are landlords in Ireland—of a class almost unknown now in England—whose properties are so burdened with debt and family charges, that generous dealing with their tenants is impossible. The existence of such landowners as these is a public evil, and it may be questioned whether the action contemplated by Mr. Parnell might not be conceded with advantage. Why should the compulsory sale of estates be only conceded in the case of properties of the City companies and of absenteers? But the worst evil of all in the Irish land system is connected in its origin with a measure which has in its time accomplished much good. If the embarrassed landlord who manages his property simply as the creditor's trustee, and has thus no personal interest in the land, is a source of mischief, so also is the type of Irish landowners who came into existence as a natural consequence of the Encumbered Estates Act. This measure has undoubtedly been one of large and liberal relief. But it has not tended to the improvement of the relations between the owner and cultivator of the soil. Men who have purchased estates simply as an investment, and who reside little if at all in the country, can scarcely be expected to display any great interest in the condition of the peasantry. The old patriarchal ties between the proprietor and the tiller of the soil were often loose and slovenly enough, but they carried with them a sort of guarantee that the interest of the two would in the long run be identical. There may be room for doubt as to the precise shape which any measure of Irish land reform should assume, but its justice and its urgent necessity are at least beyond questioning.

The most formidable thing is that English opinion is not likely

to rise to the height and cogency of the situation. We shall achieve no satisfactory result so long as the leaders of English opinion insist on thinking of the west of Ireland as they have a right to think about Yorkshire or Sussex, nor so long as even open-minded men insist that our goal should be to make Ireland as like England as possible. Ireland after all exists for the sake of the people who live in it, and if they resolutely choose an inferior form of social and agricultural economy, let them try their own experiment—provided they can do so without injustice either to Englishmen or to one another.

November 25th, 1879

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